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T H E
PLAGUE OF LUST

THE PLAGUE OF LUST

BY

Dr. JULIUS ROSENBAUM



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Venereal Disease in Antiquity.

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IN Antiquity we find that for a considerable length of time the medical sciences were far from being confined to a distinct profession, and further, where this does seem to be the case, there is always a not insignificant proportion of such knowledge that comes to us merely as popular or traditional Medicine. It is therefore evident, that if we would gain definite information as to the existence of a Disease among the Ancients, we ought by no means to confine our attention to the medical writers. This becomes still more necessary, if we are bound at the same time to try and discover the ætiological relations of such a disease, of which it can be stipulated at the outset that it is intimately connected with the whole life and activity of peoples. The Historian accordingly is absolutely compelled to test and examine thoroughly everything that can possibly enlighten him as to these relations,—to interrogate the Literature of whole Nations.

But here comes in the drawback that only comparatively speaking a very restricted proportion of the Authors of Antiquity have come down to us, even after due account has been taken of the possibility that many an unknown author may lurk concealed in some corner or other of the globe. Then again the Authors that *have* been preserved are almost without exception Greeks or Romans, so that for the major part of the nations of Antiquity the national authorities are all but entirely lacking,

or else, where something of the sort does exist, it is written in a language the correct interpretation of which is still partially to seek. From all this it clearly follows that a complete and final explanation of any controverted matter of Ancient times can never strictly speaking be expected, and in particular that it would be a very rash conclusion to declare positively that a Disease did not exist in Antiquity, *because* in the extant and known books no mention occurs of it.

But in as much as this general incompleteness of information exists with regard to all relations of Antiquity, and yet for many of them sufficient explanations have already been obtained, it is obviously incumbent on us to undertake for our subject also the enquiry how far the extant authorities are capable of throwing light on it,—a task that exceeds indeed the powers of any individual, even should he be able to bring to it all the qualifications indispensable for the understanding of the said authorities. Consequently there is no other course left open for him but to institute at the outset a survey of what has so far been accomplished and ascertained, and then to bring into line with this whatever he has gleaned from his own study of the authorities, in the hope that another enquirer, like-minded and better equipped, may follow on in the track of his endeavours, and so by dint of united efforts the intended goal may one day be reached.

It would be unprofitable for us, having laid claim, as authorities for our special enquiry into the ætiological relations, to the remains of Antiquity in their entirety, to consider them in detail in this place. At the same time it might well seem expedient to specify more exactly such of them as are in a position to afford us information as to the Disease itself. These fall into two classes, viz. physicians and laymen. The estimation of the first class as authorities for the Venereal disease demands a number of conditions which we shall only get to know in

the course of our subsequent exposition of the ætiological relations themselves, and will therefore more conveniently find its place after this,—in that part of the work where the question is discussed of the influence of medical aid on the disease. Similarly only a part of the lay authorities come in here,—authorities from whom, as may be supposed, we have only to expect rather fragmentary information, but who are all the more important, when they do exist, as by their evidence is proved men's wide, in fact universal, acquaintance with the disease; and *they* cannot be charged with having made their observations of it through such or such a pair of theoretical spectacles.

The more copious the materials the Historian provides as to the ætiological relations, the more scanty will be his contributions on the question of the existence of the disease, as historical characters of highest importance, or conspicuous frequency of the disease, give him occasion to mention it.

The case is different, from the first with the *Poets*. The *Satirists* and *writers of Comedy* it is true can only supply hints, and these are often quite unintelligible for later times, if Scholiasts and Commentators had not taken on them the task of explanation,—though again their statements must often be used with caution, as they are so apt to impute to earlier times the opinions of their own. But here also the field of these hints is very circumscribed, as they are only admissible so far as it is possible to extract from the subject-matter a ridiculous, satirical *motif* (*versus iocosi, carmina plena ioci*,—jesting verses, songs full of jest, are demanded by the very personality of Priapus); and even then acquaintance with the fact alluded to in general terms is presupposed on the part of hearer and reader. We see from this how ill-considered is the contention of those who say that poets like *Horace*, *Juvenal* or *Martial*, if they had been acquainted with the injurious consequences of sexual intercourse with Hetaerae, could hardly have failed to allude to them on occasion

in *unequivocal* terms. Hensler¹ excellently observed long ago:—"In our Century certainly no German "poet says one word about it,—neither the dallying "light-o'-love versifiers nor the serious poets. But "from this to draw the conclusion,—*then* Venereal "disease did not exist among the people, *then* it has "never been seen in Germany this year, would make "physicians and barber-surgeons smile!"

Then again consider the widely different character of the Peoples and their Languages. The flowery Asiatic and Hindoo was, to begin with, far enough removed from the spirit of Satire, and on all occasions preferred to have recourse to images that to us may well seem more than obscure. The Greek writers of Iambi (Satiric verses in the Iambic metre) are all but completely lost to us, while of the Comedians we possess only *Aristophanes*, in the interpretation of whom we are certainly not yet far enough advanced to make all his allusions plain to us. Above all, those who pronounce so dogmatically as to the existence of the Disease on the evidence of hints, appear to have hardly a notion of the condition in which the Lexicography of both Greek and Latin is,—a condition still in many respects deplorable.

Besides this the Greeks, and for a time to an almost greater degree the Romans,² were above all things reticent in speech. The Roman still preserved intact through all the frivolity of his later days certain

¹ "Geschichte der Lust-seuche" (History of the Venereal Disease), Vol. I. p. 326.

² *Celsus*, De re medica Bk. VI. ch. 18., "Proxima sunt ea, quae ad partes obscenas pertinent, quarum apud Graecos vocabula et tolerabilius se habent et accepta iam usu sunt, cum omni fere medicorum volumine atque sermone iactentur, apud nos foediora verba, ne consuetudine quidem

aliqua verecundius loquentium commendata sunt."

(Next are particulars relating to the unmentionable parts; the name of these among the Greeks are less objectionable and are now accepted by usage, as they are freely employed by physicians both in books and speech, whereas with ourselves the words are coarse, not approved by any customary use on the

shrines, that were never broken open until the period of the utter corruption of morals; and then no doubt afforded all the richer booty. But in Satire it was not the fact that became matter of derision, but the habits of the voluptuary merely *as affecting morality*, as for instance is clearly seen from a perusal of the passages of Juvenal ¹ read in their mutual connection. Moreover the following account will sufficiently prove that even among the Romans affections of the genitals were never ascribed to *natural*, only to *unnatural* coition, Paederastia and the like; and that it was the vice that was derided, and not properly speaking its consequences.

After the Satirists come the *Epigrammatic poets*, near akin to them. Whether in this province the Greeks will afford much material, later investigations must decide; how abundantly the Roman *Martial* has rewarded our repeated perusals, the reader will soon be enabled to convince himself.

part of those who speak with any regard to modesty.) How strictly the words, especially in the case of the poets, were scrutinised in this respect even in later times still, is shown by the passage in *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic. Bk. X. ch. 10.; and in *Petronius*, ne nominare quidem te Satir, 132, Polyænus says: Ne nominare quidem te (scil. penem) inter res serias fas est. Poenitentiam agere sermonis mei coepi, secretoque rubore perfundi, quod oblitus verecundiae meae cum ea parte corporis verba contulerim, quam ne ad cogitationem quidem admittere severioris notae homines solent."

(It is forbidden even to mention thee (viz. the penis) in

serious discourse. I have begun to do penance for my words and to feel the glow of a secret blush, because forgetful of my modesty I expressed in words that part of the body, which men of the stricter type refuse to admit even into their thoughts.) So the collector of Priapica appeals to the reader: Conveniens Latio pone supercilium! (Lay aside the disapproving frown that befits Latium); and later on people used to say of such talk, they wished to speak plain *Latin*, just as we say, speak *plain English*; while the Greek would excuse himself by his ἄγροικος καὶ ἄμουνός εἰμι, (I am but am unpolished rustic).

¹ Satir. II. 8—13.

From the *Erotic poets* who composed their lays under the inspiration of Aphrodité surrounded by the Graces or of the roguish Eros, no one will expect to gain anything towards our object. The fact that the *lascivious* Erotic writers of Antiquity have for the most part been lost can only be deplored by the Historian of the Venereal disease; for undoubtedly such works were in existence in considerable profusion, only as in our own day they were carefully kept concealed from the eyes of the uninitiated. That the Greeks were not poor in suchlike productions Cynulcus teaches us, who says to a Sophist¹: "Thou liest in the tavern, not in company with friends, but with harlots, hast a throng of panders round thee, and carriest always with thee the works of *Aristophanes*, *Apollodorus*, *Ammonius*, *Antiphanes* and the Athenian *Gorgias*, who all of them have written of the Athenian *Hetaerae*. One may fitly call thee a *Pornograph*, like the painters *Aristides*, *Pausanias* and *Nicophanes*." Writings of the same character were still extant in *Martial's*² time, for the lascivious epigrams on the walls of the grottos, temples and statues of Priapus³,

¹ *Athenaeus*, Deipnosoph. bk. XIII. ch. 21.—Comp. *Aristotle*, Politics bk. VII. ch. 17.

² Bk. XII. Epigr. 43. — Comp. *H. Palidamus*, "Römische Erotik." Greifswald 1833. large 8vo.

³ *Priapeia*, Carm. 1.

Iudeus haec ego teste te, Priape,
Horto carmina digna, non libello;
Ergo quidquid est, quod otiosus
Templi parietibus tui notavi
In partem accipias honam rogamus.

Carm. 41.

Quisquis venerit huc, poeta fiat,
Et versus mihi dedicet iocosos;
Qui non fecerit, inter eruditos
Ficosissimus ambulet poeta.

Carm. 49.

Tu quicumque vides circa tectoria
nostra
Non nimium casti carmina plena
ioci;

(The songs I sing, thou art my witness, Priapus, are worthy but of a garden, not of a book. Wherefore whate'er it be that in leisure hours I have writ on thy temple-walls, receive, we pray, in good part.)

(Whosoe'er comes hither must become a poet and dedicate to me some merry lines; whoe'er refuses, amidst the learned let him walk most

on garden-walls, and so forth, afforded an inexhaustible mine for collecting amateurs, to whom we owe the Priapeia that have come down to the present day. Had they all been preserved to posterity, we should doubtless have had no need to bewail the lack of clear information as to the Venereal disease among the Ancients.

Connected with the poems are the myths and legends of Antiquity. These however being difficult to understand when studied for their own sake owing to the confusion that still reigns in all the interpretations and discussions of them, hardly admit of being used for our purpose with advantage.

Finally we have yet to mention the Fathers as authorities for the history of the Venereal disease, for their "Orationes contra Gentes" (Denunciations of the Gentiles) especially afford much valuable material towards a knowledge of the moral condition of the nations of Antiquity. True it is very likely these only too willingly allow exaggerations at the cost of Paganism, and attribute to an earlier time as already existing then, what really belongs to their own day. Still these drawbacks lose much of their importance in so far as the question for the present is only,—whether previously to the end of the XVth. Century the Venereal Disease existed or no.

The difficulties that arise in the systematic study and manipulation of all these authorities require no further discussion here, being sufficiently well known to every investigator of Antiquity—be he physician or layman.

wooden of poets. — N.B. *ficosis* means at once *like a fig-tree* and *afflicted with piles*; perhaps we might render "most costive of poets".)

(Thou beholdest, whoe'er thou art, around the plaster of our walls lines teeming with not too chastened a wit.)

also in *Martial*, bk. XII. Epigr. 62. we read:

Qui carbone rudi, putrique creta
Scribit carmina, quae legunt
cacantes.

(Who with rough charcoal or crumbly chalk writes verses that men read as they shit.)

FIRST SECTION.

Influences which promoted the generation of Disease consequent upon the Use or Misuse of the Genital Organs.

§ 1.

Directly it becomes a question of studying the diseases of a particular part or organ, diseases occasioned by the nature of the use made of that particular part or organ, it is primarily requisite to investigate more precisely the different forms of this use. Then and then only shall we be in a position to define the share which secondary influences are competent to have in producing the said diseases. The *natural* use of the genital organs is simply the performance of the acts necessary to beget children. On this depends the preservation of the whole species. It is therefore improbable that Nature should have made such use liable to produce disease. As a matter of fact the experience of all ages shows that in a judicious marriage, the natural aim and object of which is the procreation of children, diseases of the genitals seldom, if ever, arise.

There must then be a secondary use of the genital organs, which is carried out without any view of begetting offspring, or in which this plays only a subordinate part, and consequently some other than the *natural* object is that pursued. This object is *Sensual gratification*, which is associated with the use of the genital organs, and the use of the genital

organs for the attainment of this object is *Sensuality*. Every misuse of any given organ cannot but be associated with detriment both to the organ itself and to the whole organism as well. This must of course also be the case with the genitals,¹ and it is in the misuse of them, in Sensual practices, that the most prominent efficient cause of maladies of these organs must be sought. Now it is our business to give a history of the maladies of the genital organs; and this is only possible on the condition that we have first of all gained a clear insight into the history of Sensuality.

Doubtless it is a melancholy task for the Historian to follow up and reveal the moral degradation of Peoples and Nations even to its most revolting details, and the Ethical philosopher might find not a few objections to raise against an undertaking of the kind. None the less is the Physician compelled to search out under all forms the traces of Vice in its most secret hiding-places, and so fathom the nature of the Disease in each individual case; and still more with Nations as a whole is he permitted,—nay! it is his bounden duty, to fix his eyes on their doings and those of each of their component parts. Thus only can he detect the nature of a Disease, which destroys the marrow of Peoples more surely and more terribly for this very reason that its genesis proceeds in secret.

The reproach that the Moral repute of Nations is hereby ruined, and the general mass saddled with the guilt of vices which of course only individuals ever committed, has no place here, for it is solely through the precise knowledge of the doings of these individuals that a due appreciation is possible

¹ *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedag. bk. II. ch. 10. ὅσοι δὲ τὴν παραβολὴν διώκονσι, πταίουσι περὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βλάπτουτες, κατὰ τὰς

παρανόμους συνουσίας.

("Now they that follow the parable sin against nature, *hurting their own selves*, according to their lawless conversation.")

of the danger that threatens the whole body politic from this source. Had not a false ideal of Morality hitherto restrained the individual, as it did the mass, from speaking out the truth, we should be much farther advanced than we are in the knowledge of a Disease, whose characteristic symptom it is that those who suffer from it endeavour, as far as they possibly can, to conceal its cause!

The Cult of Venus ¹.

§ 2.

The imaginative son of the South, already of his very nature prone to attribute all that his unpractised intellect failed to comprehend to the influence of a special Deity, was bound to do this pre-eminently in the case of an act that is even yet to us moderns wrapped in impenetrable obscurity,—the

¹ *Larcher*, "Mémoire sur Venus," (Memoir on Venus). Paris 1775. pp. 312. 8vo.—*De la Chau*, "Dissertation sur les Attributs de Venus," (Dissertation on the Attributes of Venus. Paris 1776. pp. 91. 4to. In German, by C. Richter. Vienna 1783. pp. 179. 8vo.—*J. C. F. Manso*, "Ueber die Venus," (On Venus): in "Versuche über einige Gegenstände aus der Mythologie der Griechen und Römer," (Essays on certain Subjects from the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans). Leipzig 1784. large 8vo. pp. 1—308. The Treatise is the most complete account we possess on the subject of Venus.—*Lenz*, C. G., "Die Göttin von Paphos auf alten

Bildwerken und Baphomet," (The Goddess of Paphos in Ancient Sculptures and Baphomet.) Gotha 1808. pp. 26. 4to., with Copperplates.—*Münter*, Fr., "Der Tempel der himmlischen Göttin zu Paphos," (The Temple of the heavenly Goddess at Paphos). Copenhagen 1824. pp. 40. with Copperplates.—*Lajard*, *Félix*, "Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs et les monuments figurés de Venus en orient et en occident," (Researches on the Cult, Symbols, Attributes and artistic Monuments of Venus in East and West). Paris 1834. 4to., with 30 Plates, fol. Known to us only from the notices.

act of generation and conception. How could he think of this Deity ¹, that used his own body as its instrument and in so doing bestowed on him the highest pleasure of the senses, otherwise than under the shape of a Being equally alluring and loving, convinced that this Being must be infinitely more alluring ² than even the beloved form that he held in his arms? "The young man's fancy" craves a lovely maiden; the maiden needed a loving sister, into whose arms she could trustingly throw herself, who intuitively divined all her soft, sweet emotions, to express which she sought in vain for words, which she scarce dared to own to herself that she was conscious of, and understood them!

To the Goddess' Temple she wandered, before her poured out the longings that filled her heart to overflowing ³, and at the last offered up herself a gift at the holy place, that so Aphrodité *Ἀφροδίτη εὐκαρπος, κυροτροφός, γενετύλλις*,—Aphrodite rich in fruit, giving offspring, (of the birth-hour) might be glorified in her, and herself be a participant in the highest happiness of Woman,—the joys of Motherhood. First she prepared herself by bodily purifica-

¹ *Orpheus*, Hymn. 55.

Οὐρανίη Ἀφροδίτη,
παντογενῆς, γενέτειρα θεῶν,
γεννᾷς δὲ τὰ πάντα,
ὅσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔσσι καὶ
ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ
ἐν πόντῳ τε βυθῷ.
γαμοσύλῃ, μήτερ ἐρώτων.

(Heavenly Aphrodité, parent of all, mother Goddess,—for thou engenderest all things, all things that are in heaven and in fruitful earth and in depth of ocean,—harbinger of marriage, mother of loves).

Homer, Hymn. 9. to Venus:

Κυπρογενὴ Κυθήρειαν
αἰέσομαι, ἥ τε βροτοῖσιν
μέλιχια δῶρα δίδωσιν,
ἐφ' ἡμερῶν δὲ προσώπῳ
αἰεὶ μειδιᾷ, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμερὸν
φέρει ἄνθος.

(Cyprus-born Cytherea will I sing, who to men gives sweet gifts, and on her lovely visage has ever a smile, and brings a lovely blossom of love).

² *Hesiod*, Theogonia, 190-206.

³ Consult the Poem of *Sappho* in *Brunck*, *Analect.* vet. poet. Graec., Vol. I. p.

tion ¹ before she trod the Temple threshold, then at the Temple altar she received spiritual purity; and thus thrilled through and through with the influence of the holiest, the Priest's hand ² led her to the arms of her Lover, who as unspoiled yet and unsophisticated as she, had not sought to unveil the most august secrets of Nature with audacious hand. Intoxicated with rapture he drew his darling on to the Torus (sacred couch) bedecked with fragrant blossoms, and almost unconsciously to himself, became the creator of a being wherein both saw themselves made young again.

If Man is really the noblest of created Beings, made by the Creator in his own image, in very truth then the power that unconsciously raises Man to the level of his Maker must be a divine power too, and that act in the exercise of which it comes itself into play an act of most sublime worship. Are we to suppose there never was a time when Man, pure as he came from the hand of his Creator, followed in the singleness of his heart no other law

54.—*Suidas* under the word *Ψιθυριστής* (whisperer), as epithet of Venus. *Eustathius* on Homer, *Odyssey*, XX., p. 1881. Her attribute was a key to the Heart. *Pinder*, *Pyth.* IV. 390. *Comp. Ovid*, *Fast.* IV. 133 sqq.

¹ The Trojan women used to betake themselves before their marriage to the river Scamander, to bathe in it and say: Receive, Scamander, our Virginity. *Aeschines*, *Epist.* II. p. 738.

² *Herodotus*, Bk. II. ch. 64. *Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξι, ἐν ἰροῖς, μηδὲ ἀλόουτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἰρὰ φαίεσθαι, οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι*

θησκεύσαντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἰροῖσι.

(And the practice of not having intercourse with women in temples, and not going into temples unwashed after such intercourse, these practices they were the first to observe as a matter of religion; for almost all the rest of mankind, except Egyptians and Greeks, have sexual intercourse in temples.) *Comp. Clement of Alexandria*, *Stromat.* bk. I. p. 361.

but that written in his heart? Surely not merely in the dreams of the Poet was found the legend of an Eden, from which Man was driven out by his own guilt; more true to say that to this day we are all of us born therein. But alas! others' guilt or our own tears us away from out the garden of Paradise, ere we have yet been able often to raise our eyes to take delight in its glory. Thus it is that many a man now and again has the memory of a Dream, that accompanies him on his pilgrimage through life, and he hopes to find in the future what long ago, before he grew conscious of its existence, became a thing of the past. Perchance it may be the fatal tasting of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was nothing else than the misuse of the genital organs, to content bestial longings, to arouse the titillation of an enervating pruriency¹

¹ Already in his time St. Jerome affirmed: *omnem concubitum coniugale esse peccatum, nisi causa procreandi sobolem* (that all conjugal coition is a sin, except for the sake of begetting offspring); and *Andr. Beverland* (de peccato originali—On Original Sin, p. 60.); *Ingenitum nefas nil aliud est, quam coeundi ista libido*, (Inborn sin is nothing else than the soul craving for coition). With this should be compared the view of *Lycurgus*, which *Plutarch* cites in his life of him.

Also *Athenaeus* (Deipnosoph. Bk. XII. p. 510.) says: *προκριθείσης γούντης Ἀφροδίτης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονή, πάντα συνεταράχθη*. (thus Aphrodité being rather chosen, —now this is sensual pleasure, —all was thrown into con-

fusion.) *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedog. bk. II. ch. 10. *Ψιλὴ γὰρ ἡδονή, καὶ ἐν γάμῳ παραληφθῆ, παράνομός ἐστι καὶ ἄδικος καὶ ἄλογος*. (For base pleasure—i.e. pleasure for its own sake,—even though it have been enjoyed in wedlock, is unlawful and unjust and unreasonable.—*Philo*, De opificio mundi, pp. 34, 35, 38.. De Allegoria, II. p. 1100. *ὄφιν εἶναι σύμβολον ἡδονῆς*. (the snake is the symbol of sensual pleasure.) With some coarseness Rabbi Zahira explains the Fall. The Tree, he says, that bore the forbidden fruit signifies the instrument of generation in Man; not the Tree in the midst of the garden of Eden, he comments, but the Tree in the midst of the body, which is not in the midmost

"And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked!" The bestial had won the victory over the divine, which fled away from the desecrated altar; and the Genius of Mankind wept over their Fall!

Here is the History at once of Man individually and of whole Peoples. Over the Temple-worship of Aphrodité also impended such a crisis; and sooner or later the holy courts of Venus Urania (Heavenly Venus) changed into the Lupanar of Venus Vulgivaga (Brothel of Venus of the Streets).

§ 3.

A precise knowledge of the extension of the Venus-cult in chronological order would readily supply us the means of following up historically the moral deterioration of the Peoples of Antiquity; but so long as we do not possess this, History cannot be expected to give us anything of great value. All that we are for the present in a position to give, pertinent to the object we aim at, is as follows:

"The worship of this Urania," says Pausanias ¹, "the Assyrians first introduced amongst themselves, after the Assyrians the Paphians in Cyprus ², and among the Phoenicians ³ the inhabitants of Ascalon in Palestine. From the Phoenicians the inhabitants

of the garden, but in the midst of the Woman, for it is there that the garden is planted. *Nork*, "Braminen und Rabbinen," (Brahmins and Rabbinis). Meissen 1836. large 8vo. pp. 91.

¹ *Descript. Graeciae*, bk. I. ch. 14.

² *Homer*, *Odyss.* Bk. VIII. 362.—*Hesiod*, *Theog.* 193.—

Strabo, XIV. 983.—*Tacitus*, *Hist.* II. 3.—*Pausanias*, VIII. 5. 2.

³ *Sanhoniathon*, Fragment. edit. Orelli, p. 34., *Eusebius*, *Praeparat. Evang.*, I. 10., τὴν δὲ Ἀστάρτην Φοίνικες τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγουσι.

(Now the Phoenicians say that Astarté is Aphrodité.)

of Cythera¹ learned to know and worship her. At Athens Aegeus introduced her worship." It was at Babylon then that the cult of Venus originated as *Myllita* worship, spread over the inland parts to Mesopotamia as the Sabacan² religion, and was passed on by the Phoenicians to the sea-board peoples as Astarté-worship. For at the spot where this cult first arose, it lasted longest in its original purity, and *Herodotus*³ could report how

¹ *Herodotus*, Bk. I. ch. 105. *Homer*, Hymn. IX. 1. *Ruhnken*, Epist. crit. I. p. 51. *Heyne*, Antiquarische Aufs. I. p. 135.

² Hence the Father *Ephraim Syrus* (Hymn, in Opp. Vol. II. p. 457. *Gesenius*, "Kommentar. zum Jesaias," (Commentary on Isaiah), Pt. II. p. 540. Ephraim lived 379 A. D.):—It is Venus that led astray her followers, the Ishmaelites. Into our land also she came, now most abundantly do the sons of Hagar honour her.

A street-walker (they call) the Moon,
Like a courtesan they represent Venus.
Twain they call female among the Stars.
And not merely names are they,
Names without meaning, these female names,
Abounding in Wantonness are they in themselves.
For since they are the women of all men,
Who amongst them can be modest,
Who amongst them chaste,
Who exercised his wedlock after the fashion of the fowls?

Who (otherwise than the Chaldaeans) introduced the Festival of that frantic God-
I.

dess, at whose Solemnities Women practise harlotry?

³ *Histor.* Bk. I. ch. 199. *Ἐπειὶν δὲ μιχθῆν, ἀποσιώσασθαι τῇ θεῷ, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· καὶ τῷ πὺρ τούτῳ οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι.* (But after she has gone with a man, and so acquitted her obligation to the goddess, she returns to her home; and from that time forth no gift however great will prevail with her.) The same thing is related also by *Baruch* VI. 42, 43. *Comp. Voss on Virgil*, Georgics, II. 523 sqq. To this day we find amongst the bold sons of the Desert, the Arabians, some trace of this devotion of their fathers, Niebuhr writes ("Beschreibung von Arabien"—(Description of the Arabians), Copenhagen 1772. p. 54. note.): "I read that the Europeans have investigated with great erudition and eloquence the question, Num inter naturalis debiti et conjugalis officii egerium liceat psallere, orare, etc.? (Whether in the performance of the debt of nature and the conjugal office it is lawful to sing, to

at Babylon the daughters of the country were compelled *once* in their life-time to give themselves for money to a strange man to win the favour of the goddess, then to return to their dwelling all the more virtuous for the sin, and neither promises nor gifts, however great these might be, availed ever again to draw them into the arms of a stranger. Later indeed it was different even here, perhaps through the influence of the Phoenicians, who had manifold dealings with them. For *Herodotus* himself relates elsewhere (Bk. I. 196), that after the capture of Babylon by the Persians, the poorer classes, dreading the forcible abduction of their daughters, if means of subsistence failed them, made them harbour-wench¹. And accordingly *Q. Curtius*² felt bound to write of Babylon:

pray, and so on?) I do not know what the Mohammedans have written on this matter. I have been assured that it is their custom to begin all their occupations with the words; Bismallâh errachmân errachhîm (in the name of the merciful and gracious God), and that they must say this also "ante conjugalis officii egerium (before the performance of the conjugal office), and that no reputable man omits this." So at the present day in Italy the courtesan bows before the image of her Madonna, before she gives herself, and says to her, "Madonna, mi ajuta!" or "Madonna, mi perdonna!" (Madonna, be my aid!, Madonna, pardon me!) whilst she draws a veil over her picture, and calls this Christianity! For the rest Constantine abolished the custom in question at

Babylon and at Heliopolis, and destroyed the Temples of Venus at those places. *Eusebius*, Life of Constantine, III. p. 58. *Socrates*, Eccles. Hist. I. 18.

¹ *Heeren*, "Ideen über Politik und Handel," (Ideas on Political Science and Trade), Pt. I. 2. p. 257.

² So we think we ought to understand the *καταπορεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα* (prostitute down their female children) in the text, for the expression is evidently formed on the same plan as the *καθίσθαι ἐν οἰκήματι* (to sit down at a house of ill-fame in *Plato*, *Charmides*, 163. c.; because the brothels lay near the harbour, and so in the more low-lying region, away from Athens itself. In the same way the Romans used the verb *descendere* (to go down), e. g. *Horace*, Satires I. 2. 34.,

"Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos coniugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur.... Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant: ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta proiiciunt; nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas."

(Nothing can well be more corrupt than the manners of this City, nothing more artfully adapted to excite the passions and allure to voluptuous excesses. Strangers are permitted by parents and husbands, provided the price of shame is forthcoming, to have lustful intercourse with their children and their wives.... At their first entrance to the banquet-room the women's dress is modest, presently they remove their outer robes one by one, and little by little violate all modesty,.... at the last stripping off the innermost coverings of their persons. And this is no mere abomination of harlots, but the habit of matrons and maids, who consider that in thus making themselves cheap and exposing their bodies they are showing courtesy). This custom we find again carried still further amongst the Armenians, who *Strabo*¹ says consecrate their daughters for some considerable length of time to Anaitis, and only after this suffer

because the public houses of ill-fame at Rome were in the valley, in the Subura.

¹ Hist. of Alexander the Great, Bk. V. ch. 1. Comp. Isaiah, XIV. 11., XLVII. 1. Jeremiah, LI. 39. Daniel, V. 1.

² Bk. XI. p. 532. Ἀλλὰ καὶ θυγατέρας οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τοῦ ἔθνους ἀνιεροῦσι παρθένους, αἷς νόμος ἐστὶ,

καταπορνευθεῖσαις πολλὸν χρόνον παρὰ τῇ θεῷ μετὰ ταῦτα δίδοσθαι πρὸς γάμον.

(Moreover the chief men of the nation consecrate their daughters when still virgins, and it is the custom for these, after acting as prostitutes for a long time in the service of the goddess, then to be given in marriage). Hence the Scholiast

them to marry. *Herodotus* ¹ relates the same custom of the Lydians, degenerated in the same way as had been the case in later times at Babylon, for here too the lower classes used to abandon their daughters to prostitution for a livelihood. Still in its original purity the usage reached the Phoenicians ², but with them also would seem to have early degenerated, although in particular towns of Phoenicia the practice appears to have been followed only under certain circumstances. *Lucian* ³ relates that the women, of Byblus, where was a Temple of Ἀφροδίτη Βυβλίη (Venus of Byblos), if they would not allow their hair to be cut off at the Funeral-feast of

also to *Juvenal*, Satir. I. 104, "Mesopotameni homines effrenatae libidinis sunt in utroque sexu, ut Salustius meminit," (The inhabitants of Mesopotamia are people of unbridled lustfulness in either sex, as Sallust records); and *Cedrenus*, Chaldaeorum et Babyloniorum leges plenae sunt impudicitiae atque turpitudinis, (the laws of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians are full of indecency and foulness).

¹ Bk. I. chs. 93, 94. The ἐνεργάζομεναι παιδίσκαι (maids working at their handicraft) mentioned in this passage are maids who, to use Heine's expression, practice their *horizontal* craft. Herodotus' story is also found mentioned in *Strabo* Bk. XI. p. 533., *Aelian*, Var. Hist., bk. IV. ch. 1., and *Athenaeus*, Deipnos. bk. XII. p. 516.

² Augustine, De Civit. Dei, bk. IV. ch. 10. Cui (Veneri)

etiam Phoenices donum de prostitutione filiarum, ante quam iungerent eas viro, (To whom—Venus,—the Phoenicians also made a gift of the prostitution of their daughters, before they married them to a husband). *Athenagoras*, Adv. Graecos, p. 27. D., Γυναῖκες γούνην ἐν εἰδωλείοις τῆς Φοινίκιας πάλαι προκαθίζοντο ἀπαρχόμεναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑαυτῶν τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν μισθοαρνίαν, νομίζουσαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τὴν θεὸν ἑαυτῶν ἰλάσκεσθαι. (Thus women used of old to sit in the idolatrous temples of the Phoenicians, offering as first-fruits to the gods therein the hire of the prostitution of their own bodies, deeming that by fornication was their goddess propitiated). Comp. *Eusebius*, De Praeparat. Evangel. IV. 8.—*Athanasius*, Orat. contra Gentes.—*Theodoret*, Hist. Eccles. I. 8.

³ De Dea Syra, ch. 6.

Adonis, were bound in honour of Venus for one whole day to abandon their bodies to strangers. Among the Carthaginians ¹ also, as in Cyprus ², maidens had to earn their dowry, and the Tyrant Dionysius introduced the same custom, no doubt with a secondary design of a profit for himself, amongst the people of Locri. ³

¹ *Valerius Maximus*, bk. II. ch. 6. 15., Sicae enim fanum est Veneris, in quod matronae (Poenicarum) conferebant; atque inde prosequentes ad quaestum, dotes corporis iniuria contrahebant, (for at Sica is a shrine of Venus, to which the matrons—amongst the Phoenicians—used to repair; and there sitting for hire, earned their dowers by the prostitution of their persons).

² *Justinus*, *Hist. Philipp.*, bk. XVIII. ch. 5., Mos erat Cypriis, virgines ante nuptias statutis diebus, dotalem pecuniam quaesituras, in quaestum ad litus maris mittere, pro reliqua pudicitia libamenta Veneri soluturas. (It was a custom among the Cyprians to send the virgins before their marriage on fixed days to the sea-shore, there to sit for hire and so earn money for their dowry, to thus render to Venus the first-fruits of their maidenhood). Comp. *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos*. bk. XII, p. 516.

³ *Justinus*, *Hist. Philipp.*, bk. XXI. ch. 3., Cum Rheginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, voverant, si victores forent, ut

die festo Veneris virgines suas prostituerent. Quo voto intermisso cum adversa bella cum Lucanis gererent, in concionem eos Dionysius vocat: hortatur ut uxores filiasque suas in templum Veneris quam possint ornatissimas mittant, ex quibus sorte ductae centum voto publico fungantur, religionisque gratia uno stent in lupanari mense omnibus ante iuratis viris, ne quis ullam ataminct. Quae res ne virginibus voto civitatem solventibus fraudi esset, decretum facerent: ne qua virgo nuberet, priusquam illae maritis traderentur. etc. (The people of Locri, when they were hard pressed in the war with Leophron tyrant of the Rhegians, had made a vow, that should they be victorious, they would abandon their virgins to prostitution on the feast-day of Venus. But this vow was broken, and when they were waging a disastrous war with the Lucanians, Dionysius calls them to an assembly, wherein he urges them to send their wives and daughters to the Temple of Venus in the gayest array they could, and that of these a hundred should be chosen by lot to carry out

§ 4.

As to the *reason* for this custom, one might be found in the opinion that prevailed almost universally in Antiquity amongst the Asiatic peoples, that the first-fruits of everything were consecrate to the Deity, and accordingly the virgin's hymen must be offered up to Venus. But this will not in any way explain why the self-surrender must nearly always take place with a *Stranger* (ἄνδρὶ ξείνῳ) of all people in the world. *Heyne*¹ and *Fr. Jacobs*², who paid special attention to this custom, are it is true agreed in thinking that a religious motive lay at the bottom of it, though they differ in their conception of what it was; but neither of them hit on the right explanation. A careful distinction must be made between the *Ceremony* and the *Act* of the self-surrender. The first was a matter of religion, the second not; for the women were conveyed at Babylon outside the Temple-precincts, in Cyprus to the sea-shore, for the purpose of yielding their bodies to strangers³.

the public vow; that to fulfil the obligation to the goddess they should stand publicly in a brothel one month, all men having previously bound themselves by oath that none should deflower any one of them. Further that this thing should be no detriment to the maidens who so freed the city of its vow, a decree should be passed to the effect that no maiden might marry, until these were given to husbands; etc.). Comp. *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.*, bk. XII. p. 516. *Strabo*, bk. VI. p. 259, says: προεγάμει τὰς νυμφοστοληθείσας, (he used to lie first with maidens

that had been made brides).

¹ "De Babyloniorum instituto, ut mulieres ad Veneris templum prostarent," (On the Babylonian custom of Women prostituting themselves at the Temple of Venus), note on Herodotus, I. p. 199 in Commentat. Soc. Reg. Götting., Vol. XVI. pp. 30—42.

² *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. VI. pp. 23—50, "Ueber eine Stelle bei Herodot.", (On a passage in Herodotus).

³ According to *Tacitus*, *Histor.* II. 2., Under no circumstances must blood flow on the altars of the Paphian goddess.

Had the act been regarded at that period as a religious one, it would of necessity have been practised, as was the case before and again later, in the Temple or at least within its precincts, and of course with fellow-countrymen, strangers not being allowed to take part in any native religious practice.

The discrepancies however soon disappear if it is remembered that in Antiquity, as to this day amongst many savage peoples, not only was the menstrual blood (of which more fully later) held to be impure, but also the blood that flowed, when a virgin was deflowered, from the rupture of the hymen, and consequently the act of defloration as well. The same held good in the case of coition with widows, because it was believed that with them the menstrual blood accumulated in greater quantity, then was discharged on occasion of the first coition, and must necessarily cause injury to the man. This also explains why *Herodotus* (loco citato) says *γυναικες* (women) and not simply *κόραι* or *παρθέναι* (girls, virgins); and removes at once *Heerne's* doubts (p. 32) and the difficulties raised by *Heeren* ¹.

The dwellers on the sea-coast, who enjoyed more active intercourse with the rest of the world, left to strangers the polluting act of defloration, whilst among inland peoples this office was undertaken for those of the higher classes ² by the priests, or else an idol, specially appropriated for the purpose, a Priapus or Lingam (see later) was employed. Subsequently several mistaken reasons may well have been alleged for the custom; the only idea that continued to be

¹ "Ideen über Politik und Handel," (Ideas on Political Science and Trade), I. 2. p. 180. note 2.

² The King of Calicut at the southern extremity of Malabar gives his principal Priest a honorarium of 500 dollars, that he may loose his

wives' virgin-zone for him in the name of the Deity. *Sonnerat*, "Voyage aux Indes orientales" (Travels to the East Indies), Vol. I. p. 69. *Hamilton*, "New Account of the East Indies," Vol. I. p. 308.

consistently held was that defloration was not a proper function of the bridegroom. It was rather made a matter of honour, and accordingly brides offered themselves first to the wedding-guests, as among the Nasomonians in Africa¹ and in the Balearic Islands², where the right of preference went by age.

We must then take into consideration *several* causal factors to help us to an explanation of the custom in question. The original motive may very well have been in every case the consecration of the maiden's virginity to the goddess,³—Hieroduli (Temple hand-maids) in the earlier meaning. Further again the maiden was bound to pay her tribute to the goddess of sexual Pleasure⁴, so as to co-operate with the husband with a view to the procreation of children. Little by little the custom lost its purer character. After a time it ceased to be any longer one of universal obligation, and became binding only for the poorer classes, who found in it an opportunity of earning a dowry⁵ for their daughters. Meantime the rich adopted the habit of presenting female slaves to the temple of the goddess, thereby giving occasion for the establishment of the regular

¹ *Herodotus*, bk. IV. ch. 172.—*Pomponius Mela*, bk. I. ch. 8. § 35.

² *Diodorus Siculus*, bk. V. ch. 18.

³ Menstruation was under the protection of the goddess *Mena* (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, bk. XI. 11. VII. 2.; but *Myllita* was the Moon!

⁴ Therefore in the case of the Lydians the women themselves selected their Strangers. *Strabo*, bk. XI. p. 533., *δέχονται δὲ οὐ τοὺς τυγχόντας τῶν ξένων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπὸ ἴσου ἀξιώματος.*

(but they receive not just the first-comers amongst the strangers, but by preference those of an equal position).

⁵ So even in the Middle Ages, e. g. at Venice, it was quite usual for the daughters to earn their dowry by selling their bodies, and there, as in France, it was the mothers who acted as procuresses to their daughters with this object. *Stephanus*, "Apologie d'Herodote", Vol. I. pp. 46—49. *Fr. Jacobs*, loco citato, p. 40.

Hieroduli,—who subsequently grew into *filles de joie* in the proper sense, and laying the foundation of the brothel system (see later). Out of the idea of consecration was subsequently developed on the one hand that of initiation for the married state,—an idea found again in the “proof-nights” custom of the Middle Ages, and on the other the idea of bondage that grew into the “Jus primæ noctis” (Right of first night).

As second factor then must be reckoned the belief in the harmfulness of the blood resulting from rupture of the hymen at defloration; and connected with this the actual injury that the man’s genital organs are occasionally exposed to in deflowering a maid with narrow vaginal orifice, or at any rate the effort necessarily called for to perforate the hymen, a motive not without actual weight amongst indolent Asiatics ¹. To this day the bridegroom at Goa gives

¹ Memorari quoque solent causae physicae, seu marium seu feminarum corporis infirmitatis, quibus floris virginei decerpendi molestia aggravatur. (Certain physical reasons also are mentioned, connected with bodily defects whether of the man or the woman, which aggravate the difficulty of deflowering a virgin), *Heyne*, loco citato p. 39. When these partly dietetic and prophylactic relations of the practice disappeared from the memory of the people, the *Priapus* kept only its fecundating qualities, and accordingly we read in *Augustine*, *De Civitate Dei*, bk. VI. ch. 9., Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus nimius masculus, super cuius immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta

jubeatur more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum? (But why tell of this, though Priapus is there, with the exaggerated penis of a man, on whose huge and foul organ the newly-wed bride is told to sit, following the custom held highly honourable and religious of matrons?) Comp. *Lactantius*, I. 20.—*Tertullian*, *Adnot.* II. 11. The same is related by *Arnobius*, bk. VI. ch. 7., of the similar god *Mutuus*: Etiamne Mutuus, cuius immanibus pudendis, horrentique fascino, vestras inequitare matronas, et auspicabile ducitis et optatis. (Mutuus too, on whose huge pudenda, and horrid organ you think it auspicious and desirable for your matrons to ride).

thanks to the *Priapus* (Lingam), that has loosed his bride's virgin-zone, with marks of the deepest adoration and gratitude for having performed this honourable service and so relieved him of a heavy task ¹.

For the maid defloration is yet more painful, and as she had to go through it once and once only with a stranger, she might readily get the idea that it was the stranger alone that was to blame; consequently that every surrender to a stranger must involve the same sufferings. This would deter her from a second experience of the kind, and all the more so because the subsequent embraces of the husband stirred in her only pleasurable sensations. So the wife had no inducement to break the marriage vow.

§ 5.

When and under what circumstances the cult of Venus first came into *Greece* can hardly be discovered, though indeed *Pausanias* states in the passage quoted above that it was *Aegeus* (*Erechtheus*) who brought it to Athens. For a long period it played only a subordinate part, being kept under by the primeval god *Eros* (Love) ². No doubt the physical element may have come in early times from abroad ³, but before long the stamp of the spiritual was strongly impressed upon it (the *Graces* were added as hand-maidens to *Aphrodité*!),—so strongly that the idea of the procreating power fell henceforth into the background, to give place to that of Love, an idea that was entirely foreign to Asia. The amalgamation of *Eros* and *Aphrodité*, who was now first hallowed by him, or as the poet puts it, now first brought forward into the assemblage (Order) of the Gods,

¹ *Linschotten*, "Orientalische Schiffahrt," (Oriental Voyage), Pt. I. ch. 33.

² *Orpheus*, *Argonaut.* 422.

—*Lucian*, *De Saltat.* ch. 27., *Dialog. Deorum*, 2.

³ *Strabo*, XI. p. 495.

came about so gradually and imperceptibly that it would hardly be possible to obtain a clear conception of the views of the Greeks on the point. In consequence of the growing intercourse with the peoples of Asia, and particularly the Phoenicians ¹, foreign customs and usages came to be introduced and adopted with ever increasing frequency; and during the flourishing period of Greece we see the Asiatic character of the Venus ritual come into ever greater prominence, and the goddess herself in a sense re-introduced. Especially was this the case in the Islands and the seaport-towns, where as a rule the worship of Aphrodite first arose. Hence she was entitled the goddess "born of the (Sea) Foam", and temples were built to her as "Protectress of Havens." ²

But the Greek genius found this physical Cult too strongly opposed to its own spirit. The Greek could not bring it into unison with his Eros-worship; and accordingly distinguished his goddess, under the name of Aphrodité Urania (Heavenly Aphrodité) ³, from that worshipped by other Peoples as Aphrodité

¹ *Herodotus*, bk. I. ch. 105., καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱδρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοῖνικὲς εἰσιοῖ ἰδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες, (for the Temple in Cyprus was built from it,—i.e. in imitation of the temple of Venus at Ascalon, as the Cyprians themselves admit; and that in Cythera was erected by the Phoenicians, who belong to this part of Syria.). *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Ad Gentes*, p. 10., speaks of Cinyras as having been the man who introduced the temple-service in Cyprus.

Comp. Jul. Firmicus, *De Error. profan. relig.* p. 22. *Arnobius*, *Ad Gentes*, bk. V.

² *Ποντία*, *Λιμενιάς* (of the Sea, of Harbours), at Hermioné, *Pausanias*, *Attica* ch. 34. *Mitscherlich*, on Horace, *Odes* bk. I. 3. 1. Also the epithet *εὐπλοία* (of fair Winds), *Pausanias*, *Attica* I. 3., should be mentioned here. *Musacus*, *Hero and Leander* 245. *Horace*, *Odes* III. 26. 3. "Venus Marina", (Venus of the Sea).

³ *Pausanias*, bk. III. 23., VI. 25., VIII. 32., IX. 16.—*Plato*, *Sympos.*—*Xenophon*, *Sympos.* ch. 8.

Pandemos ¹ (Aphrodite Common to all Men). The latter was relegated to the Islands ², and particularly Cyprus; and never properly speaking became a national Deity.

It is very interesting as a general fact that the Venus Urania always belongs, so it appears, to the inland regions, the Venus Pandemos on the contrary to the sea-ports and islands ³; for it was as a rule from East to West along the coast-lines that the Asiatic form of the Cult spread, a thing that could not have happened except through the instrumentality of a people early practising navigation, such as the Phoenicians.

It cannot fail to have an important bearing on our subject to make a more precise acquaintance with the geographical distribution of the Venus-cult. We propose to give here a brief enumeration of the localities where she had her temples. The passages in evidence for this will be found given with tolerable completeness in *Manso*,—p. 46, also pp. 158 sqq.

In *Cyprus*: at Paphos, whither came yearly a great concourse of people at the festival time ⁴; in *Pamphilia*; in *Asia Minor*; along the *Coast-line of*

¹ *Augustine*, De Civit. Dei, bk. IV. ch. 10. "An Vencres duae sunt, una virgo, una mulier? An potius tres, una virginum, quae etiam Vesta est, alia conjugatarum, alia meretricum? (Are there two Venuses, one a virgin, the second a matron? Or rather are there three, one of virgins, who is also Vesta, another of wives, another of harlots?)

² "Quae Cnidon fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphon," (The goddess who haunts Cnidos and the gleaming Cy-

clades and Paphos), *Horace*, Odes III. 28. 13. ³ *Ἐνοικήτις τῶν νήσων* (Inhabitantess of the isles), *Suidas*.

⁴ Remarkably enough some would derive the name *Bordeaux* (*Bordel*) from the French *bord* and *eau*, because the houses of ill-fame were almost always to be found on the bank of the river or in bagnios! *Parent-Duchâtelet*, "Die Sittenverderbniss in der Stadt Paris," (The Corruption of Morals in the City of Paris), Vol. I. p. 125.

⁵ *Strabo*, XIV. 683.

the Aegean; in Caria (Cnidos); Halicarnassus; Miletus; Ephesus; Sardis; Pergamus; Pyrrha; Abydos (Aphrodité πόρνη—harlot); in *Thessaly*; at Tricca; in *Boeotia*, (Tanagra—on the Sea); in *Attica*, (Athens, Colias, Pera¹, on the Cephissus); in the Islands of the *Aegean Sea*, (Ceos, Cos, Samos, where the temple was built from the earnings of the Hetaerae); in the *Peloponnese*: at Argolis, Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermione, (was visited by maids and widows before their marriage); in *Laconia*, (Amyclae, Cythera); *Arcadia*, (Megalopolis, Tegea, Orcomenus); *Elis*, (Olympia, Elis); *Achaia*, (Patrae, Corinth); on the *Coast of the Corinthian Gulf*. From Greece we come to *Sicily*, where the temple of Venus on Mount *Eryx* was hardly inferior to that of Paphos, also at Syracuse².

Not without importance for our purpose is the statement of *Strabo*³, that in the island of Cos in the temple of Aesculapius was an effigy of Venus Anadyomené (coming from the bath), while according to *Pausanias*⁴ in a wood near the temple of the same god at Epidaurus was built a chapel of Aphrodité, since very possibly this may throw some light on the question of the knowledge of complaints of the genital organs possessed by the physicians of Cos. *Böttiger*⁵ is of opinion that it was from the infirmaries and lazarettos of the Phoenicians that the earliest medical science of the Greeks was introduced—to the island of Cos; to Aegina, on the

¹ *Suidas*, under expression *κῆλον πήραν* (cripple's wallet) quotes that here—at Pera,—was a Fountain which made fruitful and facilitated delivery.

² According to *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosoph.*, XII. p. 647., at the Feast of the Thesmophoria at Syracuse *μύλλοι*, representations of the female genital organs, moulded of sesame

and honey, were carried about. This calls to remembrance the *juni* of the Indians and the Phallus images.

³ Bk. XIV. p. 657.

⁴ Bk. II. ch. 27.

⁵ "Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie," (Ideas towards a Study of the Mythology of Art). Dresden 1826. large 8vo. p. 207.

Peloponnesian coasts, especially at Epidaurus. Probably these establishments were originally under the protection of the national deity, until the latter was superseded by the god Aesculapius.

As regards the cult of Aphrodité itself and the manner in which it was celebrated in Greece, there appears to be a great lack of particulars capable of supplying a general knowledge of the subject, and especially so where the Pandemian Aphrodité is concerned. Accordingly we will limit ourselves here to mentioning the female *Hieroduli*¹ who as bondswomen of Aphrodité dwelt within the precinct of her Temple, and performed the necessary observances in her honour. These were, as already pointed out, of Asiatic origin, and to be found in greater numbers particularly at Ameria² and Comana³ in Pontus, where they united with the temple-service the traffic of their bodies, (τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος—of women who traffic with their body), just as in later times male Hieroduli gave up their persons for Paederastia.

When the cult of Venus came into Greece, the

¹ *Coverl*, "De Sacerdotio Veterum Virginum." (On the office of Priestess as filled by Virgins in Antiquity). Abo 1704. 8vo.—*Hirt, A.* "Die Hierodulen, mit Beilagen von Böckh und Buttmann," (The Hieroduli, with Supplements by Böckh and Buttmann). I Pt. Berlin 1818. large 8vo.—*Kreuser, J.* "Der Hellenen Priesterstaat, mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die Hierodulen," (Priestly Institutions of the Hellenes, with particular reference to the Hieroduli). Mayence 1822. 8vo.—*Adrian*, "Die Priesterinnen der Griechen," (The Priestesses of the

Greeks). Frankfort-on-the-Main 1822. 8vo.—*Schinke*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Allgem. Encyclopaedie*, II. Sect. 8 Pt. p. 50.

² *Strabo*, Bk. XII. p. 557.

³ *Strabo*, Bk. XII. p. 559.—*Heyne, Ch. G.* "Comment. de Sacerdotio Comanensi de Religionum cis et trans Taurum consensione," (Commentaries on the Priesthood of Comana, and generally on the Similarity of Religions on the nearer and farther side of the Taurus range), *Comment. Soc. Reg. Götting.* Vol. XVI. pp. 101—149.

Hieroduli were introduced along with it. But they stripped off in Greece their Asiatic character, which they assumed again only in particular sea-port towns at the period of the decline of the moral greatness of the Nation, in places where the temple of Aphrodité *Πόρνη* (Harlot) was found. Specially was this so at Corinth¹, in which city were more than a thousand female Hieroduli, who were presented as slaves to the Temple. These attracted a great concourse of strangers to the place, and in particular used to prey upon sea-faring visitors. Possibly however in this case as in others a confusion took place between the Hieroduli properly so-called and the Hetaerae (Lady-Companions), who were euphemistically entitled Priestesses, Handmaids of Aphrodité, because they were under the patronage of that goddess, just as in a general way sexual enjoyment was called an offering to Venus.

This would offer the best solution of the question,

¹ *Strabo*, bk. VIII p. 378., Τύ τε τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν οὕτω πλούσιον ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε πλείους ἢ χιλίας ἱερουδύλους ἐκέκτητο ἑταίρας, ἃς ἀντίθεσαν τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες· Καὶ διὰ ταύτας οὖν ἐπολυχλείτο ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐπλουτίζετο. οἱ γὰρ ναύκληροι ῥαδίως ἐξανηλίκοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ παροιμία φησὶν, Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. (And the temple of Aphrodité was so rich that it possessed more than a thousand Hetaerae attached to its service as Hieroduli, whom both men and women dedicated to the goddess. And so for this reason the city was frequented by multitudes and grew wealthy; for shipmasters used readily

to visit the port, and on this account says the proverb: It does not fall to every man to sail to Corinth.) Comp. the Commentators on Horace, Epist. I. 17. 36. *Alexander ab Alexandro*, Genial. dier. lib., VI. ch. 26., Corinthi supra mille prostitutae in templo Veneris assiduae degere et inflammata libidine quaestui meretricio operam dare et velut sacrorum ministrae Deae famulari solebant. (At Corinth more than a thousand prostitutes were wont to live always in the temple of Venus and with lust ever a flame to give their lives to the gains of harlotry and to serve the goddess as handmaidens of her rites).

early debated, of the morality of the Hieroduli. It was quite opposed to Greek feeling to worship Aphrodité after the Asiatic manner in her temples; and so the Greek distinguished his Venus Urania from the Venus Pandemos, and on the same principle separated her temples into two categories, and made the temples of Aphrodité Pandemos, Porné and Praxis (Common to All, Harlot, Sexual Intercourse) into the *οικήματα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης* (houses of Aphrodité) serving as ordinary brothels, the latter being only intended for Foreigners originally.

How and under what form the cult of Venus came into Italy is uncertain, but the legend represents Aeneas as having brought it from Troy to Lavinium and Laurentum ¹, and already in the time of Romulus a Venus Myrtea (Venus of the Myrtle) was venerated at Rome. In addition a Venus Cloacina, Erycina, Victrix, and Verticordia (Venus—the Purifier, of Mount Eryx, of Victory, the Turner of Hearts) are mentioned, as also a Venus *Calva* (bald), whose worship King Ancus is said to have introduced, at a time when the Roman women had lost their hair through a plague and it had grown again by the help of Venus ². Not only are the notices as to Venus worship in Italy very scanty, but everything on the subject points to the fact that what there was of it in later times showed little of the Asiatic

¹ *Solinus*, Polyhist. ch. 2. *Festus*, F., under word Frutinal (an Etruscan name of Venus).—*Micali*, "I'Italia avanti il Dominio dei Romani," (Italy before the Dominion of the Romans). II. p. 47.—*Heyne* on Virgil, Aeneid bk. V. Excursus 2.—*Bamberger*, "Über die Entstehung des Mythos von Aeneas Ankunft zu Latinum," (On the Origin of the Myth of Aeneas' Coming

to Latium), in Welcker and Näke's Rhein. Museum für Phil., VI. 1. 1838. pp. 82—105.

² *Servius*, on Virgil, Aeneid bk. I. 720.—*Julius Capitolinus*, Vita Maximin. ch. 7. Baldness was in Antiquity, and particularly at Rome, as it is still, frequently one of the sequelae of sexual excesses.

impress; and we can conveniently leave the matter where it is. Some questions belonging to the subject will be discussed later under the heading *Brothels*. In Spain too the worship of Venus was so unimportant that there is no need to enter more closely into the point.

The Lingam and Phallic Worship.

§ 6.

Whilst the cult of Venus sprang up in the interior of Asia and was disseminated from thence over other parts of the world, it is in India that the Lingam ritual took its rise, a ritual more closely corresponding with the egotism of man. The idea that was early formed as the result of observation, that the man's genitals were the determining element in the process of generation, was bound to conceive these organs themselves as being, in the prevailing system of Pantheism, under the Government of a Deity, and therefore as specially holy¹. Now how could this Deity be represented to the eyes of men otherwise than by that organ whereby he pre-eminently showed himself efficacious? The later legend it is

¹ *Richard Payne Knight*, An account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus, lately existing at Isernia, in the kingdom of Naples: in two Letters,—one from *Sir William Hamilton* to *Sir Joseph Banks*, and the other from a Person residing at Isernia. To which is added a discourse on the worship of Priapus and its connexion with the mystic Theology of the Ancients. London (published by T. Spilsburg)

1786. pp. 195. 4to., with 18 Copperplates. Comp. with regard to this rare work *C. A. Böttiger* in *Amalthea*, vol. 3. pp. 408—418., and *Choulant* in *Hecker's Annalen*, Vol. XXXIII (1836). pp. 414-418. —*J. A. Dulaure*, "Les Divinités génératrices, ou sur le Culte du Phallus," (Divinities of generation, or on Phallic worship). Paris 1805., a work which to our regret we have been unable to make use of.

true put the matter into another shape ; and we find in *Sonnerat* ¹ the myth of the Lingam-ritual amongst the worshippers of Vishnu related in the following form :

"The Penitents had by means of their sacrifices and prayers attained great power ; but their hearts and their wives' hearts must ever remain pure, if they would continue in possession of it. Now Siva had heard the beauty of these latter highly extolled, and formed the determination of seducing them. With this aim in view he took on him the form of a young mendicant ² of perfect beauty, bade Vishnu transform himself into a fair maiden and resort to the spot where the Penitents dwelt, in order to make them fall in love with him. Vishnu betook himself thither, and as he passed through their midst threw them such tender glances that they were all enamoured. They left all their sacrifices to follow after the youthful fair one.

¹ Hence in *Orpheus*, Hym. V. 9., the Protogonos (First-born) i. e. Eros, is called *Πρίηπος ἄναξ* (King Priapus).

² "Voyage aux Indes et à la Chine," (Journey to the Indies and China), Vol. I.—*Schaufus*, "Neueste Entdeckungen über das Vaterland und die Verbreitung der Pocken und der Lustseuche," (Latest Discoveries as to the Original Home and Dissemination of the Pox and Venereal Disease). Leipzig 1805., pp. 31 sqq., from which we give the quotation that follows in the text.

³ The beggars or Fakirs in India wander about the country in thousands, almost uncovered, (*Augustine*, *De Civit. Dei*, chs. 14, 17.) and excessively dirty (*Havus*, "Historicæ Relatio

de Regno et Statu magni Regis Magor," (Historical Account of the Reign and State of the great King Magor). Antwerp 1605. p. 1695); after their visits unfruitful wives especially become fruitful (*δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυγόνους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀρρενογόνους διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς*),—and they can make even the barren have many children by means of their drugs,—*Strabo* says, Bk. II.). The people bestir themselves to do them every honour and the men quit their villages, so as to leave the monks a free hand. *Papi*, "Briefe über Indien," (Letters on India), p. 217.—*P. von Bohlen*, "Das alte Indien," (Ancient India), Königsberg 1830. Vol. I. p. 282.

Their passions grew all the fiercer, till at last they seemed all lifeless and their languishing bodies resembled wax that melts near the fire.

Siva himself hied to the dwelling-place of the women. In mendicant guise he carried in one hand a water-bottle, and sang as he went, as beggars do. Now his song was so entrancing, that all women gathered round him, and thereupon under the gaze of the fair singer fell into complete distraction. This was so great with some that they lost their ornaments and clothing, and followed him in the garb of nature without noticing the fact.

When he had marched through the village, he left it, but not unaccompanied, for all followed him into a neighbouring thicket, where he had his will of them. Soon afterwards the Penitents became aware that their sacrifices no longer possessed their former efficacy, and *that their power was no more the same as before*. After a period of pious contemplation they now learned that it had been Siva who in the form of a Youth had seduced their wives into profligacy, and that they themselves had been *led astray* by Vishnu in the likeness of a Maid.

Accordingly they determined to slay Siva by means of a sacrifice.

(After many vain attempts), ashamed to have lost their honour without being able to avenge themselves, they made a last desperate effort; they united into one all their prayers and expiations, and directed them against Siva. It was the most terrible of their sacrifices, and God himself could not withstand the effects of its operation. They went forth like a flame of fire and fastened on Siva's organs of generation and covered them from his body. Enraged with the Penitents, Siva now resolved to set the whole world in conflagration to punish them. The fire was already beginning to seize all around, when Vishnu and Brahma, on whom it was incumbent to save the living creatures in the world, thought of means to put a stop to it. Brahma took the form of a pedestal(?)

and Vishnu that of the female organs of generation, and in this way copied Siva's organs of generation, and thereby the universal conflagration was stayed. Siva suffered himself to be appeased by their prayers, and promised not to burn up the world, if men would pay divine honours to the dissevered organs."

Now if we consider this myth, as related here, more closely, we can scarcely avoid the suspicion that it is one of those that in later times were fabricated in many forms and foisted in as genuine. For it is entirely adapted to explain the origin of the Venereal disease in a way that leaves little to be desired; for which reason it was used by *Schaufus* as the basis of his argument that the Venereal disease was introduced into Europe from India. But on the other hand this particular story is so accordant with the ancient creed of the Hindoos in general that, if it is of later origin, it must have been put together with the assistance of older legends. The continued union with the god, the power which the Penitents owed to him, was connected with purity of heart, with avoidance of sensuality¹;

¹ *Strabo* and *Arrian*, Indic. 17., already in their time state, at any rate of the nobler Indian women, that they could have been allured to profligacy at no price, except at that of an elephant. According to *von Bohlen* ("Das alte Indien,"—Ancient India, Vol. II. p. 17, Vol. I. p. 275.) it would seem that not the slightest trace (?) can be found of the immoral life of the Indian priests in Antiquity, on the contrary that chastity was the first thing needful to gain them respect and honour, and their whole literature is never ready to extol a priest or hero more

highly than when he has withstood the enticements to unchastity. Hence what is asserted of the Devâdasis or Priestesses of the gods as being courtesans for the Priests is also in the main untrue, since it rests, as in the case of the Hieroduli, chiefly on a confusion with the Bhayatri (Bayaderes, the Hetærae of the Greeks), or holds good only for particular places (*Häfner*, "Landreise längs der Küste Orixä und Koromandel,"—(Journey along the Orissa and Coromandel Coast). Weimar 1809. Vol. I. pp. 80 sqq.—*Papi*, "Briefe über Indien,"

directly they indulged in the latter, they were deprived of the divine influence, just as in the Mosaic legend resulted from the Fall of Man. This is one part of the legend,—manifestly a double one, while the other includes the punishment of the being who wrought this profanation. His genitals were destroyed by burning, which was attacking the World (i.e. men through the women seduced by Siva?), and ceased only through the prayers of the Penitents, which again became efficacious; thereupon the organs thus happily made sound again were suspended as thank-offerings in the temple of the god.

It would seem then that it was the sickness of the male genitals which gave occasion for their consecration and worship; and this is so far not inconsistent with reason, as the external position of the sexual parts in the male make every affection and injury perceptible at once with but little trouble, while the female organs lie in a more concealed situation. So that to the present day diseases of the male genitals are far more precisely known and appreciated than those of the female.

Should the enquirer push his search for an explanation further still, he might, arguing from what is said as to Vishnu's having copied Siva's sexual

(Letters about India), p. 356.—Wallace, "Denkwürdigkeiten," (Memorabilities), p. 301.—In this connection should be mentioned also the narrative of the Jesuit—in other respects suspicious—in the edifying letters addressed to *Schaufus*, ch. I. p. 40, that during his residence in a Hindoo town he had been informed, that it would be unsafe at the present moment to allow foreigners to visit the Devadâsis, on the contrary that there was nothing to fear from those

attached to the Pagoda of the place. Even if we admit the truth of this narrative for more modern times too, still the conclusion that *Schaufus* draws from it, that in Hindostan every Pagoda is a brothel, is surely somewhat hasty.—Some other legends of the origin of the Lingam ritual in India are given in *Meiner's* "Allgem. kritische Geschichte der Religionen," (Universal Critical History of Religions), Vol. I. p. 254.

organs that had been blighted by the fire under the form of female genitals, allege a sort of natural cause for the conflagration, to wit the suggestion of a mode of cure which was frequently recommended and practised in the Middle Ages, when persons thought to drive away the clap by coition with virgins. But this is surely nothing else than an explanation of the Lingam¹ superimposed on the symbol of the *Juni*, the feminine principle, in the form of the triangle, which Böttiger holds to be identical with the navel-stone of the Paphian goddess.

*F. G. Klein*² professes to have proved from annals of Malabar that long before the discovery of the West Indies Venereal disease was known in the East Indies, for the Malabar physicians *Sangarasiar* and *Alessianambi*, who lived more than nine hundred years ago, and other physicians even before them, make mention he says of the Disease and its cure by means of Mercury. But in Antiquity affections of the genitals must have certainly been rarities amongst the inhabitants of India, for the Greeks³ count them amongst the longlived peoples, as owing to their moderation they were subject to few diseases. Again the climate of India is by no means to be

¹ *Anquetil*, Voyage, p. 139., "Le Lingam, c'est à-dire, les parties naturelles de l'homme réunies à celles de la femme," (The Lingam, that is to say, the natural parts of the man joined to those of the woman). Comp. *Roger*, "Neu eröfnetes Indisches Heidenthum," (Paganism of India newly Revealed). Nürnberg 1863. 8vo., II. 2.

² "De Morbi Venerei Curatione in India usitata," (On the Mode of Curing the Venereal Disease practised in the East Indies). Copenhagen

1795. Comp. *Tode*, Med. Journal Vol. II. Pt. 2. Unfortunately we have been able to obtain a sight neither of *Klein's* Treatise nor of *Tode*.

³ *Strabo*, Geogr. pp. 1027, 1037. μηδὲ γὰρ τόσους εἶναι πολλὰς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὴν αἰνίαν. (nor yet are their diseases many, owing to their plainness of living and abstinence from wine). Comp. *Ctesias*, Indic. 15. *Lucian*, Macrob. ch. 4. *Diodorus Siculus*, Bk. II. ch. 40. *Pliny*, Histor. Nat. Bk. XVII. ch. 2.

considered as a factor favourable to the disease, *Munro*¹ assuring us that simple herbs and moderate mode of life make the Hindoo recover, when no European could fail to succumb.

§ 7.

Whether the Phallus ritual in Egypt, where it is supposed to have arisen from the generative organs of Osiris cut off by Typho, have an Indian origin or no, it is impossible to decide². But that it existed is certain, for not only are miniature Phalli often found with Mummies, but it was also portrayed in the Temple of Karnak³; and Herodotus⁴ mentions it, and adds at the same time that in the statutes the Phalli were *movable*. Perhaps from it was developed in part the cult of *Mendes*, of which

¹ *Sprengel's* "Neue Beiträge zur Völkerkunde," (New Contributions to Ethnology), Bk. VII, p. 76.

² In this connection may be cited the view which *Clement of Alexandria*, *Ad Gentes* p. 10., expresses as to the origin of Aphrodité: *Ἡ μὲν ἀφρογενὴς τε καὶ κυπρογενὴς, ἡ Κυνύρα φίλη, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν φιλομηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξ ἐφαάνθη, μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ, τῶν λάρνων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κύμα βεβιασμένων ὥς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μορίων ἄξιος Ἀφροδίτη γίνεται καρπὸς ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς.* (Now the foam-sprung, Cyprus-born goddess,

the patroness of Cinyras, Aphrodité I mean, *she that loves the parts of a man, because from them she sprung*, to wit those parts that were lopped off from Uranus, those lewd parts which after their severance violated the sea-wave. Of such foul components is Aphrodité the worthy child in the mysteries).

³ *Minutoli*, "Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon," (Journey to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon), p. 121.—*Münter*, "Religion der Babylonier," (Religion of the Babylonians), p. 130.

⁴ Bk. II. ch. 48. "Description de l'Egypte" II. p. 411.—*Wytttenbach*, on Plutarch, *Isid.* p. 186.

we shall speak later. Although *Herodotus* ¹ declares that the Egyptians were the first people who had forbidden the accomplishment of coition in the temples, yet *Strabo* ² writes that they dedicated to Zeus the fairest and best-born maidens, whom the Greeks called Pallades, and compelled them to give themselves to men until their menstruation began for the first time, whereupon they were married.

As regards Greece on the contrary there is scarcely a doubt that the worship of Bacchus, and with it the Phallic ritual ³, was transplanted to that

¹ Histories bk. II. ch. 64. *Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱεροῖσι, μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱερὰ ἐσιέναι, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκουσάντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σκεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσχονται ἐν ἱεροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι, ἄλουτοι ἐξέρχονται ἐς ἱερὸν. (And the practice of not having intercourse with women in temples, and not going into temples unwashed after such intercourse, these practices they were the first to observe as a matter of religion; for almost all the rest of mankind, except Egyptians and Greeks, have sexual intercourse in temples). Comp. also *Clement of Alexandria*, *Stromat.* Bk. I. p. 361.*

² Geogr. Bk. XVII, ch. 46. *Τῷ δὲ Διὶ, ὃν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδεστάτῃ καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱερᾷται, ἧς καλοῦσι οἱ Ἕλληες Παλλάδας· αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει, καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις*

ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γέσῃται τοῦ σώματος κάθαρσις· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδεται πρὸς ἄνδρας. (And to Zeus, whom they reverence most, a maiden, most beautiful and of highest lineage, is consecrated, and these priestesses the Greeks call Pallades. And she acts as a courtesan, and lies with whom she pleases, until the natural purging (menstruation) of the body begins. And after this she is given in marriage). So here we find brought into connection with the Zeus of the Egyptians the same practice we observed amongst Asiatics in the Venus cult.

³ According to *Herodotus*, bk. II. 51., the Greeks borrowed the Phallic ritual under the form of the *Hermæ* (pillars of *Hermes*) from the *Pelasgians*, by which name according to *Böttiger*, "*Kunst-mythologie*," (*Mythology of Art*), p. 213, *Phoenicians* should be understood. Comp. *Cicero*, *De Nat. Deorum* bk. III. ch. 22., and *Creuzer's* note on the passage.

country from India. To explain the occasion of this introduction there is a legend related in the highest degree worthy of attention in connection with the history of affections of the genitals. It is told by *Natalis Comes*¹ in the following terms:

¹ "Mythologiae, sive Explicationis Fabularum Libri X," (Mythology, or the Explanation of Legendary Tales, in X Books). Frankfort 1588. 8vo. pp. 498. The Author borrowed this legend according to p. 487 from *Perimander*, "De Sacrificiorum Ritibus apud Varias Gentes," (On the Rites of Sacrifice amongst Various Nations), bk. II. But it is also found in the *Scholiast* to *Aristophanes*, *Acharn.* 1. 242: ὁ Ξανθίας τὸν φαλλὸν. — περὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φαλλοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγεται. Πήγασος ἐκ τῶν Ἑλευθέρων λαβὼν τοῦ Διονύσου τὰ ἀγάλματα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο μετὰ τιμῆς τὸν θεόν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄμισθί γε αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλευσάμενοις ἀπέβη. μηνισαντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ, νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀνῆκεστον ἦν, ὥς δὲ ἀπέιπον πρὸς τὴν νόσον κρείττω γενομένην πάσης μαγανείας καὶ τέχνης, ἀπεστάλησαν θεωροὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐπανελθόντες ἔφασαν ἰασὶν εἶναι μόνην ταύτην, εἰ διὰ πάσης τιμῆς ἄγοιεν τὸν θεόν· πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελέμοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, φαλλοὺς ἰδίᾳ τε

καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐγέραινον τὸν θεόν, ὑπόμνημα ποιούμενοι πάθους. (Xanthias mentions the *Phallus*.—Now about the *Phallus* itself the following story is told. Pegasus removed the statues of Dionysus at Eleutherae from there, and came to Athens with them. However the Athenians did not receive the god with due honour. But for this ill counsel they by no means got off scot-free; for the god was wroth, and a disease fell upon the private parts of the men. The plague was incurable; and after they had tried in vain every device of magic art and physician's skill against the disease that only grown the more, envoys were despatched with all speed to the oracle. So these went up, and brought back the reply that the only remedy was this, that they should bring in the god in procession with all possible honour. Therefore the Athenians, submitting themselves to what was reported as the will of heaven, made phalli—private and public, and presented them to the god as a complimentary gift, thus commemorating the affliction). A different explanation from

"Fuerunt et Phallica in Dionysi honorum instituta, quae apud Athenienses agebantur, apud quos primus Pegasus ille Eleutheriensis Bacchi cultum instituit, in quibus cantabant quem ad modum Deus hic morbo Athenienses liberavit et quem ad modum multorum bonorum auctor mortalibus extitit. Fama est enim quod Pegaso imagines Dionysi ex Eleutheris civitate Boeotiae in Atticam regionem portante Athenienses Deum neglexerunt neque, ut mos erat, cum pompa acceperunt: quare Deus indignatus pudenda hominum morbo infestavit, qui erat illis gravissimus: tunc eis ab oraculo, quo pacto liberari possent petentibus, responsum datum est: solum esse remedium malorum omnium, si cum honore et pompa Deum recepissent; quod factum fuit. Ex ea re tum privatim tum publice lignea virilia thyrsis alligantes per eam solennitatem gestabant. Fuit enim Phallus vocatum membrum virile. Alii Phallum ideo consecratum Dionysio putarunt, quia sit autor creditus generationis."

(There were Phallic rites too established in honour of Dionysus, (these were observed among the Athenians; for it was at Athens that the far-famed Pegasus first established the worship of Eleutherian Bacchus) ¹, at which men chanted hymns telling how the god freed the Athenians from a plague, and how he was the giver of many good gifts to mortals. For the story relates that Pegasus brought the images of Dionysus from Eleutherae, a city of Boeotia, to the land of Attica; but the Athenians slighted the god, and did not, as was the wont, receive him with a procession. *Wherefore the god was wroth, and afflicted the men's private parts with a disease that was most grievous to them.* So they consulted the oracle, asking in what way they might be freed from the plague, and received the answer: there was one

this is given by the *Scholiast* to *Lucian*, "De Syra dea," (Of the Syrian goddess), ch. 16., where the Phallus service

is brought in a measure into connection with Paederastia.

¹ Comp. *Pausanias*, *Descriptio Graeciae* bk. I. ch. 2.

only remedy for all their ills, viz. that they should welcome the god with due honour and fitting procession. And this they did accordingly. And in commemoration thereof they used to bind *virilia* (male generative organs) of wood to the thyrsi (Bacchic staves), and carry them thus at the solemnity in question; and this was done both privately and publicly. For *Phallus* is the name given to a man's privy member. Others again considered that it was consecrate to Dionysus for this reason, because he was deemed the author of procreation).

Still more striking is the legend which the same author, *Natalis Comes*¹, gives of the introduction of Priapus worship into Lampsacus, though it bears so great a resemblance to the preceding that the one might almost be thought to have been taken from the other. Aphrodité, he says, on the occasion of Bacchus' progress to

¹ I. ch. p. 528.; perhaps following *Posidonius*, "De heroibus et daemonibus," (Of heroes and demigods)? comp. p. 391. But *Servius* on Virgil, *Georgics* IV. 111., also has this legend. *Suidas*, under the word *πρίανος*. *Sciooppius*, who likewise relates it in his edition of the *Priapeia*, adds: fuit autem morbus ille quem hodie *Gallicum vocamus*, (but it was the disease which we nowadays call the French disease--Siphylis).

² *Diodorus Siculus*, Bk. IV. ch. 4., says of Bacchus: He had a tender body and was extremely effeminate; his beauty distinguished him above all others, and his temper was strongly inclined to voluptuousness. On his progresses he used to take with him a crowd of women, etc. *Clement of*

Alexandria, *Paedag.* Bk. II. ch. 2., Ὀργῶσι γοῦν ἀναιδέστερον ἀναξέοντες οἶνον, καὶ οἰδοῦσι μαστοὶ τε καὶ μόρια, προκηρύσσοντες ἤδη πορνείας εἰκόνα. (So they revel shamelessly being full of wine, and breasts and members swell, showing forth already an image of harlotry). Sufficiently noteworthy is the following passage from *Augustine*, *De Civit. Dei* bk. VI. ch. 4., *Liberum a liberamento appellatum volunt, quod mares a coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; hoc idem in feminis agere Liberam quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et ipsas perhibeant semina emittere et ob hoc Libero eandem virilis corporis partem in templo poni, femineam Liberæ.* (The name of Liber (Bacchus) they

"gravissimus pudendorum membrorum
 "morbus invasisset, Dodonacum oraculum adeuntes
 "percunctati sunt an ullum esset eius morbi reme-
 "dium. His responsum est: morbum non prius
 "cessaturum, quam Priapum in patriam revocassent.
 "Quod cum fecissent, templa et sacrificia illi statuerunt,
 "Priapumque hortorum Deum esse decreverunt."

(Subsequently when he—Priapus—had come to man's estate, and was now exceedingly pleasing to the women of Lampsacus, by a decree of the Lampsacenes he was exiled from the territory of Lampsacus.—Some there are to tell the tradition that Priapus was a man of Lampsacus who had a huge "instrument" ready and willing for the making of new citizens, and who on that account was most pleasing to the Lampsacene women. Wherefore it is said afterwards to have come about that he incurred the envy and hatred of all the rest of the men of Lampsacus, and eventually was expelled from the island altogether. But this was a disaster that the women most bitterly regretted; so they prayed to the gods to help them, and after some interval of time had elapsed *a most grievous disease of the private parts attacked the men of Lampsacus*. Then they resorted to the oracle of Dodona, and enquired of the god if there were any remedy for this plague. The reply was to the effect that the disease would not cease till they had recalled Priapus to his native land. This they did; and furthermore built temples and established sacrifices in his honour, and decreed that Priapus should be the god of gardens).¹

¹ The Greeks used to make little figures of men with big genitals of wood, which they called *Νευρόσπαστα* (figures moved by strings, puppets). *Lucian*, De Syra Dea ch. 16. *Herodotus*, II. 48. *Diodorus*, I. 88.—*Hesychius*

says: *νάνος· ἐπὶ τῶν μικρῶν ὡς νάνον καὶ αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα μέγα· οἱ γοῦν νάνοι μεγάλα ἔχουσιν αἰδοῖα*, (*dwarf*: applied to the undersized; dwarf, but having large private parts. Dwarfs *do* have large private parts). Which reminds us of

Whatever interpretation we may give to these legends of Bacchus and Priapus, this much at any rate may be gathered from them without fear of contradiction, that affections of the male genitals at the time when they first became prevalent were taken to be the original cause of the introduction of Phallic worship,—in connection with the defloration of virgins mentioned in § 4. This is not without importance as bearing on the antiquity of the well-known Indian legend of the Lingam-ritual; and at the same time shows clearly that those affections of the genital organs must have borne a malignant character that men could not explain to themselves otherwise than as proceeding from the wrath of a Deity, a deity who on the other hand alone possessed the power to remove these ills. Another factor of great importance in connection with affections of the genitals in Antiquity, and of all the greater importance in as much as it leads us to the conclusion that resort was had for their cure not to human but to divine assistance, partly indeed depends on reasons which we shall discuss more exactly later on. However these reasons may in part be gathered at once from the following *supremely important* poem in the Priapeia¹, to which *de Jurgew* first called attention

the unhappy "cretins" with monstrous generative organs, who are notoriously passionate Onanists (Masturbators) also.

¹ "*Priapeia*, sive diversorum poetarum in Priapum lusus, illustrati commentariis Casp. Scioppii, Franci; L. Apuleji Madaurensis *Ἀνεχόμενος* ab eodem illustratus. Heraclii imperatoris, Sophoclis Sorphistae, C. Antonii, Q. Sorani et Cleopatrae reginae epistolae de prodigiosa Cleopatrae reginae libidine. Huic editioni accedunt Jos. Scaligeri

in *Priapeia Commentarii ac Friderici Linden-Bruch. Patavii 1664. 8. pag. 45. carmen XXXVII,*" (*Priapeia*, or Verses of Various Poets to Priapus, illustrated by commentaries of Caspar Scioppius, a Frenchman; also Lucius Apuleius, of Madaura, his *Ἀνεχόμενος*, illustrated by the same Scholar. Letters of the Emperor Heraclius, Sophocles the Sophist, Caius Ausonius, Quintus Soranus and Queen Cleopatra, concerning the extravagant and wanton volup-

in his Dissertation, p. 11, but without communicating it in its entirety :

VOTI SOLUTIO.

Cur pictum memori sit in tabella
 Membrum quaeritis unde procreamur?
 Cum penis mihi forte laesus esset,
 Chirurgique manum miser timerem,
 Diis me legitimis, nimisque magnis
 Ut Phoebo puta, filioque Phoebi
 Curatum dare mentulam verebar.
 Huic dixi, fer opem, Priape, parti,
 Cuius tu, pater, ipse par videris : ¹)
 Qua salva sine sectione facta,
 Ponetur tibi picta, quam levaris,
 Parque consimilisque concolorque.
 Promisit fore : mentulam movit
 Pro nutu deus et rogata fecit.

PAYING A VOW.

Why, you ask, is portrayed on the tablet the member whereby we are begotten? *When, as it bejell, my penis was damaged, and like a wretched coward I dreaded the Surgeon's hand, I was afraid to entrust myself and the cure of my organ to the great official gods, that were too high for me,* such I mean as Phoebus and Phoebus' son. "To the member, I said, do thou, Priapus, give aid,—the member that thou art fashioned in the likeness of ¹. Then when

tuousness of the said Queen. To this edition are appended the Commentaries of Joseph Scaliger and of Fridericus Linden-Bruch to the Priapeia. Padua 1664. 8vo., p. 45. Ode XXXVII).

¹ Similarly we read in the distich of *Antipater*, Antholog. Graec. bk. II. Tit. 5. No. 3.:

Ἔστηκε δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἰδὼν
 πέος, εἰφ' ὃ Πρίηπος,
 Οἶμοι, ὑπὸ θνητοῦ λείπομαι
 ἀθάνατος.

(When Priapus saw Cimon's penis standing stiff, he said, "Woe's me!" I am thrown in the shade by a mortal, immortal though I be).

it has been healed *without the knife*, a painted image of the part thou has relieved shall be dedicated to thee,—a match, a perfect match in form and in hue." Thus he made his vow; the god nodded his penis in token of assent, and answered his prayers).

This poem, whoever its author may have been ¹, testifies most explicitly that the Poet's genital organs were seriously affected (by Phimosi and Ulcers?), that he from fear (*timere*) of the Surgeon's knife,

¹ In the Codex Coburgensis the Priapeia begin with the following words: P. Virgilii Maronis Mantuani poetae clarissimi Priapi carmen incipit feliciter, (the Song of Priapus by Publius Virgilius Maro, of Mantua, the renowned poet, begins happily). Comp. *Bruckhousius* Notes to Tibullus bk. IV. Eleg. 14. At any rate the majority of the poems belong to the golden age of Roman literature. For readers of the old poets it may perhaps not be out of place here to remark that *Priapus* as *Cultor Hortorum* (Patron of Gardens) is not unfrequently mentioned with an equivocal meaning, if indeed he has not come into the garden entirely through misunderstanding. So we read in Priapeia, Ode 4.,

Quod meus hortus habet, sumas
impune licebit;
Si dederis nobis, quod tuus hortus
habet,

(What my garden has thou mayest take at will, if only thou give to us what thine

possesses) and in the "Anthemionos" of *Apuleius*.

Thyrsumque pangent hortulo 'in
Cupidinis,

(Let them plant the thyrsus (Bacchic staff) in the garden-plot of Cupid). Similarly *Lucretius*, Bk. IV. 1100., says, ut muliebria conserat arva, (to sow the woman's seed-fields), and *Virgil*, *Georgics* III. 136., speaks of, genitali arvo, (the seed-field of generation). Possibly in this direction may be found a better interpretation of the, irriguo nihil est elutius horto, (There is nought more insipid than a new-watered garden), of *Horace*, *Satires* Bk. II. 4. 16. The Greeks used in the same way their word κήπος (garden), e. g. *Diogenes Laertius*, II. 12, and *Hesychius* explains it by τὸ ἐφήβιον γυναικεῖον (the female organ of puberty). Similarly in *Aristophanes* καλὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πεδίον, (having the plain beautiful). The Koran also says, Thy Wife is thy field!

from shame (*verebat*) before the regular physician in view of the part affected and of the way in which he had got the disease, had recourse to prayer and vow before the image of Priapus, and thereupon happily recovered without medical assistance!

The veneration of Priapus was pretty well universal in Italy, as the Roman poets teach us, and equally so the Phallic worship, of which the frequent representations of the Phallus that we find at Pompeii bear witness; in fact the latter, as *Knight* shows, maintained itself in connection with the veneration of Saints *Cosmus* and *Damian* down to the last Century at Isernia. The just quoted Poem from the Priapeia might perhaps serve to afford us an indication as to how the Phallus ritual has come to be connected with these Christian Saints; for probably patients attacked by the Venereal disease prayed to them, just as the Romans did to Priapus. Possibly examples of such cures by the saints in question are found in the "Acta Sanctorum Bollandi". (Bollandist Lives of the Saints),—under Sept. 27.; but we are not able to consult the book. These Saints however were not the only ones that were venerated in the Middle Ages in the same way as the Priapus of the Ancients. In France unfruitful wives used to pray to St. Guerlichon, in Normandy to St. Giles, in Anjou to St. René, in connection with whom they practised rites which *Stephanus* declares himself ashamed to specify ¹.

Plague of Baal-Peor.

§ 8.

Although the period at which the worship of Priapus was introduced among the different Peoples cannot be always definitely fixed, and although

¹ "Apologie pour Herodote," (Defence of Herodotus), II., 253.
I.

Classical Mythology invariably counts him as belonging to the newer ¹ gods. yet he appears in quite early times to have played a not unimportant part in Syria ²,—if that is to say the conclusion ³, pretty generally believed on other grounds, is well founded, that the god *Baal Peor* was a sort of Priapus, in whose temple, situated on Mount *Peor* ⁴, young Maidens were offered up. The Rabbis ⁵ derive the name from פתח *aperire* sc. *hymenem virgineum*, (to open sc. the hymen of a virgin), as if it had sprung from the Phallus ritual, as still found in Italy. At Goa indeed a man's member made of iron or ivory is fastened in the Pagoda, which in the case of every bride is pushed by the parents and relations into her vagina, until it brings away with it visibly the

¹ *Strabo*, bk. XIII. 588.

² *Lucian*, *De Dea Syra*, § 28., relates that at Hieropolis there was a Phallus 180 or 1800 feet in size.

³ *Creuzer*, *Symbolik*, Bk. II. p. 85.—*de Wette*, *Archäologie*, § 233 k. — *Wiener*, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*. 2nd. ed. Leipzig 1833., Vol. I. p. 139. Article, *Baal*; and p. 260. Article, *Chamos*.

⁴ Numbers, Ch. 23. v. 28. Deuteronomy, Ch. 4, v. 46.

⁵ *Jonathan*, on Numbers Ch. 25. v. I. Might one draw attention to the old Greek πέος (the penis), which is found in *Aristophanes* and *Antipater*, — p. 72. Note 2. loco citato? The adjective πεσίδης (πεώδης) is given in *Eustathius* according to *Schneider*, in the sense: with thick, swollen member; and *Rodigin*, *Lect. Antiq.* Bk.

VIII. ch. 6. p. 377, says: Postremo qui ex intemperanti Veneris usu pereunt, dicuntur *Peolae*, media producta, quia Peos signet pudendum, sive veretrum, (Lastly those who are undone by excessive indulgence in Love are called *Peolae*, with the middle vowel long, because *Peos* means the private, or privy, member. Possibly the old form was πέος, just as sometimes πόις stands for πῆις in the Laconian dialect. Moreover *Penis* might surely more readily be derived from πέος than from what is commonly given as its derivation, *pendendo* (because it hangs), in as much as the parts of the body are named from the condition of their activity, not of their rest. Thus *Baal-Peor* would be "Lord of the Penis"! ἄναξ Πρίηπος (King Priapus).

bloody traces of the rupture of the hymen¹; a proceeding that is connected, as shown in § 4., with the belief in the malignity of the menstrual blood, and in that of blood coming from the ruptured hymen. On the Coromandel Coast likewise a wooden Priapus is to the present day most ardently venerated by the inhabitants².

Here again we encounter a legend, which is not without importance for the history of the affections consequent upon the misuse of the genital organs, to wit the story of the *Plague* that broke out amongst the Jews at Slittim in consequence of their having taken part in the worship of Baal-Peor. *Sickler*³ was the first who, as a champion of the antiquity of the Venereal disease, made this the subject of a more precise examination. However, in order to obtain as clear an insight into the matter as possible, it will be needful to quote at length the

¹ *Lintschotten*, "Orientalische Reisen," (Eastern Travels), Pt. I. ch. 33.—*Beyer* on *Seldens*, Syntagm. de Diis Syris, p. 235. perhaps the Greeks called the penis also *πτεῖς* on this account,—*πτεῖς* from *πτεῖω*, I cleave!

² *Gynacologie*, Vol. II. p. 337. The worship of the Lingam is reported among the Druses by *Buckingham*, "Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the Countries east of Syria and Palestine, etc." London 1825. p. 394. On the worship of *Gopalsami*, a god of a similar character to Priapus worshipped in the neighbourhood of Jagrenat, and the licentious representations customary at his festival, even including representations of unnatural lusts, compare

Hamilton, "A New Account of the East Indies." Edinburgh 1727. 8vo. pp. 378 sqq.—*Moore*, C., "Narrative of the Operations of Capt. Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army." London 1794. 4to., p. 45. — There were similar representations in several temples of Mexico. *Kircher*, *Oedipus Aegypt.*, I. sect. 5. p. 422.—*J. de Laet*, "Beschryvinge van West-Indien," (Descriptions of the West Indies). Leyden 1630. fol., Bk. VI. ch. 5. p. 284.

³ "Diss. exhibens novum ad historiam luis venerae additamentum," (Dissertation containing New Material towards a History of the Venereal Disease). Jena 1797. 32mo., p. 8.

passages of the Old Testament connected with the subject, according to the English Revised Version ¹:

- Numbers, Ch. 25. verses 1—18: "And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab:
- 2) "for they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, and
 - 3) "bowed down to their gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-Peor: and the anger of the
 - 4) "Lord was kindled against Israel. And the Lord said unto Moses, Take all the chiefs of the people, and hang them up unto the Lord before the sun, that the fierce anger of the
 - 5) "Lord may turn away from Israel. And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that have jointed themselves unto
 - 6) "Baal-Peor. And, behold one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. And
 - 7) "when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation, and took a
 - 8) "spear in his hand; and he went after the man of Israel into the pavilion, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was
 - 9) "stayed from the children of Israel. And those that died by the plague were twenty and four thousand ². Now the name of the

¹ The quotations from the Bible are given by Dr. Rosenbaum according to the German translation of *de Wette*, "Die Heilige Schrift, übersetzt von Dr. de Wette," (The Holy Scriptures, translated by Dr. de Wett, 2nd.

edition. Heidelberg 1835. large 8vo.

² "Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand." *St. Paul*, 1st. Epistle to Corinthians, Ch. 10. v. 8.

- 14) "man of Israel that was slain, who was slain
 "with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the
 "son of Salu, a prince of a fathers' house among
 15) "the Simeonites. And the name of the Midian-
 "itish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter
 "of Zur; he was head of the people of a fathers'
 16) "house in Midian.—And the Lord spake unto
 17) "Moses, saying, Vex the Midianites, and smite
 18) "them: for they vex you with their wiles, where-
 "with they have beguiled you in the matter of
 "Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter
 "of the prince of Midian, their sister, which
 "was slain on the day of the plague in the
 "matter of Peor."

Numbers, Ch. 31. verses 7—24: "And they
 "warred against Midian, as the Lord commanded

- 9) "Moses; and they slew every male. . . . And
 "the children of Israel took captive the women
 "of Midian and their little ones; and all their
 14) "cattle, etc. . . . And Moses was wroth with
 15) "the officers of the host, . . . and Moses said
 "unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?
 16) "*Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through*
"the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against
"the Lord in the matter of Peor, and so the plague
 17) "*was among the congregation of the Lord.* Now
 "therefore kill every male among the little ones,
 "and kill *every woman that hath known man by*
 18) "*lying with him.* But all the women children,
 "that have *not* known man by lying with him,
 19) "keep alive for yourselves. And encamp ye
 "without the camp seven days: whosoever hath
 "killed any person, and whosoever hath touched
 "any slain, purify yourselves on the third day
 "and on the seventh day, ye and your captives.
 20) "And as to every garment, and all that is made

μὲνησθε γὰρ τὰς τέσσαρας
 καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας διὰ
 πορνείαν ἀπωσμένας, (for

remember the four and twenty
 thousand that were rejected
 for fornication).

- "of skin, and all work of goats' hair, and all
 "things made of wood, ye shall purify your-
 21) "selves. And Eleazar the priest said unto the
 "men of war which went to the battle, This is the
 "statute of the law which the Lord hath com-
 22) "manded Moses: howbeit the gold, and the
 23) "silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the
 "lead, every thing that may abide the fire, ye
 "shall make to go through the fire, and it shall
 "be clean; nevertheless it shall be purified with
 "the water of separation (impurity): and all that
 "abideth not the fire ye shall make to go through
 24) "the water. And ye shall wash your clothes
 "on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean,
 "and afterward ye shall come into the camp."

Besides these passages in the Books of Moses we find the plague of Baal-Peor further mentioned in the following places in the Old Testament:

Joshua, Ch. 22. v. 17: "Is the iniquity of
 "Peor too little for us, *from which we have not*
 "*cleansed ourselves unto this day*, although there
 "came a plague upon the congregation of the
 "Lord?"

- Psalms* 106. verses 28—30.: "They joined
 "themselves also unto Baal-Peor, and ate the
 29) "sacrifices of the dead (idols). Thus they
 "provoked him to anger with their doings; and
 30) "the plague brake in upon them. Then stood
 "up Phinehas, and executed judgement: and
 "so the plague was stayed."

Hosea, Ch. 9. v. 10.: "I found Israel like
 "grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers
 "as the firstripe in the fig tree at her first
 "season; but they came to Baal peor, and
 "consecrated themselves unto the shameful thing,
 "and became abominable like that which they
 "loved."

§ 9.

We find the Jews on their march towards Canaan already arrived at the Jordan, from which river Shittim lay at a distance of 60 Stades or $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues according to *Josephus* ¹, and the neighbouring Peoples in a state of terror at their near approach and at their victories. The King of the Moabites, Balak, had sent to the soothsayer Balaam, that the latter by his arts (his curse) might annihilate the threatening foe. Balaam however, inspired by the spirit of the Lord, blessed the sons of Israel instead of cursing them, but gave Balak counsel how he could in another way bring about the ruin of the Jews. This counsel is indicated in the passage quoted, Numbers Ch. 31, v. 16, without being explicitly stated; but what it was can indeed be partially gathered from the context of the whole passage, and was apparently so understood by the author of the Apocalypse, when he says: ² "But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there some that hold the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication." Both *Philo* and *Josephus*, who perhaps lived only a little later, picture the course of events in full detail, though, it is true, from unknown authorities.

Philo ³ writes as follows:

"Quae prius, inquit (Bileam), dixi oracula sunt omnia et vaticinationes: de reliquo quae loquar, animi mei coniecturae erunt. — Age vero praeclara eius monita videamus, quibus artibus instructa fuerint ad certissimam offensionem eorum, qui semper vincere poterant. Cum enim intelligeret

¹ Antiquitat. Judaeor. Bk. V. ch. 1.

² Ch. 2. v. 14. Comp. *Areth.* Commentar. in Apocalips. ch. 2. *Isidor.* Pel.

bk. III. ep. 150. *Suidas* under word προφητεία, (prophecy).

³ "Vita Mosis," (Life of Moses), Works Vol. II. p. 217.

"Hebraeos una tantum ratione capi posse, violata
"facinore aliquo lege, per stupri libidinem et intem-
"perantiam, magna mala, ad maius impietatis scelus
"inducere studebat voluptatis esca. Huius enim,
"aiebat, regionis, o rex, mulieres specie reliquis longe
"praestant : viri autem nulla re facilius quam mulieris
"forma expugnari possunt. Proinde si formosissimas
"quaestum facere prostareque permiseris, inventutem
"adversariorum velut hamis capient. Ita autem
"doceri cas oportet, ne statim floris sui volentibus
"copiam faciant. Nam molestus ille aculeus simulatae
"recusationis libidinem acrius excitabit, et amorem
"accendet, actique libidine tanquam obtorto collo
"trahuntur, quidvis et facere et pati in animum
"inducunt. Amatorem igitur ut quaeque sic affectum
"nacta erit, quae ad venationem illam subornantur,
"ferociter dicat : tibi consuetudine mea frui nefas
"est, nisi a patriis institutis desciveris, mutataque
"sententia eadem iuxta mecum colere coeperis.
"Huius defectionis fides ea demum mihi perspecta
"fuerit, si libamentorum eorundem et sacrorum par-
"ticeps esse volueris, quae simulacris et statu-
"is reliquisque signis ex ritu facere solemus. — Sic
"igitur ille tum consulebat : rex ista non abs re dici
"ratus, sublata de adulteris lege et abrogatis omnibus
"de stupro corruptelaque sanctionibus, proinde quasi
"nunquam rogatae essent, liberam facit mulieribus
"quibuscum vellent consuescendi potestatem. Illae
"vero licentia et impunitate data adolescentulorum
"multitudinem illiciebant, multo ante eorum animis
"circumventis et illecebrarum praestigiis ad impietatem
"impulsis : usque dum postremo pontificis filius
"Phinees, facta ista supra modum indignatus (teter-
"rum enim ei videbatur eodem tempore corpora
"et animos pro deditiis, illa voluptatibus, hos sceleri
"et impiae fraudi tradi ¹ iuvenilis audaciae memora-
"bile facinus viroque dignum forti edidit. Nam
"quendam sui generis sacris operatum ad scortum
"ingredi conspicatus, neque submittentem in terram
"vultum, neque latere cupientem, neque, ut assolet,

"clanculum aditum suffurantem, sed inverecundam
 "fiduciae intemperantiam prae se ferentem et in
 "flagitio ridiculo velut in re praeclara magnifice se
 "efferentem, exacerbatus indignitate rei et iusta
 "repletus ira, cursu irrumpens adhuc in lecto iacentes
 "amatorem et meretriculam confodit, genitaliaque eis
 "praeterea desecat, quibus incestum satum patrarant.
 "Istud exemplum aliqui continentiae et religionis
 "studiosi iussu Mosis imitati, omnibus qui initiati
 "fuerant simulacris manu factis, propinquis iuxta
 "necessariisque occisione occisis, scelus gentis expia-
 "runt inexorabili sceleratorum supplicio, — unoque
 "die viginti quatuor millia hominum caesa sunt, et
 "una statim sublata est communis labes, qua totus
 "exercitus maculosus polluebatur.

(All my words, said he (Balaam), thus far are dark sayings and prophecies; what I shall speak henceforth will be the counsels of my own mind.—But come let us look into his excellent advice, in what artful ways it has been framed for the sure and certain destruction of our ever-victorious foes. For perceiving that the Hebrews could be overcome in one fashion only, viz. through their violating the law by some terrible wrongdoing, he set himself, employing the bait of lust, to lead them on by way of fornication and incontinence, great offences in themselves, to the still greater crime of impiety. For this land, he said, oh! King, far excels all others in the beauty of its women; and by no other thing may men's minds be so readily mastered as by a woman's fairness. So if thou suffer the fairest amongst them to play the harlot and offer their beauty for a price, they will catch the young men of our enemies, so to speak, on their hooks. But they must be instructed not to surrender the enjoyment of their persons straightway at the first offer. For the sharp sting of a feigned refusal will, as thou knowest, excite their longing more keenly than ever, and inflame their passion, till driven on by lustfulness they are dragged along, as it were, by a halter round their

necks, and there is nothing they will not consent to do or suffer. Accordingly the lover that each of the fair women who are set on to this task has won for herself and brought to this condition, must be bluntly told: It is impossible for thee to enjoy my love unless thou break with the customs of thy fathers, and change thy heart, and undertake the observance of the same rites as we. And this desertion of thy people's faith will I then only hold as manifested, when I shall see thee willing to partake in those same libations and sacrifices that we are wont duly to pay to our idols and statues and other images.—Now such was the advice Balaam then offered; and the King deeming that he spake much to the purpose, repealed the law as to unlawful intercourse, and removed all punishments for fornication and licentious conduct, and made them as though they had never been, giving free licence to the women to lie with any man they pleased. And the latter, permission being granted and impunity guaranteed, soon ensnared a great number of the young Jewish warriors, whose minds indeed had long beforehand been entangled and by every trick and allurement impelled towards impiety.

At the last the high-priest's son, Phinchas, above measure indignant at such deeds of shame, and convinced that both souls and bodies were at one and the same time being enslaved, the one by sensual pleasures, the other by wickedness and craft and impiety¹, did a deed at once memorable for youthful daring, and worthy of a hero. For when he saw a kinsman of his own and one of the priestly order go in to a harlot, and this without any look

¹ *Factis per mulierum obscenam libidinem et protervam petulantiam quae corpora consuescentium stupro debilitarent, animosque impietate profligarent. ibid. p. 129.* (Practices that originating in

the foul lustfulness and provocative wantonness of the women weakened the bodies of those consorting with them, and leading them into impiety destroyed their minds).

of shame fixed on the ground, without any attempt at concealment, without any stealing up privily and making, as men are wont in such a case, a surreptitious entrance, but instead carrying it off with an air of shameless self-confidence and bearing himself proudly as though his act were one to merit renown and not ridicule, he was fired by the indignity, and filled with righteous anger rushes up and bursts in on the lover and his wanton actually lying on the bed. He pierces them through, and furthermore cuts away those organs wherewith they were satisfying their unholy passion. This example was followed, by command of Moses, by other zealous partizans of purity and religion; and those who had been initiated into the service of idols died the death at the hands of their family and kinsfolk, and so the wickedness of the nation was expiated by a merciless punishment of the wrongdoers;—and in one day four and twenty thousand men were slain, and thereby was straightway removed the common stain wherewith the whole host was spotted and polluted).

In much the same way, only still more fully, *Josephus*¹ relates the circumstance. Licentiousness had laid hold of almost the entire host, and ancestral institutions were in danger of being abandoned altogether. Consequently, Josephus says, Moses appointed an assemblage of the People and in a speech drew attention to the perils that threatened. Sambrias (Simri) however made a defence, maintaining that they had long enough obeyed tyrannous laws and would fain live free henceforth. Hereupon he quitted the assembly, and was assassinated in his tent by the enraged Phinehas. Josephus (§ 12.) proceeds:

“Iuvenes autem omnes, qui virtutis aliquid sibi
“vindicarent et honestatis studio tenerentur, Phineasis
“fortitudinis exemplo accensi, eiusdem cum Sambria

¹ Antiquit. Judaic. bk. IV. ch. 6. §§ 6—13.

"criminis reos interfecerunt. Multi itaque illorum, "qui leges patrias violarant, horum egregia virtute "perempti sunt. Peste autem reliqui omnes perierunt, "deo hunc illis morbum immittente. Et quotquot "e cognatis, qui cum prohibere debuerint, eos ad "haec impulerant, a deo pro sceleris sociis habiti, "pariter sublati erant."¹

(But all the younger men who laid any claim to manly virtue and tried to live honorably, fired by the example of Phinchas' bold deed, slew all that were guilty of the same crime as Sambrias. And so by their singular courage and patriotism numbers of the men who had broken their ancestral laws were destroyed. But all that survived perished by a plague, that God sent upon them. Moreover such of their kinsfolk as ought to have hindered them, but instead had urged them to these courses, these God deemed accomplices in the wickedness, and they also were cut off.) Philo and Josephus are not indeed to be regarded as authentic eye-witnesses of what they record; stil the passages quoted from them prove this much, that in their time the opinions they express were generally held.

The Jews were thus led astray by the daughters of the Moabites, and both practised fornication with them and made sacrifice in their temples to the god of the country, whose priestesses, as Balaam declared, were conspicuous above other women for their beauty. The *consequence* of these excesses was an infectious disease. (according to *Josephus* it communicated itself, but, he says, only to kinsmen!), which cost many² their lives. The number however fell

¹ Ἀπολλύνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδραγαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ πάντες καὶ λοιμῶ, ταύτην ἐπισκῆψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν νόσον ὅσοι τε συγγενεῖς ὄντες, κωλύειν

δέον, ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα, συναδικεῖν τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντες, ἀπέθνησκον.

² Yet this would appear to have been no serious loss, for the disease was quite able indeed to weaken the power of the Jews, but not to actu-

far short of 24000, for these perished mainly by the sword of their brethren, as *Philo* and *Josephus* expressly remark, and the author of the Pentateuch intimates, when he says (Numbers Ch. 26. v. 5.), "And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that have joined themselves unto Baal-Peor." The narrator declares that by this slaughter the plague was stayed for the sons of Israel; but it certainly cannot have ceased altogether, as is manifest from the passages quoted from Joshua, where Phinehas asserts: that to that day the people was not yet cleansed from the misdoing of Peor.

The disease therefore cannot have been merely some passing disorder. It must evidently have been somewhat widely disseminated by the Moabitish women, and have been of very common occurrence among them; and that it was readily infectious follows from the whole course of Moses' proceedings. The latter was angry because the woman had been suffered to live, and commanded to put to death all of them that had known men in carnal intercourse, but to keep alive the young virgins,—and their number was, according to Ch. 31. v. 35., thirty-two thousand!—who were brought into the

ally destroy it. So Balaam says in *Josephus* (loco cit. § 6.): *Hebraeorum quidem genus nunquam funditus peribit, nec bello, nec peste, nec inopia terrae fructuum, nec alio casu inopinato delebitur. — In mala autem nonnulla et calamitates ad breve tempus incident; a quibus licet deprimi humique affligi videantur, postea tamen reforescent, cum eos timere coeperint qui damna illis intulerant.* (The nation of the Hebrews in fact will never utterly perish, and can be

destroyed neither by war, nor *plague*, nor famine of the fruits of the earth, nor any other unlooked for disaster. . . . They will fall however for a brief space into sundry ills and calamities; whereby they may well seem to be broken down and brought to the earth. But they will flourish again, when once they have learned to fear the enemies that brought the disasters upon them). It was in order to bring about this consummation that Balaam gave his advice just cited.

camp as prisoners and there divided amongst their captors. So we see the executions took place not in order that opportunity for intercourse with the heathen women,—a thing which might very well on its own account have been an abomination to the Lord,—might be altogether removed, (for how in that case account for the maidens being saved alive, brought into camp, and divided as booty? ¹ but that by this means the risk of the further dissemination of the disease might be for ever prevented.

The imminence of this risk in Moses' opinion is shown finally by the purification of the host which he had despatched for the massacre of the Moabites and their women. He made it, prisoners and all the spoil included, halt for a period of seven days outside the camp, and twice over submit to a thorough purification. The Jews had slain many thousands of men in their previous wars, nay! just before they marched against the Moabites, they had actually slaughtered 24000 of their own youth; yet they had never been ordered to leave the camp for seven days, and twice over during this time to purify themselves and all their possessions. Only after the annihilation of the Moabitish women (not of the Moabite men), from the accomplishment of which they had just returned, had this happened. All this points to some most cogent reason. Here comes into operation the same law which was enforced on

¹ In fact Moses gives direct permission to captives to wed. *Deuteronomy*, Ch. 21. vv. 11—13., “. . . . and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and thou hast a desire unto her, and wouldest take her to thee to wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, ... after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be

thy wife.” Comp. besides *Ruth*, Ch. 1. v. 4., Ch. 4. v. 13.—*1 Chronicles*, Ch. 2. v. 17.—*1 Kings*, Ch. 3. v. 1., Ch. 14. v. 21. Only after the exile was matrimonial connection with foreigners forbidden. *Ezra*, Ch. 9. v. 2., Ch. 10. v. 3. *Nehemiah*, Ch. 13. v. 23. *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud.*, XI. 8. 2., XII. 4. 6., XVIII. 9. 5.

occasion of purification after Leprosy and after foul discharge: and indeed also after contact with a dead person,—even where they had first caused the death of the said person! Thus no one can very well dispute the view taken by *Philo*,¹ when he says with regard to the purification after the annihilation of the Moabites:—

“Nam ut legitima hostium caedes sit, attamen qui
“hominem interfecit quamquam iure, quamquam vim
“propulsans, quamquam coactus, non insons esse
“videtur nec extra noxiam, propter summam illam
“et communem hominum inter ipsos cognationem.
“Quo nomine piacula suscipienda fuerunt interfec-
“toribus ad luendum scelus, quod conceptum cen-
“sebatur.”

(For whereas the slaying of enemies is lawful, nevertheless whosoever has killed a man, whether lawfully, or whether initiating the violent act, or whether on compulsion, seems not to be innocent or free from responsibility; and this is owing to that supreme and general relationship of all mankind with one another. Wherefore certain expiations had to be undertaken by any man who had killed another, to wipe out the guilt that was deemed to have been incurred).

What was the precise nature of the disease that the Jews had brought on themselves by their intercourse with the Moabitish women cannot indeed be determined; but that it affected the genital organs can hardly admit of a doubt. The fact, if it is a fact, that not a few lost their lives owing to it, need be no objection, since the ulceration of the genitals that prevailed at the end of the XVth. Century caused similar fatalities, and as we shall presently see, the uncircumcised *Apion* met his death in some such way. Now the Jews were almost without exception still uncircumcised at that time,

¹ *Vita Mosis*, (Life of Moses), Bk. I., Works Vol. II. p. 130.

for it was *Joshua* ¹ who first on his arrival in Canaan, at the bidding of Jehovah, circumcised the children of Israel with stone knives on the hill Araloth. When the people adopted the worship of Baal Peor, we may be sure they ceased at the same time to observe the ancestral laws of purification,—if indeed these latter even as regards foul discharge and leprosy as well as intercourse with women during menstruation were not perhaps, as might almost be believed, *first* enacted in all their severity only in consequence of the plague of Baal Peor. Again it may well have been this experience that first taught the inhabitants of Palestine the necessity of circumcision, which was then laid down as an ordinance by command of Jehovah!

Brothels and Courtesans ².

§ 10.

There is no doubt that it was in the Asiatic cult of Venus that the first elements were given for

¹ Ch. 5. v. 5., “. . . but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised.”

² *J. Laurentius*, “De adulteriis et meretricibus Tractatus,” (Treatise on Adultery and Courtesans), in *Gronovius’ Thesaurus Antiq. Graecor.* Vol. VIII. pp. 1403—16.—*G. Franck de Franckenau*, “Disp. qua lupanaria sub verbo Hurenhäuser ex principiis quoque medicis improbantur,” (Disputation wherein Brothels (under the name “Hurenhäuser”—brothels) are condemned on medical as well as other grounds), Heidelberg

1674. 4to., in the author’s *Satirae Medicae*, (Medical Satires), pp. 528—549.—*J. A. Freudenberg* (C. G. Flittner) “Ueber Staats- und Privatbordelle, Kuppelei und Concubinat, in moralisch-politischer Hinsicht, nebst einem Anhang über die Organisation der Bordelle der alten und neuen Zeiten,” (On Public and Private Brothels, Procuration and Concubinage, in their moral and political Aspects; together with an Appendix on the Organization of Brothels in Ancient and Modern Times), Berlin 1796. 8vo. We have not been in a position to make use of this book.

sexual excesses. It is hardly a matter of surprise therefore if these same elements came constantly, as has been shown above, into greater and greater prominence, and in this way pushed the original form of the Worship into the background. By degrees as enlightenment increased and the respect felt towards the gods diminished, Venus also soon lost her old character as goddess of procreation and sank into the patroness of sensual gratification. Her temples as well as her holy groves lost their exclusive title to bestow the blessing of fruitfulness on the embraces of the sexes, and came merely to serve as appointed trysting-places of carnal pleasures. The offerings made at her shrines were no longer to win an assurance of posterity; they became bribes paid to buy a free opportunity for the indulgence of sensuality. They degenerated into fornication-fees, as her temples did into brothels. The priestesses of Astartè or Mylitta stood at the beck and call alike of strangers and natives, and the opportunity was ever open for sexual enjoyment. Hence too it is that a special designation for the brothel will be looked for in vain in Asia. The thing existed there without the name being required; and the State found no need to establish an institution, which had long ago, without any intervention on its part, taken form under the cloak of religion.

Even amongst *the Jews*, who frequently enough, but always as a temporary aberration merely, adhered to the foreign cult, brothels in the strict sense seem never to have existed¹. Although courtesans are

¹ *Michaelis*, "Mosaisches Recht," (Mosaic Law), Pt. V. p. 304. From 1 Kings Ch. 3. v. 16. it might indeed be gathered that such establishments were in existence; but strictly speaking the passage proves only that two women of this character dwelt in a

particular house. Comp. *Philo*, De special. legg. (Works ed. Mangey, Vol. II. p. 308.). The *maidens' chambers* that according to 2 Kings, Ch. 17. v. 30. were set up in the precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem were cells with figures of Astartè, in which

frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, and even the dwelling of a Wanton as well as her behaviour pictured with considerable fullness of detail ¹, yet all this would seem to have had more of a private than of a public character,—due heed being given to the fact that not a few passages are to be taken only in a figurative sense. Prostitution as a regular calling was strictly prohibited ² to the daughters of Israel; and such women as practised it openly seem to have been mainly foreigners, perhaps natives of Phœnicia and Syria, who at the same time entertained with dancing and the music of stringed instruments ³. But the attempt to draw a conclusion from this as to the pre-eminent chastity of the Jewish women, as e.g. *Beer* (on p. 25 loco citato) wishes to do, would be justifiable neither for earlier nor yet for later times. The passages of the Old Testament dealing with Sodom and with the dissoluteness under Mannasseh even in the very

the Jewish maidens offered themselves to the goddess, and so in fact though not in name brothels.

¹ *Proverbs*, Ch. 7. vv. 6—27. Compare *Genesis*, Ch. 38. v. 14.—*Ezekiel*, Ch. 25.

² *Leviticus*, Ch. 19. v. 19.—*Deuteronomy*, Ch. 23. v. 17.; this latter passage *Beer* (loco citato) would fain utilise to free the Jews from the suspicion of having disseminated the Venereal disease in the XVth. Century. *Spencer*, "De Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus," (On the ritual laws of the Jews), p. 563., however showed at once that the prohibition strictly speaking only went so far as to forbid that harlotry should be practised

for the honour of God, as among other Asiatic peoples; and explains the first passage in this sense, that the Jews must not, *as had happened*, dedicate their daughters to the service of Mylitta.

³ *Richter*, XVI. 1.—*1 Kings*, Ch. 3. 16.—*Proverbs*, Ch. 2. 16., Ch. 5. 3., Ch. 7. 10., Ch. 23. 27.—*Amos*, Ch. 2. 7., Ch. 7. 17.—*Baruch*, Ch. 6. 43. Comp. *Grotius*, "Ad Matthæi Evangelium," (Commentary on St. Matthew), V. 3. 4.—*Hartmann*, "Die Hebräerin am Putztisch und als Braut," (The Hebrew woman at the Toilette table and as Bride), Amsterdam 1809. Pt. II. pp. 493 sqq.

Temple at Jerusalem are sufficient by themselves to prove the contrary.

As to *Macedonia* there is a passage in *Athenaeus*, quoted from *Hermesianax* to this effect: ἀλλὰ Μακεδονίης πάσας κατενόετο λαύρας (But he went through all the alleys of Macedonia), where *Dalechamp* translates the word λαύρα by brothel, but *Casaubon* even in his time threw doubt on this rendering. Possibly however this judgement is connected with similar licentious practises among the Macedonians to what we find among the Persians², who indulged in sexual intercourse with their own mothers, daughters, etc., and begat children upon them,—a practice which *Euripides*³ makes the Barbarians generally guilty of.

But if there *were* actually brothels existing in Macedonia, this would be the less surprising, as its inhabitants may well be reckoned amongst Greeks in many respects.

The Greek knew perfectly the boundary between the physical and the ethical, and sought ever to subordinate the former to the latter. His whole life belonged in the first instance to the State, of it he

¹ *Deipnosoph.*, bk. XIII. p. 598. v. 65.

² *Philo*, *De special. legg.*, Works ed. Mangeyn, Vol. II. p. 301. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Stromat.* III. quotes from *Xanthus*: μίγνυντο δὲ, φησιν, οἱ Μάγοι μήτρασι, καὶ θυγατράσι, καὶ ἀδελφαῖς μίγνυσθαι θεμιτὸν εἶναι, (Now the Magi, he says, used to have intercourse with mothers, and held it lawful to do so with daughters and with sisters). Comp. the same author's *Recognit.*, bk. IX. ch. 20.—*Sextus Empiricus*, *Pyrrh. hypot.* bk. III. 24.—

Origen, *Contra Celsum*, bk. V. p. 248.—*Jerome*, *Contra Jovian.* bk. II.—*Cyril*, *Adv. Julian.* bk. IV.—*Sophocles*, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1375 and 452.

³ *Euripides*, *Andromachē*, 174.

τοιοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος,
πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ, παῖς τε μητρὶ, μίγνυνται.

(Such is the habit of the whole barbarian race,—father has intercourse with daughter, and son with mother).

was bound to be a citizen, and for it to endeavour to produce good citizens. Consequently polygamy early disappeared in Greece, and so too community of wives, a custom which prevailed down to historical times at Sparta only. Monogamy was the first law of marriage, and marriage was the bounden duty of every true citizen¹, to save his family from dying out. But while the Asiatic prided himself on the number of his children, the Greek's boast was of their excellence. Only with the object of procreating offspring was the Greek husband to rest in the arms of his spouse (*ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων γνησίῳ*—for the sowing, procreation of lawful children), and not to desecrate the holy Torus (marriage-couch) by mere lustfulness. Where this was stirred in him, he ceased to be free; a slave of lust, he must consort only with slave-women, and not with free citizenesses¹. Nay! even this was permitted solely to avoid greater evils; and illicit coition never ceased

¹ *Osann*, "De caelibum apud veteres populos conditione," (On the Status of Bachelors among the Ancient Peoples), *Commentat. I. Gies-*
sen 1827. 4to.

² *Demosthenes*, *Orat. in Neaeram*, edit. Wolf, p. 534., *τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἐνεκ' ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπειᾶς τοῦ σώματος, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν.* (for *hetærae*—lady-companions—we keep for our pleasure, but concubines for the daily service of the person, and wives for the procreation of lawful children and to have a trusty guardian of household matters). The same sentence is quoted

from *Demosthenes* by *Athenæus*, *Deipnos.*, bk. XIII. ch. 31., but with the difference that he says *παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν παλλακειας* (concubines for daily concubinage). Comp. *Plutarch*, *Præcept. Coniugal.*, ch. 16. 29. It is true this purely moral view, as it was originally, of marriage, came in times subsequent to just the flourishing period of Greece to contrast so sharply with the rest of the Greeks, full and imaginative as it was, that it appears an exceedingly homely bit of prose, and one is led away to pass a not exactly favourable judgement as to the position of Greek married women and their level of culture. But is this quite fair?

to be held as something *οὐ καλόν*—unseemly)¹, particularly when it was indulged in by married men.

It has been shown how under the clearer skies of Greece the Asiatic worship of Venus took on a form more worthy of mankind, how the Greek distinguished his Venus Urania (Heavenly Venus) from the Venus of the rest of the world, the Pandemian (Venus common to all), and so set up a barrier to the flood of dissoluteness,—a barrier however that was little by little broken down in later times. Foreigners, especially the voluptuous inhabitants of Asia, when they saw that the Greek cult did not like their native worship abet their carnal appetites, imported slave-women. These were purchased by the Greeks, and handed over as offerings to the temple of Aphrodité under the title of Temple-servants or "Hiroduli"²; and acquainted as they were with the needs of their fellow-countrymen, sought in every way to supply them,—as was in particular the case at Corinth.

This example could not well remain without influence on private life. The Greek indeed took no part in the Asiatic form of the Venus-worship;

¹ *Aristotle*, *Politics* bk. IV. ch. 16., *Viri autem cum alia muliere aut aliorum concubitus omnino indecorus et inhonestus habeatur, cum sit appetiturque maritus. Quod si quid tale tempore procreandis liberis praescriptio quispiam facere manifesto deprehendatur, ignominia scelere digna notetur.* (But as to the connexion of a man with a woman who is not his wife or of a woman with a man who is not her husband, while such intercourse in whatever form or under whatever circumstances must be considered absolutely

discreditable to one who bears the title of husband or wife, so especially any one who is detected in such action during the time reserved for the procreation of children should be punished with such civil degradation as is suitable to the magnitude of his crime).—*Seneca*, *Controvers.* bk. IV. Preface, says: *Impudicitia in ingenuo crimen est, in servo necessitas, (Immodesty in a free-man is a vice, in a slave a necessity).*

² *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* bk. XIII. p. 374.

all the same illicit connection grew more and more universally prevalent, and as it could not be gratified in any other way, wives ¹ and daughters of fellow-citizens were imperilled. To avert this danger *Solon* (B. C. 594) according to the statements of *Philemon* and *Nicander* ² introduced actual *brothels*, οἰκημα,

¹ In the time of *Xenarchus* immorality with married women was particularly universal. *Athenaeus*, XIII. p. 569.

² *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosoph.* bk. XIII. p. 569., καὶ Φιλήμων δ' ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς προιστορῶν, ὅτι πρῶτος Σόλων, διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμήν, ἔστησεν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος· καθὰ καὶ Νικάνδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ιστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ Κολοφωνιακῶν, φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν πρῶτον ιδρύσασθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἡγεγυρίσαντο αἱ προστάσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων· ἄλλ' ὅ γε Φιλήμων οὕτως φησὶ

Σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὖρες
ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων,
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν
πρῶτον [βροτῶν].
δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα
καὶ σωτήριον·
μεστὴν ὄρωντα τὴν πόλιν
νεωτέρων,
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν
ἀναγκαιάν φύσιν,
ἀμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς ὃ
μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
πτῆσαι πρίαμνον τότε
γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἄπασι καὶ
κατεσκευασμένας.
'Ἐστᾷσι γυναικί· μὴ ἔπα-
τηθῆς· πάνθ' ὕρα·

— — — — ἡ θύρα 'στ'
ἀνεωγμένη.
εἰς ὁβολός· εἰσπήδησον· οὐκ
ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἰς
ἀκκισμός, οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ'
ὑψήρασεν.
ἀλλ' ἐνθὺς ὡς βούλει σὺ
χῶν βούλει τρόπον.
Ἐξήλθες; οἰμῶζειν λέγ',
ἄλλοτρία 'στί σοι.

(So too *Philemon* in his play the "Adelphi" relates that it was *Solon* who first on account of the vigorous desires of the young men bought and established public women in brothels. The same is related by *Nicander* of *Colophon* in the Third book of his *Colophonica*, who says that he (*Solon*) was the first to found a temple of the *Pandemian Aphrodité*, built from the gains of the women in charge of brothels. *Philemon* writes as follows: "Well hast thou deserved of all men, *Solon*; for thou they say wert first to invent a thing both popular, by *Zeus*, and salutary. Seeing the city crowded full of young men, and these possessed of the natural appetites of manhood, and consequently offending in quarters unmeet, bought women and established them in certain places to be

πορνείον, (house, brothel) and public women. **πόρνοι** (prostitutes), who were accessible at a trifling charge. The houses of ill-fame were situated, as *Pollux* informs us, at Athens in the neighbourhood of the Harbour, and in the Ceramicus according to *Hesychius* ², in later times also in the city itself ³. They

common to all and put there for that very purpose. There they are, standing all but naked; don't be cheated: examine everything. . . . The door is open. One obol; in you go. There's not an atom of coyness, no coquetry, no stealing off; but right away as you please and how you please. You have left the house? tell the girl go hang! she's nothing to you.")

Alexander ab Alexandro, Genial. Dier., bk. IV. ch. 1. Solon vero ut ab adulteriis cohiberetur inventus, coemptas meretriculas Athenis prostituit primus, obviasque in venerem esse voluit, ne matronarum contagio polluerentur. (But Solon, in order that young men might be kept from adulterous connexions, was the first to buy women and set them up as harlots at Athens; and wished all to resort to them for the gratification of love, that they might not be polluted by intrigue with matrons). Comp. *Meursius*, "Solon, sive de eius vita, legibus, dictis atque scriptis," (Solon—his Life, Laws, Words and Works). Copenhagen 1732. 4to., p. 98.

¹ *Onomast.*, bk. IX. ch. 5. 34., *Τὴ δὲ περὶ τοῦς λιμένας*

μέρη, δείγμα, χώμα, ἐμπορίον — τοῦ δ' ἐμπορίου *μέρη, καπηλεία, καὶ πορνεία, ἃ καὶ οἰκήματα ἂν τις εἴποι.* (And the parts of the city near the Harbour, market, mole, exchange;—and parts of the exchange, inns and brothels or "houses" as one might say). *Meursius*, Peiræeus, last chapter—From this low-lying situation of the brothels comes the expression *ἐπ' οἰκήματος καθίσθαι* (to live down in a "house", e. g. in *Plato*, *Charmides* 163 c.—*C. Ernesti* on *Xenophon*, *Memorab. Socrat.*, II. 2. 4.

² s. v. *Κεραμεικός τόπος* Ἀθήνη ἐστίν, ἔνθα αἱ πόρνοι προεστήκεισαν· εἰς δὲ δύο Κεραμεικοὶ, ὁ μὲν ἔξω τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐντός. (Under the word "Ceramicus": this is a place at Athens, where the Prostitutes plied their trade. There are two Ceramici, the Ceramicus without, and the Ceramicus within, the walls). Comp. *Meursius*, *Graecia: feriata* (Holiday Greece), p. 186.

³ *Pollux*, *Onomast.* bk. IV. ch. 5. 48., *Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ, καὶ αἰσχίω, μέρη πόλεως, ἄσωτεια, πεττεία, κυβεία, κυβεντήρια, σκιραφεῖα, ματρυλεῖα, ἀγωγεῖα,*

were presided over by a Whoremaster (**πορνοβοσκός. πορνοτρόφος**—harlot-maintainer, harlot-keeper). As to the internal arrangements of brothels among the Greeks we have been unable so far to discover anything more precise, but in all probability the same conditions held good as among the Romans.

Besides the regular brothels, women were also kept at the taverns ¹ (**καπηλεία, καπηλείον, καπήλιον, πανδοχεία**,—tavern, inn), which likewise were situated chiefly near the Port. The women were bought slaves, as the passages quoted above (p. 70. note 2.) show; and even such free Greek women ² as at a later period undertook the calling, were then looked upon as slaves ³. All women of this class, as well as the whore-masters, were professionally under the supervision of the **Ἀγορανόμοι** (Market Commissioners ⁴, who fixed how much each was allowed to

[**προαγωγή**]. (And these also are parts of the city, though somewhat disreputable ones, the profligates' quarter, the gamesters' quarter, the dicers' quarter, the quarter of dicing-houses, of gaming-houses, of bawdy houses and of pimps' establishments).

¹ *Philostratus*, Epist. 23., πάντα με αἶρει τὰ σα, τὸ καπηλείον ὡς Ἀφροδίσιον. (Everything about you draws me, like the tavern, home of love).

² In the better times of Athens this never occurred. The women were kept far too closely shut up; and their moral behaviour was subject to the supervision of the **γυναικονόμοι** (Commissioners for the oversight of Women). *Meursius*, Lect. Attic. II. 5.—*Reiske*, Index Græc. in

Demosthen. p. 66. A regulation which existed even among the self-indulgent Sybarites. *Athenæus*, Deipnos. bk. XII. p. 521. Later it was poverty especially that drove free Greek women to take up the calling of prostitute. *Demosthenes*, In Neæram p. 533., παντελῶς ἤδη ἡ μὲν τῶν πορνῶν ἐργασία ἤξει εἰς τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρας δι' ἀπορίαν, ὅσαι ἂν μὴ δύνωνται ἐκδοθῆναι. (Completely after a while will the trade of prostitutes come to be the occupation of the daughters of our fellow-citizenesses through poverty, that will force all to it who cannot get a dowry).

³ *Lysias*, Orat. I. in Theomnestum.

⁴ *Suidas*, διάγραμμα τὸ μίσθωμα διέγραφον δὲ

receive for her services. This fee was called **μισθωμα**, **διάγραμμα** or **ἐμπολή**,—fee, scale, purchase). It varied in amount;—8 Chalci-- = 1 obol, a little less than twopence (**τριαντοπόρνη**,—an obol, twopenny, girl) ¹, 2 obols—= about three-pence halfpenny (**διωβολιμαῖα**, **χαλκιδίτις**,—a two obol, three-pence halfpenny, girl) ², a drachma—a franc, say ten-pence ³, a Stater—= 4 drachmae, say three and three-pence (**στατηριαία**,—a stater, three and three-penny, girl) ⁴.

The Hetaera (Lady-Companion) seems in this respect to have enjoyed a greater liberty of choice, and a knowledge of their prices to have been regarded as something out of the common ⁵. The well-known *Gnathaena* at Athens asked 1000 Drachmae for a night from a foreign Satrap ⁶; *Phryné* a mina (= 100 drachmae, something over four pounds sterling). But the most notorious of all was *Lais* at Corinth for the high price at which she sold the marks of her favour, from which arose the proverb: Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum,

οἱ ἀγορανόμοι, ὅσον ἔδει λαμβάνειν τῇν ἑταίραν ἑκάστην - μισθωμα ὁ μισθὸς ὁ ἑταιρικὸς. ("Scale": the fee; for the Market-Commissioners fixed the scale, how much each hetaera was to receive. -- "fee": the pay of a hetaera).

¹ *Hesychius*, s. v. **τριαντοπόρνη** λαμβάνουσα τριαντα, ὃ ἐστι λεπτά ἐν εἴκοσι. (under the word **τριαντοπόρνη**: girl who receives a trias, which is twenty one lepta).

² *Suidas*, s. v. **χαλκιδίτις**. παρὶ Ἰωσήφῳ ἡ πόρνη, ἀπὸ τῆς εὐτελείας τοῦ διδομένου νομίσματος. (under the word **χαλκιδίτις**: in Josephus = prostitute, from the smallness of the coin given. —

Eustathius, on Homer, II. bk. XXIII., p. 1329., Od. bk. X., p. 777.

³ *Aristophanes*, *Thesmoph.* 1207., δώσεις οὖν δραχμήν. (you will give a drachma then).

⁴ *Pollux*, *Onomast.* IX. 59., οὐ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἑταιρῶν τὰς μέσας **στατηριαίας**. (he denies that of the hetaerae the middling ones were the *Stater-girls*).

⁵ *Athenaeus*, XII. p. 547., states it of the Peripatetic philosopher *Lycon*: καὶ πόσον ἑκάστη τῶν ἑταιρονσῶν ἐπράττετο μισθωμα, (and how much pay each of the hetaerae-girls charged).

⁶ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* bk. XIII. chs. 44, 45.

(It is not every man that can go to Corinth)¹.

Licences to follow the calling were granted to the whore-masters, and also the women, on payment of a fixed duty, called "prostitute tax" (τέλος πορνικόν)²,

¹ *Horace*, Epist. I. 17. 36.—*Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic. bk. I. ch. 8. Comp. above p. 63. note 1.

² *Aeschines*, Orat. in Timarch. p. 134. ed. Reisk., Ἀποθανυμάξει γὰρ, εἰ μὴ πάντες μέμνησθ', ὅτι καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ βουλὴ πωλεῖ τὸ πορνικὸν τέλος· καὶ τοὺς πριαμένους τὸ τέλος τοῦτο οὐκ εἰκάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῇ ἐργασίᾳ· ὅποτε οὖν δὴ τετόλμηκα ἀντιγράψασθαι, πεπορνευμένῳ Τιμάρχῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι δημηγορεῖν, ἀπαιτεῖν φησὶ τὴν προᾶξιν αὐτὴν οὐκ αἰτίαν κατηγοροῦν, ἀλλὰ μαρτυρίαν τελῶν οὖν τοῦ παρὰ Τιμάρχου τοῦτο ἐκλέξαντος τὸ τέλος· ἀλλὰ τοὺς τόπους ἐπερωτήσει ὅπου ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ τοὺς τελῶνας, εἰ πῶποτε παρ' αὐτοῦ πορνικὸν τέλος εἰλήφασιν. (He expresses extreme surprise, though possibly you don't all remember, at the fact that *every year the senate sells the lease of the prostitution-tax*; and that the purchasers do not conjecture, but know precisely, those who practise this calling. So when I have the audacity to counter-plead, that Timarchus as having exercised the trade of prostitution is not

competent to address the people, he does not deny the fact charged against his client by the accuser, but says, 'I demand the evidence of any *tax-collector who collected this tax* from Timarchus.' but he will cross-examine as to the localities where he was established in the business, and will question the collectors as to whether they have ever levied prostitution-tax upon him).

This passage shows at the same time in the clearest way that *Schneider* is wrong, when in his *Lexicon* he explains *πορνοτελώνης*, occurring in *Pollux*. Onomast. VII. 202., IX. 29., as meaning a privileged or licenced whore-master, paying a duty to the magistrates on his trade. Besides anything like a sanitary police supervision on the part of the *Agoranomi* at this period is of course out of the question. For the word *ἀσφαλῶς* (safely) in the fragment of *Eubulus*, (*Athenaeus* bk. XIII. p. 568), where it is said of the brothel-girls:

παρ' ὧν βεβαίως ἀσφαλῶς
τ' ἔξεστί σοι
μικροῦ πριάσθαι κέρματος
τὴν ἡδονήν

(from whom surely and *safely* you may buy your pleasure for

which was leased out yearly by the Magistracy, and collected by professional *farmers of the prostitution-tax* or Collectors, known as *πορνωτελώναι*, who kept a complete list, in which were included even the "Pathici" (pathic sodomites), of all liable to the impost. From the proceeds of this prostitution-tax *Solon* would seem to have built a temple at Athens to Aphrodité Pandemos¹. From this an idea may

a small coin), admits of an easy explanation, if we consider that these common women are contrasted here not with the hetærae but with the free women of the city, illicit intercourse with whom was always dangerous for the voluptuary, being punished as rape or adultery. The most telling proof is afforded by the passage of *Dioegenes Laertius*, bk. VI. ch. 4., where he says: "When *Antisthenes* saw a man accused of adultery, he said to him, Unhappy man, what serious risk you might have avoided for an obol! (*ὁ δυνσυχής, πηλίκον κίνδυνον ὀβολοῦ διαφύγειν εἰδύναστο*). Also the passage of *Athenaeus*, (bk. XIII. p. 569.), is pertinent, where it is said, *καὶ τῶν δ' ἐκάστην ἐστὶν ἀδεῶς, ἐτέλῶς*, (and of the women each can be enjoyed without fear, cheaply). Hence too the verses of *Menander* (*Lucian*, *Amor.* 33.) should read,

*καὶ φαρμακείαι, καὶ ρύσων
χαλεπωτάτη
φθόνος, μεθ' οὗ ζῇ πάντα
τὸν βίον γυνή*

(and medicines, and hardest of diseases—envy, wherewith a woman dwells all her life long) and not, as the received text has it,

*καὶ φαρμακεία, καὶ ρύσοι
χαλεπώτατος
φθόνος.*

(and medicine, and disease, hardest is envy).

¹ Comp. above p. 70. note 2. *Harpocration*, *Lexicon* X. rhetor.—*Eustathius*, Comment. on Homer's *Iliad* XIX. 282., p. 1185., *Quod auro gaudeat Venus, de qua est in fabula, ille quoque manifestum facit, qui tradit: Solonem Veneris vulgaris templum dedicasse e mulierum quaestu, quas coemptas prostituerat in cellis, in adolescentum gratiam, (That Venus, of whom is question in the tale, rejoices in gold, is manifest from the historian who relates, how Solon dedicated a temple of the Common (Pandemonian) Venus from the gains of the women that he had bought and established in chambers as prostitutes, to gratify the young men).* Comp. *Boeckh*, *Corp. Inscript.* I. p. 470.

be formed, even if nothing more than a sort of brothel is to be understood by the term, of the large number of women of this character and of the considerable revenue of the city.

The public women were either such as lived in the brothels (*πόρναι, αἱ προστάσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων*, —harlots, prostitutes of the "houses"), where they used to stand at the doors, and that in rows (*ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας*, —drawn up in column) more or less stripped, in almost transparent dresses (*γυμναί, ἐν λευτοπήνοις ὑμέσιν*, —stripped, in fine-woven robes)¹, or else they were kept partly as *ἐταῖραι μουσικαί*—"musical" hetaerae, like the harp-girls in German beer-halls, or with procurers (*μαστροπός, προαγωγός*, —bawds, procurers) in their taverns (*προαγωγή, μαστρόπιον, ματρώλλεια*, —procurer's house, bawdy-house, brothel). Or again they followed their trade in the Port-Market (the *δείγμα*) as *δεικτηριάδες* (Market-girls)², in the *στοὰ μακρὰ*, (Long Portico), and generally in the Lanes of that neighbourhood (*χαμαιτύπαι*³, *χαμαιεννάδες, χαμαιεύνης, χαμαιτηρίς, χαμεύνης*, —all nick-names for common strumpets, "ground-thumpers," "sleepers on the ground"), where they either surrendered themselves on the spot or hied to recognised harlots' dens (*χαμαιτυπεῖον*) or houses of accommodation (*τέγος*)⁴.

¹ How clean and neat they were can be gathered from the fact that a certain Phanostrata got the *sobriquet* of Phtheir-opyle (doorlouser), *ἐπειδὴ περ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας ἐστῶσα ἐφθειρίζετο*, (because she used to stand at the door and pick the lice off her).

² *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos*. bk. XIII. ch. 37. Comp. *Palmerius*, *Exercitat.* p. 523.

³ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos*. bk. XIII. ch. 27.—*Suidas*, s. v.

χαμαιτύπη ἡ πόρνη, ἀπὸ τοῦ χαμαὶ κειμένη ὀχεύεσθαι, (under the word *χαμαιτύπη*: harlot, from her copulating lying on the ground).

⁴ Here they reckoned "Money for house-room", *ἐνοίκιον* for *στεγανόμιον* (*Pollux*, *Onomast.* I. 75.), the same in fact as the *pretium mansionis* (price of house-room) of the Romans in their inns. Comp. *Casaubon*, on *Athenaeus* I. ch. 14.

The place of their abode shows at once what class of men frequented "filles de joye" of the sort. It was foreign sailors¹ in particular who here indemnified themselves for their compulsory continence at sea. Of Greeks only the dregs of the people and debauchees who had lost all self-respect came here; and even these used by preference the taverns², where procuration was carried on as well³, —for which reason they had fallen into general disrepute. For as late as Aristophanes'⁴ time the lower class of citizens felt no hesitation about taking their pleasure along with their wives in inns. On the other hand persons of repute, prominent by office and dignities, were actually forbidden by law to visit such places. "Were an Areopagite to have been seen but once in an Inn," says *Hyperides*⁵, "his colleagues would no longer have tolerated him as a member of the Areopagus." Later, matters changed, for the moralizing *Isocrates*⁶ says, "Nay! no well-conducted slave dares even eat or drink anything in an Inn"; and *Theophrastus*, portraying the character of a madman quite devoid of shame gives this as a trait,—he would be quite capable of keeping an Inn!

The hetaera (female-companion) must be distin-

¹ *Bergler*, on Alciphron VI. p. 25.

² *Zell*, "Ferienschriften," (Holiday Papers), First Series. Freiburg 1826. No. 1., "Die Wirthshäuser der Alten," (Inns of the Ancients), pp. 3—53.

³ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosoph.* bk. XIII. p. 567., Σὺ δὲ ὦ Σοφιστὰ, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρη οὐ μετὰ ἐταίρων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐταιρῶν, μαστροπενούσας περὶ ταυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων. (But you, Sophist, wallow in the inns not with companions

but with female-companions (hetaerae), keeping a host of women *pandaring* for your pleasure).

⁴ *Lysistrat.* 467.

⁵ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* bk. XIII. p. 567.

⁶ *Areopagit.* p. 350. ed. Wolf.—*Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* bk. XIII. p. 567., ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πινεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐτόλμησεν. (But no one, not even a servant, would have dared to eat or drink in an inn).

guished from the πόρνη (harlot), though both were under similar conditions as to police surveillance. The hetaera was also strictly speaking a slave-woman, usually stolen as a child or otherwise obtained by procuresses, or bought by older hetaerae. They were educated¹ in all that was understood by the Ancients under the name "Music", that over and above their charms of person, they might especially captivate their lovers by their intellectual cultivation,

¹ This can best be seen from the Speech of *Demos-thenes*, In *Neaeram*, ed. H. Wolf. Bâle 1572. fol., p. 519., where we read as follows in the Latin translation: *Iam peregrinam esse Neaeram, id vobis ab ipso primordio demonstrabo. Septem puellas ab ipsa infantia emit Nicareta, Charisii Elci liberta, Hippiae coqui eius uxor, gnara et perita perspiciendae venustae parvulorum naturae et eos sol- lenter educandi instituendique scia, ut quae artem eam ex- erceret, atque ex ea re victum collegisset, filiarum autem eas nomine compellavit, ut quam maximas ab iis, qui earum consuetudinem, tanquam inge- nuarum appetebant, mercedes exigeret, posteaquam autem florem aetatis earum magno cum quaestu prostituit: uno, ut dicam, fasce, corpora etiam earum, cum septem essent, vendidit: Antiae, Stratolae, Aristoclae, Metanirae, Philae, Isthmiadis et Neaerae. Quam igitur unusquisque earum emerit, et ut ab iis qui eos a Nicareta emerant, libertate donatae sint. (That Neaera*

was a foreigner by birth, I will make it my first business to prove. Seven girls were bought in earliest childhood by Nicareta, freed-woman of Charisius of Elis, wife of his cook Nicias,—a knowing woman, astute at noting the promise of beauty in children and skilful in their clever up-bringing and instruction, as might be expected of one who practised that art as a pro- fession and had made her living thereby. Her daughters however she called them, that she might demand the greater fees from such as sought to enjoy their favours, as being free-born maidens. Then when they had reached the flower of their age, she prostituted them with great profit to her- self, selling their persons, seven as they were, in one bundle, so to express it,—whose names were Antia, Stratole, Aristoclea, Metanira. Phile, Isth- mias, and Neaera. Thus each of them found a purchaser, and on such conditions that they were presented with their freedom by the lovers who had bought them from Nicareta).

who bought them to give them their freedom,—and then more often than not were presently abandoned by them. The great nursery of hetaerae was above all places Corinth, from which centre they travelled through all parts of Greece, as e.g. did Neaera, and frequently acquired enormous riches. The better class of them were everywhere held in high esteem; and many a hetaera, grown weary of her condition, gave her hand to a husband, in order to close her life as an honest wife ¹, or else retired so as at any rate to lead a blameless existence ². Frequently indeed they were also “Dames de Maison”, and often kept a considerable number of girls under the title of hand-maids. This was the case with Nicareta, just mentioned, at Corinth, as well as with the famous Aspasia at Athens, the latter of whom flooded all Hellas with her protégées ³. Such as were held in less respect often put themselves under the protection of their more renowned sisters, or else carried on the calling on their own account, and this especially when they were not so well educated, not “musical” (*πέσαι ἑταίραι*—*prose lady-companions*) ⁴, at Athens

¹ Comp. the list, compiled chiefly from Athenaeus, of the most renowned hetaerae in *Musonius Philosophus*, “De luxu Graecorum” ch. XII. in *Gronovius’ Thesaurus Antiq. Graecor.* vol. VIII. pp. 2516 sqq.

² *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos*, bk. XIII. p. 577. *μεταβάλλουσαι γὰρ τοιαῦται εἰς τὸ σῶφρον, τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σμυννομένων εἰσι βελτίους*. (For women of this class when they change and adopt an honest life, are of better character than those who pride themselves on this account).
³ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos*, bk.

XIII. p. 569., *Καὶ Ἀσπασία δὲ ἡ Σωκρατική ἐνεπορεύετο πλήθη καλῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης ἑταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλὰς*. (And Aspasia too, the preceptress of Socrates, used to import multitudes of handsome women, and Greece was filled with her hetaerae). Even the King of the Sidonians, *Strato*, had his wants supplied from there. *Athenaeus*, bk. XII. p. 531.

⁴ *Hesychius*, s. v. *πέσας μοίχους*: οὕτως ἐκάλουν τὰς μισθαγνούσας ἑταίρας χωρὶς ὀργάνου. (under the expression *πέσας μοίχους*,—

going to settle at the Peiraeus to entice the merchants who arrived in the port, whilst the more choice merely showed themselves there¹. They often followed the troops on service in crowds, accompanying for instance the general *Chares*² and *Pericles* to Samos, where they made so large an income that they even built a temple of *Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Καλάμοις* (Aphrodité at Calami,—the Reeds). For the remaining details as to the life of the hetaerae the classical Treatise of *Friedrich Jacobs*³ should be consulted.

Even these regular "filles de joie" at first existed almost exclusively for foreigners, who often squandered prodigious sums in their arms; the Athenians at any rate up to the time of Themistocles did not go with them⁴. But the example proved too strong to resist. Little by little the younger men acquired a taste for the freer society of the highly educated and luxuriously bedecked⁵ courtesans, who on their side were possessed of tact enough to subordinate the purely sensual to the intellectual, in order to

common, prose fornicators: this was the name given to hetaerae who were prostitutes without playing any instrument). Comp. *Photius*, Lexicon, under same word.—*Procopius*, Anecd. p. 41.—*Cuperi* Observat. I. 16. p. 116.—*Casaubon*, on Sueton. Nero. ch. 27.

¹ *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XIII. p. 582.

² Chares took flute-players, singing-girls and *πέζαι ἐταίραι* with him, according to *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XII. p. 532.

³ *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XIII. p. 573. When Darius was marching to take the field against Alexander, he had 350 *παλλακὰς* (concubines) in his

train (*Athenaeus*, XIII. p. 557.), of whom 320 understood music. (ibid. p. 608).

⁴ "Vermischte Schriften," (Miscellaneous Writings), Vol. IV. pp. 311 sqq.

⁵ *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XII. p. 533. *Θεμιστοκλῆς δ', οὐπὼ Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων, οὐδ' ἐταίραις χρωμένων, ἐκφανῶς τέθριππον ζεύγας ἐταιρίδων κ. τ. λ.* (But Themistocles, at a period when Athenians were not yet in the habit of getting drunk, nor frequenting harlots, openly put in harness a four-horse team of hetaerae, etc.).

⁶ *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XII. p. 532.

captivate the Greek sense of beauty. Even older men might easily be seen at their feet, for the Greek ladies had but too little aptitude for stepping beyond the household sphere⁴. And so it was no longer matter for surprise when *Chares* took with him on his expedition, as stated above, a large number of hetaerae. The Athenian youth was already in the habit of killing time in their society⁵; and the important rôle they played in the time of *Pericles* needs to be no further insisted on. The Greek however never descended to the lowest level of shameless, brutal, coarseness. Before he threw himself into the arms of the foreign Wanton, he first raised her to some equality with himself; and of the handmaid and slave made a friendly companion or hetaera!

The account here given applies particularly only to Athens, for our efforts to discover anything more precise as to brothels and courtesans in the remaining States and Cities of Greece have not so far been crowned with success.

⁴ Comp. Bernhardt, "Grundriss der Griechischen Literatur," (First Sketch of Greek Literature), Pt. I. p. 40.

⁵ Hetaerae were bound by law to wear gay, party-coloured clothes, *Suidas*, s. v. ἑταιρῶν ἄνδρινον. Νόμος Ἀθηνῶσι, τὴς ἑταίρας ἄνδρινα φέρειν (under the expression ἑταιρῶν ἄνδρινον—flowered robe of hetaerae: it was a law at Athens that the hetaerae must wear flowered robes); at Locri Zaleucus prescribed the same costume, *Suidas*, s. v. Ζάλευκος (under the word

Zaleucus); it was also law among the Syracusans, *Athenaeus*, Deipnos., bk. XII. ch. 4. Comp. *Petit*, "Legg. Attic," (Laws of Athens), p. 476. The same is stated of the Laeadaemonians by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Paedog., bk. II. ch. 10. Comp. *Wesseling*, on Diodorus Sic., IV. 4.—*Sidon. Apoll.*, Epist., XX. 3. *Iamblichus*, De Vita Pythagor., ch. 31.—*A. Borremans*. Var. Lect., ch. 10. p. 94.—*Artemidorus*, Oneirocrit., bk. II. ch. 3.

§ II.

With the Roman, who could spare hardly a thought to any other feeling than his pride, love played but an insignificant rôle in his existence. Even the deference he showed towards marriage and the married woman was not really so much the outcome of a pure morality as of the interest that the State must of necessity feel in the nursing-mothers of each succeeding generation; in fact it can scarcely be regarded as much more than a mere measure of police. When a Censor like *Metellus* in a public Speech intended to encourage matrimony could say ¹: *Si sine uxore possemus, Quirites, esse, omnes ea molestia careremus: sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, salutis perpetuæ potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum.* (If we could live without a wife, Quirites, we should all be free from such inconvenience; but since nature has arranged it in this wise that neither with women in any real comfort, nor without them at all, can existence be carried on, we ought to think of our life-long well-being rather than of a momentary gratification),—and when even the strict *Cato* declared ²: *In adulterio uxorem tuam si deprehendisses, sine iudicio impune necares: illa te, si adulterares, digito non auderet contingere, neque ius est.* (If you should have detected your wife in adultery, you might kill her without trial and be scatheless; but she, if *you* were the adulterer, would not dare to lay a finger upon you, *nor is it lawful* she should),—it can hardly surprise us to find a complete lack of the ideal or intellectual element in the relations of the sexes. These never really rose among the Romans much above the level of the bestial; and harlots are found

¹ *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic., bk. I. ch. 6.

² *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic., bk. X. ch. 23.

already in evidence at the very threshold of Roman history ¹, whilst association with them far from ever being a subject of blame, is rather represented as being a custom sanctified by immemorial usage that had never been forbidden ².

In spite of this however, and of the fact that the *Etruscans* ³, at a time when Rome was hardly more than *coming* into existence, already led a life that

¹ *Livy*, Hist. I. 4., II. 18.

² *Cicero*, Orat. pro Coelio, ch. 20., Si quis est, qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus, negare non possum: sed abhorret non modo ab huius seculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum consuetudine atque concessis. Quando enim factum non est? quando reprehensum, quando non permissum? (If any is found to think that young men should be forbidden to indulge simple intrigues with harlots, I can only say he is an exceedingly stern moralist, I cannot deny he is right in the abstract. *But his view is opposed not merely to the free habits of the present age, but also to the usage and permitted licence of our fathers? When, I ask, has this not been done? when rebuked, when not allowed?*

Horace, Sat., bk. I. 2. vv. 31--35.,

Quidam notus homo, cum exiret
fornice: Macte
Virtute esto, inquit sententia dia
Catonis.

Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra
libido,
Huc iuvenes æquum est descendere; non alienas
Permollere uxores.

(When a certain well-known citizen came out of a brothel, "Bravo! go on and prosper!" was the word of Cato, great and wise. For when fierce desire has swollen the veins, *right* it is that young men should resort hither, and not grind their neighbours' wives), -- a passage that involuntarily reminds us of the fragment of *Philemon* quoted above.

³ They had indiscriminate intercourse with the women, who did not hold it disgraceful to appear half-naked (*γυμναί*) and to practise both among themselves and in common with the men gymnastic exercises, and this in the presence of spectators, even in that of young men. These were actually enjoined to practise copulation, and to have the whole body polished and freed from hair by professional male artistes). *Athenæus*, Deipnos., bk. XII. pp. 517, 518.

was worse than licentious, while *Messapians*, *Samnites* and *Locrians*, as has been shown, habitually gave up their daughters to prostitution,—in spite of all this I say, the sexual excesses of the Romans were for the first 500 years on the whole insignificant. Their way of life as warriors and husbandmen hardly suffered them to sink into indolent sloth, the beginning of all vicious living, whilst the law of the XII Tables, "*coelibes prohibeto*" (be it forbidden to remain bachelors)¹ forced men in the vigour of their powers to satisfy the impulse of nature in the arms

¹ The law was in the first instance made only with a view to the future, in order to ensure the state a sufficiently large number of citizens; *Sozomenes*, *Histor. Eccles.*, I. 9., *Vetus lex fuit apud Romanos, quae vetabat coelibes ab anno aetatis quinto et vigesimo pari iure essent cum maritis.* — *Tulerant hanc legem veteres Romani, cum sperarent, futurum hac ratione, ut urbs Roma et reliquae provinciae imperii Romani hominum multitudine abundarent.* (There was an old law among the Romans, which forbade bachelors after the age of 25 to enjoy equal political rights with married men.—The old Romans had passed this law in the hopes that in this way the city of Rome, and the provinces of the Roman empire as well, might be ensured an abundant population). For the same reason *Caesar*, after the African War when the city was much depopulated through the great number of the slain, established

prizes for such citizens as had the most children). — *Dio Cassius*, Bk. XLIII. 226. — All this availed little. The Censors *Camillus* and *Posthumus* were soon obliged to introduce a tax on celibacy,—the "old-bachelors' tax" (*Aes uxorium*). — *Festus*, p. 161., *L. Valerius Maximus*, bk. II. ch. 9. — Augustus endeavoured in vain by the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* (Julian Law concerning marriage in the different classes) to counteract the tendency; till the *Lex Papia Poppaea* originating with the Senate (B.C. 9.) was ratified; (*Tacitus*, *Annal.* III. 25.—*Dio Cassius*, (LIV. 16., LVI. 10.), though even this did not long remain in force. Comp. *Lipsius*, *Excurs. ad Tacit. Annal.* III. 25. — *Heineccius*, *Antiquit. Roman. Jurispr.* (Antiquities of Roman Law), I. 25. 6. p. 209.—*Hugo*, "*Geschichte des römischen Rechts*," (History of Roman Law), I. p. 237., II. p. 861.

of the lawful wife. But more and more did the Romans come into contact with foreign Peoples, and began to adopt more and more their customs and vices. In the year 513 A.U.C. (B.C. 240) the Floralia were introduced, which even granting they cannot have had the origin that *Lactantius*¹ assigns

¹ Instit. Divin., I. 20. 6., Flora cum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quaesivisset, populum scripsit haeredom, certamque pecuniam reliquit, cuius ex annuo foenere suus natalis dies celebraretur editioe Ludorum, quos appellant Floralia. (Flora having acquired great riches by the harlot's calling made the people her heir, and left a certain sum of money, the interest of which was to be applied to celebrating her birth-day by the exhibition of the games which are called Floralia.—I. 20. 10., Celebrantur cum omni lascivia. Nam praeter verborum licentiam, quibus obscoenitas omnis effunditur, exuuntur etiam vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, quae tunc mimarum funguntur officio et in conspectu populi, usque ad satietatem inpudicorum hominum cum pudendis motibus detinentur. (They are solemnized with every form of licentiousness. For over and above the looseness of speech that pours forth every obscenity, harlots strip themselves of their clothing at the importunities of the mob, and then act as mimes,—pantomimic actors,—and in full view of the crowd

indulge in indecent posturings, till their shameless audience is satisfied). It may be noted that scarcely 40 years after the introduction of the Floralia, P. Scipio Africanus in his Speech in defence of Tib. Asellus could say: Si nequitiam defendere vis, licet: sed tu in uno scorto maiorem pecuniam absumsisti, quam quanti omne instrumentum fundi Sabini in censum dedicavisti. Ni hoc ita est: qui spondet mille nummum? Sed tu plus tertia parte pecuniae perdidisti atque absumsisti in flagitiis. (If you choose to defend your profligacy, well and good! but as a matter of fact you have wasted on one strumpet more money than the total value, as you declared it to the Census commissioners, of all the plenishing of your Sabine farm, If you deny my assertion, I ask who dare wager a thousand sesterces on its untruth? You have squandered more than a third of the property you inherited from your father, and thrown it away in debauchery).—Gellius, Noct. Attic., VII. 11.—As not only did betaerae build a temple to Aphrodité, but a similar one was also erected

them, yet by the very nature of the celebrations were an outrage on all good morals. Yet so universally popular were they that *Cato* could win no greater concession to his indignant zeal against them than that their closing scenes should be delayed until he had retired ¹.

The enormous wealth the Romans had won as booty in their continual Wars of spoliation, could not be hoarded unused, it must be enjoyed; and how enjoyed, the warriors knew already. The younger members of the Equestrian and Patrician orders went on travels, and learned in the arms of Greek and Asiatic wantons how to lavish their money *secundum artem*. Then on their return to Rome finding the native *Scorta* (common harlots) no longer to their taste, they brought home with them their freed-woman "*Amica*" (Mistress), who was a fair match for the Greek hetaera in greed, if not in refinement. It was not long before the old-fashioned Roman matron succumbed in the struggle with her for supremacy, and by dint of her only too successful endeavours to outdo the foreign courtesan in *recherche* vice and effrontery, became but the more despicable in the eyes of the proud Roman. She had indeed learned to be a mother, but not to love. At the same time the Roman himself, surrounded as he thus was by no softening influences, ceased not only to be a citizen of the state, but even to be a man at all; and the Ruler of the World sank at last to such a depth of exaggerated viciousness that it became his glory and boast to be without a rival in its enormity.

in their honour at Abydos (*Athenaeus*, XIII. p. 573.), and Phryn  wished to rebuild Thebes at her own cost, on the condition that an inscription should be set up to the effect, "Alexander destroyed it; Phryn  the hetaera restored

it", there is not the slightest reason for counting the above story as merely one of the ridiculous inventions common in the Fathers.

¹ *Valerius Maximus*, II. 10. 8.—*Seneca*, Epist. 97.—*Martial*, Epigr. I. 1 and 36.

The conclusion then is indisputable that only subsequently to the Wars in Asia was Roman morality undermined¹. At the same time it is impossible from the information given above to assign any definite point of time at which brothels and public women came into vogue at Rome, or at any rate when their existence as such was officially recognized by those in charge of the police super-

¹ Read the Speech of Cato in *Liivy*, Hist., bk. XXXIV. 4., where the following passage is found amongst others: Haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna rei publicae est, imperiumque crescit, et iam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, et regias etiam attractamus gazas, eo plus horreo, ne illae magis res nos ceperint, quam nos illas. (All these changes, as day by day the fortune of the State is higher and more prosperous and her Empire grows greater, and our conquests extend over Greece and Asia, lands replete with every allurements of the senses, and we appropriate treasures that may well be called royal,—all this I dread the more from my fear that such high fortune may rather master us than we master it). Scarcely 10 years later the same author says (bk. XXXIX. 6.): Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est. (For the beginnings of foreign luxury were brought into the city by the Asiatic army). *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 299.:

**Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia
mores
Intulit et turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles.**

(Foul money it was that first brought in foreign manners; wealth weakened and broke down the vigour of the age with base luxury). But pre-eminently applicable are the following words (III. 60 sqq.) of the same poet:

Non possum ferre, Quirites!
Graecam urbem, quamvis quota
 portio facis Achaeae?
Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim
 defluxit Orontes,
Et linguam et mores et cum
 tibicine chordas
(Obliquas, nec non gentilia tympana
 secum
Vexit et ad Circum iussas prostare
 puellas.

(I cannot bear, Quirites, to see Rome a Greek city,—and yet how mere a fraction of the whole corruption is found in these dregs of Achaea? Long since has the Syrian Orontes flowed into the Tiber, and brought along with it the Syrian tongue and manners and cross-stringed harp—and harper, and exotic timbrels, and girls hidden stand for hire at the Circus).

vision of the city. With the regulations and arrangements however we are more precisely acquainted. The brothels, *lupanaria*¹, *fornices*², were situated chiefly in the Second District (Secunda Regio) of

¹ The usual derivation of the word *lupanar* (brothel) is from Lupa, the wife of Faustulus (*Livy*, I. 4.); thus *Lactantius*, *Divin. Instit.*, bk. I. 20 sqq., says, fuit enim Faustuli uxor et, propter vulgati corporis vilitatem, Lupa inter pastores, id est meretrix, nuncupata est, unde etiam lupanar dicitur. (For she was the wife of Faustulus, and because of the easy rate at which her person was held at the disposal of all, was called among the shepherds Lupa, (she-wolf), that is harlot, whence also Lupanar—a brothel—is so called). *Comp. Isidore*, bk. XVIII. etymol. 42. *Jerome*, in *Eusebius' Chronicle*. However it is a fruitless effort to try and connect lupar and lupanar with lupus, the wolf. If we are not mistaken, the root-word is the Greek *λύμα*, filth, and so, shameless person; from this comes *lupa*, just as from *λύμαρ* was formed *lupar*, the oldest form for lupanar, which has maintained itself in the adjective *luparius*, and in *lupariae* in *Rufus* and *A. Victor* as synonyms of lupanar. Indeed *Lactantius* speaks of the hetaerae *Leaena* and *Cedrenus* as *γυναικας λυκαίνας*.

² The common derivation of *fornix* (brothel) is from *furnus* or *fornax* (an oven), or else makes it identical with *fornix*, an archway. *Isidore*, bk. X. 110., writes: a *fornicatrix* is one whose person is public and common. These women used to lie under archways, and such places are called *fornices*, whence also *fornicariae* (whores). Granted that the women used to resort in numbers to the arches in the town-walls through which sorties were made (*Livy*, XXXVI. 23., XLIV. 11.), yet several passages in ancient authors prove clearly that the *fornices* were houses (especially *Petronius*, *Satir.* 7., *Martial* XI. 62.). The *ancient Glosses* have:—"fornicaria": *πορνὴ ἀπὸ καμάρας ἣ ἴστανται*. (a harlot, from the chamber where they take their stand). But in all probability the brothels took their name from the circumstance of their being situated in the neighbourhood of the town-wall and its arches; for which reason the women were also called *Summoenianae* (women of the Summoenium,—district under the walls). *Martial*, XI. 62., III. 82., I. 35., XII. 32. Or should we say that *fornix* was formed from *πορνικόν*?

the city ¹, the *Coelimoniana*, particularly in the Subura (Suburbana) that bordered the town-walls, lying in the Carinae,—the valley between the Coelian and Esquiline Hills. In the same district was the *Macellum magnum*, or Great Market, for all sorts of provisions ² along the banks of the Tiber, as well as the Cook-shops, Stalls or Shops (Tabernae)—of the Barbers, even of the Public Executioner ³, and the *Castra peregrina*, (Foreign Camp), barracks for foreign troops quartered in Rome under the Emperors as a garrison, —all circumstances that occasioned a great concourse of men ⁴. To the North the Subura marched with the “Isis and Serapis”,—the Third District (Tertia Regio), where was situated the temple of Isis with its gardens and groves. The regular brothels are pictured to us as being in the highest degree uncleanly and dirty ⁵, so that their frequenters carried away the smell with them. They possessed a definite number of “chambers”, *Cellae* ⁶, and above the

¹ *Adler*, “Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.” (Description of the City of Rome), pp. 144 sqq.

² *Martial*, bk. VII. Epigr. 30., bk. X. Epigr. 94.

³ *Martial*, bk. II. Epigr. 17.

⁴ Hence *Martial*’s expression (XII. 18.), *clamosa Subura* (the clamorous Subura).

⁵ *Horace*, Satir. I. 2. 30., *Contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem*. (On the other hand another man cares for no woman but such as stand in the foul-smelling brothel).—*Priapeia*,

*Quilibet huc, licebit, intret
Nigra fornicis oblitus favilla.*

(All that please, none will say nay, may enter here, smeared with the black soot of the

brothel).—*Prudentius*, *Contra Symmachum*, bk. II., *spurcam redolente fornice cellam*, (a filthy chamber in the stinking brothel).—*Seneca*, *Controv.*, I. 2., *Redoles adhuc fuliginem fornicis*, (You reek still of the soot of the brothel).—*Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 130., says of the Empress *Messalina*:

*Obscurisque genis turpis, fumoque lucernae
Foeda lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.*

(And disfigured and dim-eyed, fouled with the smoke of the lamp, she bore back the stink of the brothel to the imperial couch).

⁶ *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 122., 127.—*Petronius*, Sat. 8.—*Lipsius*, *Saturn.* I. 14. Hence

door of each of these was inscribed the name of the girl, that which she had adopted on her first admission¹, and the price of her embraces². In

Cella and Cellae (chambers) are constantly used in the sense of lupanar (brothel).

¹ *Martial*, bk. XI. 46., Intrasti quoties inscripta limina cellae, (As oft as you have crossed the thresholds of a "chamber" with inscription over). *Seneca*, Controv., bk. I. 2., Deducta es in lupanar, accepisti locum, pretium constitutum est, *titulus* inscriptus est, (You were taken away to a brothel, you received your stand, your price was fixed, *your name written up*).—Meretrix vocata es, in communi loco stetisti, *superpositus est cellae tuae titulus*, venientes recepisti, (You were called a harlot, you took your stand in a public brothel, *your name-ticket was put up above your chamber*, you received such as came).—Nomen tuum pendit in fronte, pretia stupri accepisti, et manus, quae diis data erat sacra, capturas tulit, (Your name hung on your door, you took the price of fornication, and your hand, that was meant to offer sacred gifts to the gods, held the fees). This last passage interpreters have wished to understand as if the name-ticket were fastened on the woman's forehead; but, not to mention that in this case *tibi* would have to be read for *tuum*, it is a perfectly well known fact

that *frons* (front, forehead) was used in Latin for the face of a door (*Ovid*, Fasti, I. 135., Omnis habet geminas, hinc atque hinc, ianua frontes, (Every door has two faces, inside and out). *Seneca* says *pendit* (it hung there), and afterwards is promoted onto the list of the Leno (Brothel-keeper)!

² This is seen most clearly from the following passage in the "Vita Apollonii Tyrri", (Life of Apollonius of Tyre), p. 695., Puella ait, prosternens se ad pedes eius: miserere, domine, virginitatis meae, ne prostituas hoc corpus sub tam turpi titulo. Leno vocavit villicum puellarum et ait, ancilla, quae praesens est et exornetur diligenter et scribatur et titulus, quicumque Tarsiam deviolverit, mediam liberam dabit: postea ad singulos solidos populo patebit. (Says the girl, throwing herself at his feet: "Sir! have pity on my maidenhood, and do not prostitute this fair body under so ugly a name." The Brothel-keeper (Leno) called the Superintendent (villicus) of the girls and says, "Let the maid here present be decked out with every care, and a name-ticket written for her; the man that takes Tarsia's virginity shall pay half a "libera" (?), afterwards she shall be at the

each "chamber" was to be found a bed (*pavimentum*, cubiculum, pulvinar,—pavement, sleeping-place, couch), which was spread with a particular kind of coverlet, *lodix*, *lodicula*, (blanket, little blanket),¹ and a lamp, *lucerna* ².

As for the brothel-keeper, the Romans seem to have had no special word to express this; they use in fact *leno* in this signification, though the word properly means the Procurer who merely offers his house for the purpose, but does not keep women, giving them board and wage. Perhaps this arose from the fact that in earlier times no regular brothels existed in Rome; the women merely hired a lodging, and the owner of the house had nothing at all to do with their business, whilst the match-maker or pandar confined *his* efforts to procuring girls for his patrons and letting out his "chambers" for a fixed charge *merces cellae* (hire of the chamber) ³, paid by

disposal of all comers at a "solidus"—or "aureus", gold coin worth 25 denarii, say 20 shillings—each). So we see even in the name there prevailed a certain luxury; and a young girl of handsome person would fain have a handsome-sounding name to match.

¹ *Petronius* Satir. 20.—*Barth*, on *Claudian*, note 1173.—*Martial*, XIV, 148., 152.—*Juvenal*, VI, 194. From this the women themselves were often called *lodices meretrices* (blanket harlots) in contradistinction to the Street-walkers.

² *Martial*, XIV. 39—42. XI. 105.—*Apuleius*, *Metam.*, V. p. 162.—*Horace*, Satir. II. 7. v. 48.—*Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 131.—*Tertullian*, *Ad Uxor.*,

II. 6., *Dei ancilla in laribus alienis—et procedet de ianua laureata et lucernata, ut de novo consistorio libidinum publicarum*, (The handmaid of God in strange dwellings,—and she shall go forth from the door that is laurel-decked and lamp-lit, as it were from a new assembly-hall of public lusts), where the expression *consistorium libidinum* (assembly-hall of lusts) for brothel is noticeable.

³ *Petronius*, Satir. 95., *Vos me hercule ne mercedem cellae daretis*, (Ye would not, by heavens, give even the hire of the chamber). The fee amounted usually to an As. *Petronius*, Satir. 8., *Iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat*, (Already had the harlot demanded the As for the chamber).

each visitor. Only when the business became more profitable, did Lenones or Lenae (Procurers, Procuresses), for women also carried on Lenocinium (procuration), actually keep girls, whom they bought as slaves¹. The Leno had his *Fillicus puellarum* (Superintendent of the Maids), who assigned name and price, provided the girls with clothes², and

Martial, I. 104., Constat et asse Venus, (And an As is the recognised price of Love). II. 53., Si plebeia Venus gemino tibi vincitur asse, If you win for yourself a base-born Love for a couple of Asses). Comp. the inscription in *Gruter*, "Inscript. antiq. totius orbis Romani". (Ancient Inscriptions of the whole Roman world). Amsterdam 1616., No. DCLII. 1.—*Heinsius* on *Ovid*, *Remedium Amoris* 407.

¹ *Seneca*, *Controv.* I. 2., Nuda in litore stetit ad fastidium emptoris, omnes partes corporis et inspectae et contractatae sunt. Vultis auctionis exitum audire? Vendit pirata, emit leno. — Ita raptae pepercere piratae, ut lenoni venderetur: sic emit leno, ut prostituerit. (Naked she stood on the shore at the pleasure of the purchaser; every part of her body was examined and felt. Would you hear the result of the sale? The pirate sold, the pandar bought.—For this the pirates spared their captive, that she might be sold to a pandar; for this the pandar bought her, that he might employ her as a prostitute).—*Quintilian*, De-

clam. III., Leno etiam servis excipitur, fortasse hac lege captivos vendes, (A pandar too is supplied with slaves; perhaps in this way you will sell your captives).—*Lex* § 1. de in ius vocando: Prostituta contra legem venditionis venditorem habet patronum, si hac lege venierat, ut, si prostituta esset, fieret libera, (Law § 1. Of the right of appeal: A female slave prostituted contrary to the condition of sale has the seller for patron, if she was sold on this condition, that, should she be prostituted, she should become free). These sales took place in the Subura. *Martial*, VI. 66.

² *Seneca*, *Controv.*, I. 2., Stetisti cum meretricibus, stetisti sic ornata ut populo placere posses, ea veste quam leno dederat, (You stood with the harlots, you stood decked out so as to please the public, wearing the dress that the leno had given you). The dress of the public women was always gay-coloured and very bold; they had to wear the male toga (gown). *Cicero*, *Philipp.* II., Sompstisti virilem togam, quam statim muliebrem reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum:

certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva. (You assumed the man's toga, which straightway you made a woman's. First a common strumpet; sure was the profit of your shame, and not small either.)—*Tibullus*, IV. 10. *Martial*, II. 30. Hence public women were also called *togatae* (wearing the toga or man's gown). *Martial*, VI. 64. *Horace*, Sat. I. 2. 63., Quid interest in matrona, ancilla, peccesque togata? (What difference does it make whether it is with a married woman, or a serving-maid, or a toga'd harlot (togata), that you offend?) *Ibidem* 80—83.,

Nec magis huic inter niveos viri-
desque lapillos
(Sit licet hoc Cerinthe,
tuum,) tenerum est femur aut
Rectius; atque etiam melius per-
sape togatae est.

(Nor amidst all her snowy gems and green jewels is her thigh more soft (though it is your belief, Cerinthus, that it is) or her leg straighter; nay! very often that of the toga'd harlot is the better limb).

It is well-known what trouble *Bentley* gave himself to explain this *locus implicatissimus* (most intricate passage), as he calls it, because he supposed the common reading to be corrupt and accordingly altered the text, all to bring out a comparison of Cerinthus' thigh—a comparison that never was in *Horace's* mind at all. Several years ago in our Work, "De

Sexuali Organismorum Fabrica," (On the Sexual Fabric of Organisms), Spec. I., Halle 1832, large 8vo., p. 61., we disentangled the matter and showed exactly how it stood, proving that the "Sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum" (Though this be your (opinion), Cerinthus) must be taken as a parenthesis, consequently that the usual reading is the right one. But as the book would seem to have come into few hands, and least of all into those of Philologists, we may be allowed to take this opportunity of once more developing our view. The comparison is between the matron and the "togata", and it is maintained that the matron, i. e. the noble Roman lady, possesses for all her jewelry neither a softer thigh nor a straighter leg than the "togata", the girl of common stamp; that the latter in fact can often make a better show of both, even though her leg is as crooked as the matron's is,—a peculiarity that every female leg has, because in a woman the knee projects more forwards. *Aristotle*, *Hist. Anim.*, IV. 11. 6., even in his time notes this fact: τὸ θῆλυ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ γονυκροτώτερον. (the female is more knock-kneed also than the male). Comp. same author's *Physiognom.*, 3.5.6. *Adamant.*, *Physiognom.*, II. 107. ed. *Sylb.* *Polemo*, *Physiognom.*, p. 179. Anatomical investigation moreover proves this most clearly.

kept a list of them and what they earned ¹. In fact such of the women as were bond-servants were obliged,—and this applied equally to those that were not slaves,—to deliver up not merely the As for the hire of the chamber, but the whole fee as well, according to the amount fixed by the brothel-keeper (Leno) ², though much underhand trickery of various

But as Cerinthus seems to be ignorant of it, in spite of its being a well known fact, he lets himself be deluded by the outward magnificence of attire and distinguished birth, and believes the matron to be the better built, and it is for this mistake the poet taunts him. Horace in this passage is merely giving a commentary on v. 63 above. Now compare what *Plautus*, *Mostell.*, I. 3. 13, makes Scapha say to Philematia, Non vestem amatores mulieris amant, sed vestis factum ('Tis not the dress of a woman that lovers love, but the lining of the dress); also *Martial*, III. Epigr. 33.; and the folly of *Cerinthus* is made quite obvious. The phrase—Sit licet hoc tuum (Though this be yours) in the sense, "though you look at it this way, take the dazzle of jewels as the criterion of a woman's beauty", surely needs no further confirmation.

¹ *Seneca*, *Controv.*, I. 2., Da mihi lenonis rationes; captura conveniet. (Give me the brothel-keeper's accounts; the fee will suit).

² *Seneca*, *Controv.*, I. 2., Deducta es in lupanar, ac-

cepisti locum, *pretium constitutum est*. (You were taken to a brothel, you took your place, your price was fixed). *Ovid*, *Amores*, I. 10., Stat meretrix cuivis certo mercabilis aere. (There stands the harlot that any man can buy for a fixed sum). The fee was called *captura* (fee) (compare *Schulting*, on *Seneca*, loco citato, and *Casaubon* on *Suetonius*, *Caligula* 40.), *quaestus meretricius* (harlot's hire) (*Cicero*, *Philipp.* II. 18.) or simply *quaestus* (hire); *merces* (cost) and *pretium stupri* (price of fornication); *aurum lustrale* (brothel, literally *den*, money). The women used to demand its payment. *Juvenal*, *Sat.* VI. 125. Exceptit blanda intrantes atque aera poposcit. (Blandly she welcomed her visitors as they entered and asked for the fee). Hence the expression "basia meretricum poscinum-mia" (harlots' kisses that ask for money) in *Apuleius*, *Met.*, X. p. 248. For the rest prices were very various among the brothel-harlots as they were with the others. Comp. *Martial*, X. 75., IX. 33., III. 54. The lowest fee was one As or 2 obols (three pence); hence

sorts occurred in connection with this regulation ¹.

The brothels were not allowed to be opened before the ninth hour (four o'clock in the afternoon), so as not to draw young men away from their duties ². The girls either stood (*Prostibula*—women who stand in front) ³ or sat (*Proседа*—women who sit in front) ⁴ before the "chambers" or Lupan-

girls of the sort were called by the Romans also *diobolares meretrices* (two-obol harlots) (*Festus*) or *diobolaria scorta* (two-obol whores) (*Plautus*, *Poen.*, I. 2. 58.). *Comp.* p. 90 above.

¹ *Plautus*, *Trinum.*, IV. 2. 47., *Quae adversum legem accepisti a plurimis pecuniam.* (You who contrary to the regulation accepted money from a great many men).

² Hence the women were also called *Nonariae* (Ninth-hour women). *Persius*, *Sat.* I. 133. The Scholiast observes on the passage: *Nonaria dicta meretrix, quia apud veteres a nona hora prostabant, ne mane omissa exercitatione illo irent adolescentes.* (A harlot was called "Nonaria", because in former times they used to act as prostitutes from the ninth hour only, for fear the young men should resort thither in the morning to the neglect of their athletic exercises).

³ *Nonius Marcellus*, V. § 8., *Inter meretricem et prostibulum hoc interest: quod meretrix honestioris loci est et quaestus: nam meretrices a merendo dictae sunt, quod copiam sui tan-*

tummodo noctu facerent: prostibula, quod ante stabulum stent quaestus diurni et nocturni causa. (This is the difference between a *meretrix* (harlot) and a *prostibulum* (common strumpet): a *meretrix* is of a more honorable station and calling; for *meretrices* were so named a *merendo* (from earning wages), because they plied their calling only by night; *prostibula*, because they stand before the *stabulum* (stall, "chamber") for gain both by day and night).—*Plautus*, *Cistell. fragm.*, *Adstat ea in via sola: prostibula sane est.* (She stands there in the way alone: surely she is a *prostibula*—common whore).

⁴ *Plautus*, *Poenul.*, I. 2. 54.,

*An te ibi vis inter istas vorsarier
Prose das, pistorum amicas,
reliquias alicarias,
Miseras corno delibutas, servili-
colas, sordidas,
Quae tibi olent stabulum, statum-
que, sellam et sessibulum merum,
Quas adeo haud quisquam tetigit,
neque duxit domum?*

(It is your wish to pass your time there amongst those *common strumpets*, bakers' mistresses, refuse of the spell-mill girls, drabs besmeared with filth, slaves' darlings,

aria (brothels), to call the passers-by to them. Did a lover make his appearance, then the door of the "chamber" was carefully fastened ¹, and "*occupata*" (engaged) written over the door ², an unoccupied "chamber" being called *nuda* (naked) ³. Towards morning the "chambers" were opened, and the Leno (brothel-keeper) let the girls go ⁴. It would seem to follow from this that these either did not live in the brothel-keeper's house at all, or that the "chambers" were situated somewhere else, away from head-quarters. From a passage in *Juvenal* ⁵ it has, perhaps wrongly, been concluded that these "chambers" were at the Circus Maximus. Such places are at any rate mentioned by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* as existing at the Portico above the

squalid creatures that reek of their stand and trade, of the chair and bare stool, women that no free man ever touched or took home?) This serves also to explain the passage in *Juvenal*, III. 136., *Et dubitas alta Chionem deducere sella*. (And you hesitate to hand down Chione from her high seat).

¹ *Martial*, XI. 45., I. 35. Usually however this appears only to have been done, when the customer was gratifying unnatural lusts.

² *Plautus*, *Asin.*, IV. I. 19., *In foribus scribat, occupatam esse se*. (Let her write on the door that she is engaged).

³ *Martial*, XI. 62.,

Quem cum fenestra vidit a Suburana Obscoena nudum lena fornicem clausit.

(When she saw him from a window in the Subura, the foul brothel-mistress shut the

unoccupied "chamber").

Juvenal, VI. 121.,

Intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar,
Et cellam vacuum atque suam.

(She entered the brothel cosy with its old patch-work quilt, and the chamber that was vacant and her own.). *Mesalina* had hired, we see, a special "chamber" of her own, where she acted as a prostitute under the name of *Lycisca*.

⁴ *Juvenal*, VI. 127.,

Mox, lenone suas iam dimittente puellas,
Tristis abit — tamen ultima cellam clausit.

(Presently when time is up and the brothel-keeper dismisses his girls, sadly she takes her departure,—but she was the last to shut her chamber).

⁵ III. 65., *et ad circum iussas prostare puellas* (and girls bidden stand for hire at the Circus).

shops¹; and without doubt several passages are to found in Latin authors to prove that the women plied their trade even after the close of the Representations², and we know that besides the regular Ludi Circenses (Games of the Circus) other performances of a similar kind were held in the Circus.

Besides the brothels, we find, particularly in the Taverns (cauponae, tabernae—inns, taverns) and Cookshops (popinae, ganea—cookshops, eating-

¹ Of Heliogabalus *Lampridius*, (Vita Heliog. ch. 26.) relates: Omnes de circo, de theatro, de stadio—meretrices collegit. (He collected all the harlots,—from *circus*, theatre and stadium—race-course). An old poem (*Priapeia*, carm. 26,) says:

Deliciae populi, magno notissima circo
Quintia.

(The darling of the people, Quintia, so well known in the Great Circus). Comp. *Buleng.* De Circo ch. 56. Supposing this view to be correct, we might read in the passage of *Juvenal*, III. 136., as several Critics do, "alta Chionem deducere cella" (to lead Chione down from her lofty "chamber").

² Already in *Livy*, II. 18., we read the account: Eo anno Romae, cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, etc. (That year at Rome, when during the games harlots were carried off in their wantonness by the youth of the Sabines, etc.) *Plautus*, *Casin.* Prolog., 82—86.; this passage is re-

peatedly cited in this connection, but really has only a remote bearing on the matter. But in confirmation *Isidore*, XVIII. 42., says: Idem vero theatrum idem et prostibulum, eo quod post ludos exactos meretrices ibi prosternerentur. (But theatre and brothel were identical, for after the games were over, harlots used to prostitute themselves there). Comp. *Buleng.* De Theatro I. 16. and 49. *Lipsius*, *Elect.*, I. 11. Of course these statements may refer equally well to the Floralia or, as *Isidore* lived so much later, to the lascivious representations of brothel-life of which *Tertullian* tells us. The latter writes, *De Spectaculis* ch. 17., Ipsa etiam prostibula, publicae libidinis hostiae, in scena proferantur, plus miserae in praesentia feminarum, quibus solis latebant: perque omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis ora transducuntur, locus, stipes, elogium, etiam quibus opus est, praedicatur. (Nay, the very harlots, victims of the public lust, are brought forward on the stage, more wretched still in the

houses ¹, women kept by the hosts for the gratification of their patrons. As a rule these also were bought slave-women, who served the guests, entertained them with dance and music, and surrendered their persons on desire. The hostesses themselves devoted their attention to both trades, as e.g. is shown by the "Copa" (Mine Hostess) ascribed to *Virgil*; and hence they, and their husbands with them, stood in the eye of the Magistrate on the

presence of women, who alone used to be ignorant of such things; and they are discussed by the lips of every age and every condition, and place, origin, merits, even what should never be mentioned, are freely spoken of). In 1791 in a public theatre in Paris just such things were represented as *Juvenal* in his Sixth Satire speaks of as being acted at Rome. Gynaecology Pt. III. p. 423. That whores were to be found in the Theatre as well as in the Circus is shown by *Lampridius*, Vita *Heliogab.*, ch. 32., fertur et una die ad omnes *circi* et *theatri* et *amphitheatri* et omnium urbis locorum *meretrices* ingressus. (And access is given on one day to all the *harlots of circus, theatre and amphitheatre* and all the places of the city). Comp. ch. 26., and *Abram.* on Cicero's Speech for Milo ch. 24. p. 177. Perhaps at all these spots "chambers" (cellae) were put up, to which the word *locorum* (places) above may very well refer.

¹ *Horace*, Epist. I. 14. 21.,

Fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incitant urbis desiderium, video;
et quod
Angulus iste feret piper et thus
ocius uva;
Nec vicina subest vinum praebere
taberna
Quae possit tibi; nec meretrix
tibicina, cuius
Ad strepitum salias terrae gravis.
(The brothel and greasy cook-shop make you long for the city, I can see; and the fact that this little nook (i.e. Horace's Sabine farm) will yield the pepper-plant and thyme sooner than the grape, and no neighbourly tavern is at hand to give you wine, and no harlot flute-player to whose din you may thump the floor with your heavy feet). *Martial*, VII. 60., complains of the great number of such places. Here and at the money changer's shops, but especially the latter, the Procurers were to be found. *Plautus*, Trucul. I. 1. 47.,
Nani nusquam alibi si sunt, circum
argentarias
Scorti lenones quasi sedent
quotidie.

(For if they are nowhere else, at any rate round the

same footing with Lenones and Meretrices (Brothel-keepers and Prostitutes) ¹.

Now who frequented these places? Down to the time of the Empire only the lowest class of the people, particularly Sailors ², Freedmen and Slaves ³, though indeed later, when *Claudius* and *Nero* ⁴ set so eminent an example, high and low equally might be found both in brothels and in Taverns and Cookshops. The bakers, envious of the profits made by the inn-keepers, organized their tabernae (bread-stalls or shops) in the mills in such a way that they too could provide their customers with what they wanted ⁵. This appears to have been done first in

banks harlots and pandars sit as it were daily). Comp. *Stockmann* "De Popinis (Of Cookshops). Leipzig 1805. 8vo.

¹ Codex Theodos. bk. IX. tit. VII. 1. p. 60. edit. Ritter.

² *Horace*, Epodes, XVII. 20., Amata nautis multum et insectoribus (A woman much loved by sailors and traders).—*Petronius*, Satir. 99.—*Juvenal*, Sat. VIII. 173—175. *Seneca*, Controv., I. 3.

³ *Columella*, Rēs Rustica, I. ch. 8., Socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otii, campo, circo, theatris, aleae, popinae, lupanaribus consuetum, nunquam non easdem ineptias somniat. (That slothful and sleepy tribe of domestic slaves, habituated to ease, games, circus, theatres, dice, cookshop, brothels, would ever be dreaming the same sort of follies).

⁴ *Suetonius*, Claudius, ch. 40., Nero, ch. 27 -- *Tacitus*,

Annal., XIII. 25.

⁵ *Paulus Diaconus*, XIII. 2., Horum manicipes tempore procedente pistrina publica latrocinia esse fecerunt: cum enim essent molae in locis subterraneis consiitutaе, per singula latera earum domuum tabernas instituentes, meretrices in eis prostare faciebant, quatenus per eas plurimos deciperent, alios qui pro pane veniebant, alios qui pro luxuriae turpitudine ibi festinabant. (The owners of these as time went on turned the public corn-mills into mischievous frauds. For the mill-stones being fixed in places underground, they set up stalls on either side of these chambers and caused harlots to stand for hire in them, so that by their means they deceived very many,—some that came for bread, others that hastened thither for the base gratification of their wantonness).

Campania ¹. But not solely in regular Houses and "Chambers" were "filles de joie" to be met with. They carried on their trade also as *Scorta erratica* (wandering whores, street-walkers) the commonest sort, in all public places, at the corners of streets ², round the tombs and monuments ³, in out-of-the-way nooks of the town and the surrounding plantations in its neighbourhood ⁴. In these places they

¹ *Festus*, p. 7., Alicariae meretrices appellabantur in Campania solitae ante pistrina alicariorum versari quaestus gratia. (Harlots were called alicariae (spelt-mill girls) in Campania, being accustomed to ply for gain in front of the mills of the spelt-millers).---*Plautus*, *Poenul.*, I. 2. 54., Prosedas, pistorum amicas, reliquias alicarias. (Common strumpets, bakers' mistresses, refuse of the spelt-mill girls).

² *Catullus*, LVIII. 1.,

Illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam
Plusquam se atque suos amavit
omnes,
Nunc in quadriuiis et angiportis
Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes.

(The fair Lesbia, that Catullus loved above all women, more than himself and all his friends, now at cross-ways and in alleys skins the high-souled sons of Remus). We see from this that it was partly such freed-women girls that, past their prime and come down in the world, no longer visited by rich admirers, had to seek their living on the streets.—*Plautus*, *Cistell.*,

Intro ad bonam meretricem; adstat
ea in via
Sola; prostibula sane est.

(I am going in to a "good" harlot; *she* stands in the road alone,—she is surely a common whore).—*Plautus*, *Sticho*: Prostibuli est stantem stanti suavius dare, (It's a strumpet's way to give a kiss standing to a standing lover); whence it might be concluded that only street-whores were called "Prostibula".—*Prudentius*, *Peristeph.*, XIV. 38.,

Sic elocutam publicitus iubet
Flexu in plutea sistere virginem.

(When she had uttered this public address, he bids the maiden stand at the turn of the street).

³ *Martial*, I. 35., Abscondunt spurcas et monumenta lupas. (The monuments too hide filthy strumpets). Hence they were called *bustuariae* (women that haunt tombs). *Martial*, III. 93., Admittat inter bustuarias moechas. (Let him admit her among the fornicators of the tombs). *Comp.* *Turnebus*, *Advers.*, XIII. 19.

⁴ *Prudentius*, *Symmach.*, I. 107.

Scortator nimius, multaque libidine
suetus

carried on their trade, some no doubt on their own account, other perhaps as slaves working for their masters and mistresses and bound to deliver in a fixed sum daily.

The different kinds of "filles de joye" so far particularized were all of them slave-women, but over and above these there were in Rome a large number of Gay Women who carried on their profession entirely on their own account, either merely as a second string to their bow, like the Mimes, Dancers, Harp-girls, Ambubaiae¹, or else as sole aim and object of their lives, in the character of *Scorta nobilia* (noble whores) or *bonae meretrices* (good harlots) to to use *Plautus'* expressions. They were all of them

Ruricolae vexare lupas, interque
salicta,
Et densas sepes obscoena cubilia
inire,

(An inordinate fornicator, went to vex the rustic harlots with multiplied lusts, and amidst the willow-plantations and thickset hedges to creep into foul lairs); where *Barth*, *Advers.*, X. 2., for *ruricolae* (haunting the country, rustic) would read *lustricolae* (haunting wild dens),—those who prostituted themselves in wild-beasts' dens, desert places. Hence also a brothel is called *lustrum* (den) and *cellae lustrales* (den-like chambers), and harlots' hire *aurum lustrale* (den-money).—*Crede-nus*, *De Romulo et Remo*: ὁ τοίνυν πάππος Ἀμούλιος διὰ τὴν πορνείαν παροξυνθεὶς εἰς τὰς ὕλας αὐτοῦς ἐξέειπετο, οὗς εὐροῦσα γυνὴ πρόβατα νέμουςα ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἀνιθρέφατο. Εἰθιστο

δὲ τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις λυκαῖνας τὰς τοιαύτας καλεῖν γυναικας διὰ τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι μετὰ λύκων διατρίβειν, διὸ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ λυκαίνης ἀνατραφῆναι μυθολογεῖται. (So their grandfather Amulius exasperated by his wife's adultery took the children into the woods and exposed them there; but his wife, as she was pasturing sheep, found them, and reared them on the mountain. Now it was the custom of the inhabitants of those parts to call women of this kind "she-wolves" (λυκαῖνας) on account of their living entirely on the mountains with the wolves, whence also the tale is told that these babes were fostered by a she-wolf).

¹ *Horace*, *Sat.* I. 2. 11. Ambubaiaiam collegium (Society of — Syrian — Singing-girls).—*Suetonius*, *Nero*, ch. 27.

foreigners, and generally freed-women¹, and were distinguished not only for their more elaborate dress², but also on account of their education, which far and away surpassed that of the Roman ladies. In this respect however they fell short of the level reached by the Greek hetærae in the best times of Greece, and for this reason never obtained the influence at Rome on the life of the city and of the State which the former possessed at Athens. They were not so much friends (*Amicae*) as mistresses (*Dominae*) of their Roman lover, and their relations with him bodily only and not intellectual. For the rest this class yet awaits a *Friedrich Jacobs* to be its historian. They were either kept by an individual lover, or else gave themselves only to rich admirers at their own private lodgings,³ that lay *perdu* far from the bustle of street and market; but no doubt descended, when the time of youth and beauty was over, to the condition of common courtesans or even of mere street-walkers.

Just as happened in Greece, immodesty spread not a little among the daughters and wives of the Roman citizens also, and already in the reign of *Germanicus*, *Tacitus* could report⁴: "Eodem anno gravibus

¹ *Plautus*, *Cist.*, I. 1. 39.,

Eunt depressum, quia nos sumus
libertinae,
Et ego et mater tua, ambae mere-
trices sumus.

(They go about to depreciate us, because we are freed-women, both I and your mother, we are both courtesans).—*Livy*, XXXIX. 9.

² They were called for this reason *vestita scorta* (dressed out whores). *Juvenal*, *Satir.* III. 135.—*Horace*, *Sat.* I. 2. 28.,

Sunt qui nolint tetigisse, nisi illas
Quarum subsuta talos tegat in-
stita veste,

(There are men who will refuse to touch any woman but those whose frilled tunic has a *flounce* touching their heels).—*Comp. Burmann* on *Petronius*, pp. 64 and 95.—*Ferrarius*, *De re vestiari.* (On costume), bk. III. ch. 23.

³ *Horace*, *Odes* II. 11. 21., *Quis devium scortum domo eliciet Lyden?* (Who will entice from her home the sequestered harlot Lyde?).

⁴ *Annal.*, II. 85. In fact mention had been made of *Vestilia*, member of a *Praetorian* family, as being a public prostitute.

"senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita, cautumque ne quaestum corpore faceret, cui avus aut pater aut maritus Eques Romanus fuisset." (This same year severe decrees of the Senate were passed to restrain unchastity on the part of women, and it was forbidden for any to give her person for hire, whose grandfather, father, or husband had been a Roman knight). So it cannot cause any great surprise to find *Martial*¹ declaring:

"Quaero diu totam, Sophroni Rufe, per urbem:
"Si qua puella neget; nulla puella negat."

(I have long been searching the city through, Sophronius Rufus, if there is e'er a maid to say no; there is not one!) To this result the introduction at Rome of the worship of Isis had contributed not a little². Under pretence of serving Isis, the matrons found an opportunity of wantoning unhindered in the arms of paramours³, for the husbands dared not enter the temple precincts while their wives offered were performing their ten days' devotion there. Probably in cases of disease of the genitals Roman women offered their prayers to Isis, as the men did to Priapus, for the temples of the goddess were full of images of parts of the body that had been healed and of maimed organs⁴, and contained numer-

¹ Bk. IV. Epigr. 71. Already in his time *Ovid* dared to say: casta est, quam nemo rogavit. (she is chaste—whom no man has solicited).

² Although the goddess Isis was worshipped at Rome as early as Sulla's time (*Apuleius*, *Metam.*, XI. p. 817. edit. Oudendorp), she did not possess a public temple there till the Triumvirate (711 A. A. C.) *Dio Cassius*, bk. XLVII. 15. p. 501., XLIII.

2. p. 692., LIV. 6. p. 734., XL. 47. p. 252. edit. Fabricius.—*Tertullian*, *Apologet.*, ch. 6. *Spartian*, *Caracalla*, 9. *Suetonius*, *Domitian*, 12.

³ *Ovid*, *Ars Amandi*, I. 27.—*Burmman* on *Propertius*, p. 348. *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud.* XVIII. 4. Hence in *Juvenal*, *Sat.* VI., 488., *Isiacae sacraria lenae* (sanctuaries of Isis—the brothel-mistress).

⁴ *Tibullus*, bk. I. *carm.* 3. 27.,

ous establishments for the care of sick persons of this particular character.

But of more influence than all the rest was the example which the Emperors *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula* and the infamous *Messalina*¹ gave. Not contented with the possession of a *Harem*, they set up actual brothels in their palaces,—a practice the aristocracy

Nunc dea, nunc succurre mihi;
nam posse mederi,
Picta docet templis multa
tabella tuis.

(Now goddess, even now help me; for that thou *canst* heal, many a painted tablet in thy temples shows). *Gerning*, "Reise durch Oestreich und Italien" (Journey through Austria and Italy). Vol. II. pp. 188—199.—*St. Non*, "Voyage pittoresque" (Picturesque Tour), Vol. II. pp. 170 sqq. Hardly anything is yet known as to the connection of the worship of Isis with the healing of disease, least of all with regard to establishments for the sick; for the particulars collected by *Hundertmarck* ("De principibus Diis Artis medicæ tutelaribus" (Of the principal Gods that presided over the Medical Art). Leipzig 1735. 4to. and "Diss. de Artis Medicæ incrementis per ægrotorum apud Veteres in Vias Publica et Tempia expositionem" (Treatise on advances in medical Art due to the practice of the Ancients of exposing the sick in Public Ways and Temples). Leipzig 1739. 4to.) are quite insufficient.

¹ *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 121, 131. *Tacitus*, Annal., XI. ch. 37.—*Dio Cassius*, IX. p. 686. *Messalina* adulteriis et stupris non contenta (iam enim etiam in cella quadam in palatio et ipsa sessitabat et alias prostituēbat) maritus simul multos ritu legitimo habere cupivit. (*Messalina* not satisfied with adultery and fornication (for already in a certain chamber within the very palace she was in the habit of sitting as a prostitute herself and also of making other women do the same), was eager to have many husbands at once under sanction of the laws).—*Xiphilinus*, LXXIX. p. 912., Denique in palatio habuit cellam quandam, in qua libidinem explebat, stabatque nuda semper ante fores eius, ut scorta solent. (At last she had in the palace a certain chamber, in which she was wont to satiate her lustfulness, and used to stand always stripped before its doors, as whores do). *Suetonius*, *Caligula*, ch. 41., Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in palatio constituit: distinctisque et instructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus ma-

soon copied, organizing similar establishments on their estates, to be able to wallow undisturbed in the mire of bestial lusts¹.

Of vice as practised in the Baths and of male whores in the brothels we shall speak later.

Now how were Brothels and Courtesans affected in connection with the police of the State in Rome? It has been shown already that no penalty whatever attached either to illicit intercourse or to prostitution in general, because the disgrace to individuals involved in the commission of such offences in the eyes of their fellows was thought sufficient to ensure at any rate the daughters of citizens against unchastity. But the case was different with married women who were guilty of a breach of marriage honour. Of the manifold punishments we will mention only one here: the offender was imprisoned and obliged to surrender her person to all comers, whilst each time this took place a notification was given by the ringing of a bell;—a procedure that continued till finally abolished by the Emperor Theodosius².

tronæ ingenuique starent. (And that there might be no species of gain left that she had not tried, she established a brothel in the palace; and a number of chambers were set apart and furnished in conformity with the dignity of the locality, and there matrons and men of birth stood for hire).

¹ *Ulpian*. Lex ancillarum ff. de hæred. petit. (Law as to female-slaves making claim of heirship). Pensiones, licet a lupanario praeceptae sint: nam et multorum honestorum virorum prædiis lupanaria exercentur. (Rents, even though they be received from a brothel;

for many honourable men have brothels kept on their estates).

² *Paulus Diaconus*, Hist. miscell., bk. XIII. ch. 2., Aliam rursus abrogavit huiusmodi causam. Si qua mulier in adulterio capta fuisset, hoc non emendabatur, sed potius ad augmentum peccandi contradebatur. Includebant eam in angusto prostibulo et admitcentes qui cum ea fornicarentur, hora qua turpitudinem agebant, tintinnabula percutiebant, ut eo sono illius iniuria fieret manifesta. Haec audiens Imperator, permanere non est passus, sed ipsa prostibula destrui iussit. (Again he repealed another regulation of

They sought indeed to avoid the punishment by declaring themselves engaged in *Lenocinium* (Procuration) as a calling, or by joining the ranks of the actresses; but the *Lex Papia* included provisions to put a stop to this irregularity ¹.

Lenocinium (Procuration) in fact as well as the *licentia stupri* (fornication permit) had to be notified before the Aediles ², whose especial duty it was to

the following nature. If any should have been detected in adultery, by this plan she was not in any way, reformed, but rather utterly given over to an increase of her ill behaviour. They used to shut up the woman in a narrow room, and admitting any that would commit fornication with her, and at the moment when they were accomplishing their foul act, to strike *bells*, that the sound might make known to all the injury she was suffering. The Emperor hearing this, would suffer it no longer, but ordered the very rooms to be pulled down).

¹ De adult. lex X. (On adultery, law X.), Mulier quae evitandae poenae adulterii gratia lenocinium fecit, aut operas suas scenae locavit, adulterii accusari damnarique senatus consulto potest. (A woman who in order to avoid the penalty attached to adultery has practised procuration, or has sold her services to the stage, can be accused on the charge of adultery and condemned in virtue of a decree of the Senate).—*Suetonius*, Tiberius, 35., *Feminae famosae*,

ut ad evitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant: quas ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exsilio affecit. (Infamous women, in order to be relieved of the legal status and dignity of matrons and thus escape the penalties assigned by the laws, began to follow procuration as a calling. These be exiled, that none might find a way of escape in such a subterfuge).

² *Tacitus*, *Annal.*, II. 85., Nam Vistilia, praetoria familia genita, licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii, credebant. (For Vistilia, born of a family of Praetorian rank, had publicly notified before the aediles a permit for fornication, according to the usage that prevailed among our fathers, who supposed that sufficient punishment for unchaste women resided in the very nature of the calling.) *Comp. Lipsius*, *Excurs. O.* p. 509.—*Schubert*, *De Romanorum aedilibus* (On the

see that no Matron became a prostitute¹. With this object they were bound to frequently search all such places as have been specified above (*loca aedilem metuentia*—places that fear the aedile)²; but dared not themselves indulge in any immorality there³. When that pure-minded prince *Caligula* became Emperor, he introduced the Whore-duty (*vectigal ex capturis*—tax on prostitution-fees) as a State impost⁴. This *Alexander Severus* retained it is true, but assigned the revenue from it to the maintenance of the public buildings, that it might not contaminate the State Treasure.⁵

Roman Aediles), bk. IV. Königsberg 1828., p. 512.

¹ *Livy*, bk. X. 31., bk. XXV. 2.

² *Seneca*, De vita beata ch. 7.—The aediles in fact exercised police supervision over the public welfare, and in particular over weights and measures and the sale of goods (*Suetonius*, Tiberius, ch. 34.), games of chance, etc. *Martial*, V. 85. bk. XIV. 1. Comp. *Schubert*, loco citato, bk. III. ch. 45.

³ *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic., bk. IV. 14.;—where an action at law is cited, in which the aedile Mancinus had wished to force his way at night into the lodging of Mamilia, a courtesan, who had thrown stones and chased him away. In the result we read: Tribuni decreverunt aedilem ex eo loco iure dejectum, quo eum venire cum coronario non decuisset. (The tribunes gave as their decision that the aedile had been lawfully driven

from that place, as being one that he ought not to have visited with his officer). This happened, as is seen by comparison with *Livy*, bk. XL. ch. 35., in the year B. C. 180.

⁴ *Suetonius*, Caligula, ch. 40., Vectigalia nova atque inaudita . . . exercuit; . . . ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret. Additumque ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico et quae meretricium et qui lenocinium fecissent, nec non et matrimonia obnoxia essent. (He levied new and hitherto unheard of imposts; . . . a proportion of the fees of prostitutes,—so much as each earned with one man. A clause was also added to the law, directing that both women who had practised harlotry and men who had practised procuration should be rated publicly; furthermore that marriages should be liable to the rate).

⁵ *Lampridius*. Alexander

The information here collected, imperfect as it may be in many respects, is yet sufficient to throw some light on the external relations of brothels and courtesans. It shows convincingly that in the entire absence of police supervision on the sanitary side, such diseases as arose generally in Antiquity consequent upon coition must have had their especial home and chief focus in the brothels and their denizens. But of what nature these diseases were, and what parts of the body they attacked, we shall only then be able to determine, when we come to consider more precisely the actual excesses that led to them, whether within or without the walls of the brothels.

Paederastia.

§ 12.

In the preceding investigations we have shown how the natural aim and object of coition, viz. procreation of children, fell more and more into the background, in order to make way for sensual gratification; and we have made acquaintance with the establishments that grew up in course of time for its indulgence. The facility with which the bestial instinct could be satisfied and the titillation

Severus, ch. 24., *Lenonum vectigal et meretricum et exoletorum in sacrum aerarium inferri vetuit, sed sumptibus publicis ad instaurationem theatri, circi, amphitheatri et aerarii deputavit.* (He forbid that the tax on harlots and on male debauchees should be paid into the sacred Treasury of the State, but allotted it as a public contribution towards the repair of the

theatre, circus, amphitheatre and treasury). Also at Byzantium a similar duty was paid under the name of *χρυσάργυρον* (tribute of gold and silver), which however the Emperor Anastasius abolished, and at the same time ordered the tax-rolls to be burned). (*Zonaras, Annal.—Nicephorus, Hist. eccles., bk. XVI. ch. 40.*)

of carnal pleasure procured, was bound to rob the customary manner of sexual indulgence of the charm of novelty, and to set the depraved imagination of the voluptuary at work to solve the problem of how to import manifold variations into the simple act of copulation. This stage reached, it inevitably followed that the natural ways of union of the sexes began to appear insufficient, and the methods of so-called *unnatural* Love (*Venus illegitima*) grew up, wherein at last almost every trace of the specific purpose of the genital organs was lost sight of.

The "*figuræ Veneris legitimæ*" (modes of natural Love) are not altogether without interest for the physician¹, but their study is less necessary for our particular purpose. The modes of "*Venus illegitima*" (*unnatural* Love) are what concern us here. The major part of these have unfortunately never been included by writers on the history of Venereal disease within the range of their enquiries. Hence it has come about that while on the one hand they have given quite false interpretations of various morbid affections, they have on the other mistaken for the names of diseases expressions signifying nothing more than forms of the unnatural sensual indulgence alluded to. The historical enquirer into these subjects must indeed tread very slippery ground. Supposing him to rise superior to the possible reproaches of morality, fortified by the words of St. Paul², still he can

¹ Compare *Ch. G. Gruner*, "Dissertatio de Coitu eiusque variis formis quatenus medicorum sunt." (Treatise on Coition and its Different Forms in their Medical Aspect). Jena 1792. 4 vols. German edition: "Ueber den Beischlaf" (On Coition). Leipzig 1796. 8 vols. Comp. Salzburg med. chir. Zeitung. Jahrg. 1796. III, 5. — *Forberg*, p. 118, loco citato.

² Epistle to Titus, ch. I. v. 5. Πάντα μὲν καθαρὰ τοῖς καθάροις· τοῖς δὲ μiasμένοις . . . οὐδὲν καθαρὸν, ἀλλὰ μεμίσγεται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ συνείδησις. (To the pure all things are pure; but to them that are defiled . . . nothing is pure; but both their mind and their conscience are defiled.)

Also *Clement of Alexandria*,

find absolutely nowhere in his investigations any secure stopping-place, he must make up his mind to dispense with all external help and to be thrown utterly on his own resources. Not only do the best and fullest Dictionaries of the Greek and Latin languages leave him almost completely in the lurch, but above and beyond this he has very often to struggle with positive errors both in the Dictionaries and on the part of the professional Philologists in their annotations to the writings of the Ancients. These mistakes he must first of all discover, and afterwards correct. What such an undertaking involves, what powers it demands, will be obvious to anyone who is in any degree conversant with the systematic study of Antiquity. Nevertheless the task should not remain unattempted, if that is, we wish ever to come to a clear understanding of the relations of words and things in this connection; and on this ground the following researches no less than others find a legitimate place here. These we offer as the best that the limitation of our powers allowed,—at the same time gladly acknowledging the no small assistance we have received from the Treatises of Forberg¹ and Meier².

one of the Fathers of the Church, who speaks largely on this special point of Paederastia, says (Paedagog., Bk. III. ch. 3.) *εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀπρακτον ὑπολείπεται, οὐδὲ ἔμολ ἄρρητον*. (For if nought is left undone by them, neither shall aught be left untold by me).

¹ *Antonius Panormites*, "Hermaphroditus". First German edition, with explanatory appendices, by Frider. Carol. Forberg. Coburg 1824. 8 parts. The Editor's Appendices treat (pp. 295-393): De figuris

Veneris (Concerning the modes of Love), and in particular, ch. I. De fututione (Of Copulation)—pp. 213-234; ch. II. De paedicatione (Of Sodomy)—pp. 234-277; ch. III. De irrumando (Of vicious practices with the mouth)—pp. 277-304; ch. IV. De masturbando (Of masturbation)—pp. 304-321; ch. V. De cunnilingis (de eis qui cunnos mulierum lingunt, Of men who lick women's private parts)—pp. 322-345; ch. VI. De tribadibus (Of women who practise vice with one another

Paederastia appears, as is the case with all sexual perversions, to owe its origin to the stimulation of the Asiatic climate, the mother of exuberance and voluptuousness. The primary condition of its genesis may be easily traced, if side by side with the dictum of Forberg (*loco citato*, p. 235): “*Et voluptas quidem paediconis facile intellicitur, cum omnis voluptas mentulae pendeat ex frictione*” (And the pleasure indeed of the sodomite is readily intelligible, since all voluptuous pleasure depends on friction of the penis), we take into consideration the fact that the genital organs of Asiatic women,—a fact true also of Italian and Spanish women¹—like their whole bodies, exhibit great looseness, and further note that the “*Sphincter ani*”² muscle far and away surpasses

—pp. 345—369; ch. VII. De coitu cum brutis (Of unnatural copulation with animals)—pp. 369—372; ch. VIII. De spintris (Of pathic Sodomites)—p. 373. All the important passages in ancient authors are here noted in every case, and given in the original.

The following work was unfortunately not procurable by us: *C. Rambach*, *Glossarium Eroticum*,—a Commentary to the Poets and Prose-writers of Classical Antiquity and Supplement to all Lexicons of the Latin Language. 2nd. edition. Stuttgart 1836.

† *Patentiora sunt nobis Italibus Hispanisque, quis neget? Veneris ostia.* (With us, Italians or Spaniards, the orifices of Love are more open,—who can deny the fact?). *Aloysia Sigara* *Satira sotadica*, p. 305. Compare

Martial, I, Bk. XI. epigram 22. Less frequently, and only for later times, may the reason have existed which *Martial* specifies in the case of the young wife, *Martial* Bk. XI. epigr. 78:

Paedicare semel cupido dabit illa
marito,
Dum metuit teli vulnera prima
novi.

(She—the newly-wed wife—will allow her longing husband just *once* to lie with her as with a man, while she still dreads the first wounds of the unfamiliar weapon). *Comp. Priapeia*, carmen II.

² For this reason the Greeks called the pathic sodomite also *σφιγκτήρ* or *σφιγκτής*. *Hesychius*: *σφιγκται οἱ κίναιδες καὶ ἀπαλοι*. (*σφιγκται* = sodomites and effeminate men). *Photius*: *σφιγκται Κρατίνος τοῦς κιναιδῶδεις καὶ μαλθάκους*. (*σφιγκται* used

the "Constrictor cunni" in strength. So it is by no means improbable that the Apostle Paul is accurate when he says ¹: "Wherefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts unto uncleanness, that their bodies should be dishonoured among themselves; *for their women changed the natural use into that which is against nature*: and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working unseemliness."

In Asia *natural* copulation formed a part of the Temple service of Venus, and in course of time Paederastia as well was joined with it, as is seen from the following passage of St. Athanasius ²:

by Cratinus = sodomitish and womanish men). *Strato* in Antholog. MS.:

Σφιγκτήρ οὐκ ἔστιν παρὰ
παρθένῳ, οὐδὲ φίλημα
Ἀπλοῦν, οὐ φυσικὴ χρωτὺς
εὐπνοίη.

(With a virgin there is no sphincter, no frank kiss, no natural fragrance of the skin).

Hesychius sub verbo:

μεγαρικάι σφίγγες·

Καλλίας πόρνas τινὰς οὕτως
εἰρηκεῖν.

(*Hesychius* (Lexicon) on the phrase *μεγαρικάι σφίγγες* says: Callias speaks of certain harlots by this title).

Suidas sub verbo:

μεγαρικάι σφίγγες.

αἱ πόρναι οὕτως εἰρηνται,
ἴσως δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ σφίγκ-
ται οἱ μαλακοὶ
ὠνομάσθησαν· ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ
Μαΐας οὕτω λεγομένης ἐν
Μεγάροις·

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν Μεγαρικὴ
τις μηχανή.
ἀντὶ τοῦ, πονηρά· διεβάλ-
λοντο γὰρ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ οἱ
Μεγάρεις.

(*Suidas* (Lexicon) on the phrase *μεγαρικάι σφίγγες* says: harlots are so called, and perhaps for the same reason debauched men are entitled *σφίγκται*; or else from a saying current in Megara to this effect:—But we have a certain *Megarian* trick,—that is a *knavish* one. For the Magarians were ill spoken of for their knavishness).

¹ Epistle to the Romans, ch. I. vv. 24—26, 27.

² *Athanasius*, Oratio contra Gentes, ch. 26. in "Opera Omnia studio Monachorum Ord. St. Benedicti." (Complete Works of St. Athanasius. edit. by the Monks of the Order of St. Benedict). Padua 1777. folio.—Vol. I. p. 1.

"Sane olim Phoeniciae mulieres in idolorum templis
 "prius prostabant, suique meretricii quaestus pri-
 "mordia diis, qui illic colebantur, consecrabant, suam
 "deam stupris propitiam reddi, benevolamque hoc
 "pacto effici ratae. Viri quoque propriam
 "clementiam naturam, nec amplius mares
 "se esse patientes, in feminas se
 "converterunt, pergratum et honori-
 "ficum matri deorum se ita facturas
 "arbitrati. Omnes denique una cum perditissimis
 "vivunt, et secum ipsi pugnant ut peiores quotidie
 "evadant, atque ut dixit sanctus Christi minister
 "Paulus :—(Here follows the passage just quoted from
 "the Epistle to the Romans.)—Haec autem et similia
 "agendo, fatentur certe et arguunt deos, quos ipsi colunt,
 "huiusmodi vitam duxisse, scilicet ex Jove puerorum
 "corruptiones atque adulteria, ex Venere meretriciam
 "vitam . . . ex aliis alia didicere, quae quidem cum
 "leges puniunt, tum probi homines abhorrent."

(Indeed the Phoenician women used in former times to prostitute themselves for hire in the temples of their idols and to offer up the gains of their fornication as first-fruits to the deities that were worshipped therein, deeming that in this way they won the favour and goodwill of their goddess. Moreover men, perverting their own proper nature, and no more enduring to be males, turned themselves into the likeness of women, supposing that by so doing they rendered a service most grateful and honourable to the Mother of the Gods. In one word they all consort with the most abandoned of mankind, and strive one with the other how they may grow worse and worse day by day; and as St. Paul the Apostle of Christ says:—(Here follows the passage just quoted from the Epistle to the Romans.)—By such and such-like acts they verily confess and show forth that those gods that themselves worship led lives of a like kind. Thus from Jupiter they learned to seduce boys and to commit adultery, from Venus harlotry, and so on from the

other gods other vile practices,—practices which are at once punished by the laws and abominated by every honourable man). The same passage explains also how the Old Testament comes to designate Cinaedi (on pathic Sodomites) by the expression קֹדֶשׁ (kadêsh, sanctus,—holy, consecrated). This originally implied nothing more than a person who devoted himself for the glory of a God as a servant in his Temple; and we have good reason for believing we can establish the conjecture that the whole cult of the Priests of Cybelé, etc., who had to practice emasculation and who were known by the name of *Galli*, rests originally on a simple misunderstanding of the expressions *εὐνοῦχοι* and *ἀνδρόγυννοι* (eunuchs, men-women),—expressions which will be discussed later on,—these words having meant at first nothing more than *Cinaedi* (sodomites). It was only in later times that Paederastia became a motive for Castration, as by this means the body of the male could be made to preserve for a longer period the youthful boyishness that approximated it to the female form. This is shown in the following passage of Lucian¹, a passage of special interest for the history of Paederastia:

“So at first when men still lived the old heroic life and revered virtue that brought them nearer the gods, they obeyed the laws that nature had laid down and marrying in due proportion of age became the fathers of noble children. But little by little the age degenerated from that high level

¹ Amores, chs 20, 21. The hetaera Glycera would seem, according to *Clearchus*' report, to have said, καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἰσι καλοὶ, ὅσον ἐοικασί γυναικὶ χρόνον. (And boys are beautiful for so long as they resemble a woman). *Athenaeus*, Deipnos. bk. XIII. p. 605 D. According to *Hel-*

lanicus, as *Donatus*, on *Terence's* Eunuch., I. 2. 87. notifies, the custom of emasculating boys would seem to have come from the Babylonians. *Herodotus*, III. 92., says that the Babylonians were bound to deliver every year as tribute to the Persian king 500 castrated boys.

"to the pit of sensual indulgence, and struck out
 "new and abnormal modes of gratification. Soon
 "a reckless licentiousness broke the very laws of
 "nature; and for the first time a lover looked on a
 "man as on a woman to lust after him, and worked
 "his wicked will either by superior force or by dint
 "of artful persuasions. So in one bed came together
 "one and the same sex. And each seeing himself
 "in the other, took no shame in anything they did or
 "in anything they suffered to be done. Wasting their
 "seed on barren ¹ rocks, as the saying goes, they
 "bought a brief pleasure at the cost of deepest
 "infamy. Indeed with some to such a height of
 "overmastering force did their reckless passion rise
 "that they actually violated nature with the knife;
 "and only when they had emptied men of their
 "manliness did they attain the summit and acmé of
 "their gratification.

"But the wretched and unhappy creatures, that
 "they may remain longer boys, suffer themselves to
 "be no more men,—an ambiguous riddle midway
 "between the sexes, neither preserving the sex they
 "were born to, nor yet having any other to belong

¹ As a matter of curiosity a tale of *Phlegon*, De Rebus mirabilibus, ch. 26., may find a place here. According to the report of the physician *Dorotheus* a *Cinaedus* (pathic sodomite) at Alexandria in Egypt bore a child, which was preserved at that place. The text reads, Δωρόθεος δέ φησιν ὁ ἱατρός ἐν Ἰπομνήμασιν, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, κίναιδον τεκεῖν τὸ δὲ βρέφος ταριχευθὲν, χάριν τοῦ παραδόξου, φυλάττεσθαι. (Now *Dorotheus* the Physician says in his Memoirs, that at Alexandria

in Egypt a *cinaedus* brought forth; and that the babe was mummified and kept as a curiosity). The same thing is reported in the following chapter of a slave with the Roman army in Germany under the command of T. Curtilius Mancias. These stories may possibly borrow some probability from modern investigations as to the "foetus" within the "foetus". The expression "to sow seed on barren rocks" occurs, it may be mentioned, very frequently in connection with paederastia in the Fathers.

"to. The bloom that was kept a while in youth
 "wITHERS in old age and makes them wither with it
 "in premature decay. At one moment they are
 "counted as boys, then lo! they are old men; there
 "is no middle time of manhood between the two.
 "Thus wanton luxury, the foul mother of every evil
 "thing, contriving shameful pleasures one to cap the
 "other, fell into the slough of that *disease* that can-
 "not even be named with decency, (μέχρι τῆς οὐ
 "ῥηθῆναι δυναμένης εὐπρεπῶς νόσου) that no
 "province of impurity might remain unexplored."

In later times indeed castration was resorted to
 after the attainment of man's estate, in order that
 the Eunuchs might be able to appease the titillation of
 sensual desire in the women without fear of impreg-
 nating them ¹.

¹ *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 366 sqq.,

Sunt quas eunuchi imbelles ac
 mollia semper
 Oscula delectent et desperatio
 barbae.
 Et quod abortivo non est
 opus, illa voluptas
 Summa tamen, quod iam calida
 matura iuventa
 Inguina traduntur medicis, iam
 pectine nigro.
 Ergo expectatos ac iussos crescere
 primum,
 Testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse
 bilibres,
 Tonsoris damno tantum rapit Helio-
 dorus.

(Women there are to find
 delight in unwarlike eunuchs
 and kisses ever soft and the
 lack of a beard that can never
 grow, and this especially be-
 cause then there is no need
 for any abortive. But the
 pleasure is greatest when the
 organs are delivered full-grown
 to the surgeons, just in the
 heat of youth, just when the
 down of puberty is darkening.

Then when the testicles, long
 looked for and at first en-
 couraged to grow, begin to be
 of double balanced weight, lo!
 Heliodorus whips them off,--
 to the barber's loss).

Martial, VI. 67.,

Cur tantum Eunuchos habet tua
 Gellia, quaeris
 Pannice? vult futui Gellia, non
 parere.

(Why your Gellia is fain to
 have eunuchs only, do you
 ask, Pannicus? Because she
 wishes to be f-ck-d, not to
 be a mother). In longam
 securamque libidinem exsectus
 spado, (A eunuch castrated
 with a view to long-continued
 and *harmless* lust), says St.
 Jerome. The information given
 by *Galen* (De usu Partium
 bk. XIV. 15. edit. Kühn,
 vol. IV. p. 571) is notable,
 to the effect that the athletes
 at Olympia were castrated,
 that their strength might not

In Syria, where this vicious practice of paederastia was especially in vogue, the Jews also appear to have been acquainted with it ¹. From Asia, whether through the instrumentality of the Phoenicians, or as *Welcker* ² maintains, through that of the Lydians, Paederastia came in the first instance to Crete, and spread from thence over the whole of Greece ³.

Just as was the case with the cult of Venus in that country, so the "love of boys" assumed quite a different form in Greece. As *Paedophilia* (Affection for boys) it took rank as one of the means of

be wasted by coition. Have the words "Olimpia agona" (Olimpic — Olympic — games) been in some way misunderstood in the passage?

¹ Genesis XIX. 4., Levit., XVIII. 2., XXIX. 13.

² *Welcker*, Aeschylus—Trilogy, p. 356.

³ *Athenaeus*, Deipnosoph., p. 602., τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν παρὰ πρώτων Κρητῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρελθόντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τίμαιος. (The practice of paederastia having been introduced among the Greeks first by the Cretans, as Timaeus relates).—*Heraclitus Ponticus*, fragment. περὶ πολιτείας III. p. 7.—*Servius* on Virgil—Aeneid bk X. 325., de Cretensibus accepimus, quod in amore puerorum intemperantes fuerunt, quod postea in Laconas et totam Graeciam translatum est. (Of the Cretans we have been told that they were excessive in their love of boys, a practice afterwards imported into Laconia and all parts of

Greece.) Comp. *K. O. Müller*, "Die Dorier", (The Dorians), Vol. II. pp. 240 sqq. *K. Höck*, "Kreta", (Crete), Vol. III. p. 106. Though in Crete as in all Dorian States Paedophilia was a universal and official institution, yet paederastia too was common enough, as is shown by the censure expressed by *Plato* (*De Legibus* bk. I. 636., bk. VII. 836.) and *Plutarch*, (*De puerorum educatione* ch. 14.).—as also by the expression Κρητὰ τρόπον (Cretan fashion) given in *Hesychius*; and probably the word κρητίζειν (to play the Cretan) is to be understood from this point of view also. *Pfeffinger*, "De Cretum vitiis," (Of the Vices of the Cretans). Strasbourg 1701. 4to.) From this *Aristotle* (*Politics* II. 7. 5.) may have got the idea that the lawgiver in Crete introduced paederastia in order to check the increase of population. *Hesychius* says at any rate κρητὰ τρόπον,

education, being consecrate to the heavenly Eros, while Paederastia (Carnal love of boys) fell to the province of the common Eros. Down to quite modern times Paedophilia has been confounded with Paederastia, and in this way a shameful stigma attached to the Greek nation,—a stigma that Meier, following the initiative of Jacobs and K. O. Müller (loco citato), was the first to free the Greeks from. Granted, the two things approached very near each other; still *Paederastia was never approved by the Greeks*¹. At Sparta the violation of boys was

παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι. (Cretan fashion, i.e. to indulge in boy-loves). Of the Scythians later on.

¹ Thus *Plutarch*, *Eroticus*, ch. 5., 'Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρρένων ἀνόντων, μετὰ βίας γενομένη καὶ λεηλασίας, ἂν δὲ ἐκουσίως, σὺν μαλακίᾳ καὶ θηλύτητι βαίνεσθαι κατὰ Πλάτωνα νόμῳ τετραπόδος καὶ παιδοσπορεῖσθαι παρὰ φύσιν ἐνδιδόντων, χάρις ἄχαρις παττάσιν καὶ ἀσχήμων καὶ ἀναφρόδιτος. (But the pleasure that is won from males against their will by dint of force or robbery, or if voluntarily, then only because in their wantonness and effeminacy they consent to men *treading them*, as Plato puts it, *like a four-footed beast*, and emitting seed with them unnaturally—this pleasure is a *graceless* one altogether, and unseemly and *loveless*). The passage of Plato referred to here is in the *Phaedrus*, p. 250 E., ὥστε

οὐ σέβεται προσορῶν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῇ παραδοὺς τετραπόδος νόμον βαίνειν ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ παιδοσπορεῖν, καὶ ὕβρει προσομιλῶν οὐ δέδοικεν οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴν διώκων. (And so he feels no reverence when he looks on him, but giving way to pleasure endeavours to *tread like a four-footed beast* and to emit his seed, and using insolent violence in his intercourse, has no fear and no shame in pursuing pleasure in an unnatural way). As something *παρὰ φύσιν* (contrary to nature) we find paederastia further characterized in *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosoph.*, bk. XIII. p. 605. *Lucian*, *Amores*, 19. *Philo*, *De legg. spec.*, II. p. 306. 17. *Libanius*, *Orat.*, XIX. p. 500. ἡ παράνομος Ἀφροδίτη. (Unlawful Love). *Galen*, *De diagnos. et curat. anim. effect.* (On the Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases of Animals). edit. Kühn. Vol. V. p. 30. τῆς παρὰ φύσιν αἰσχροουργίας

punished by loss of civil rights, exile or death¹, and it was the same at Athens, as *Meier* (loc. citato) pp. 167 sqq.) has sufficiently proved. The fact that the laws relating to this offence were promulgated at Athens only after the time of *Solon* shows that paederastia, as well as brothels, did not come into use there till about that time. True Athens in later times was quite as notorious for the prevalence there of paederastia as Corinth was for its Gay Women²; and Aristophanes' Comedies

(of unnatural viciousness). In the *Anthologia Graeca*, bk. II. tit. 5. No. 10. is the distich following by an unknown author :

Τῖδς Πατρικίου μάλα κόσ-
μιος, ὃς διὰ Κύπριν
Οὐχ ὁσίην ἐτάρους πάν-
τας ἀποστρέφεται.

(Son of Patricius, a very discreet man, who by *unholy love seduces* all his comrades). But above all the passage in *Aeschines*, Orat. in Timarch. edit. Reiske, p. 146., is to the point in this connection: ὀρίζομαι δ' εἶναι, τὸ μὲν ἐρεῖν τῶν καλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων, φιλανθρώπων, πάθος καὶ εὐγνώμονος ψυχῆς· τὸ δὲ ἀσελγαίτερον ἀργυρίουτινὰ μισθοῦμενον, ὕβριστοῦ καὶ ἀπαιδέυτεν ἀνθρώπου ἔργον εἶναι ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀδιαφθόρως ἐρεῖσθαι, φημι καλὸν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἐπαρθέντα μισθῷ πεπορνεῦσθαι, αἰσχρόν. (Now I make this distinction, that to love honourable and prudent friends is the passion of an amiable and reasonable soul; whereas to

behave licentiously, hiring anyone for the purpose, I consider the act of a ruffianly and uncultivated man. Similarly, to be loved purely, I declare to be a noble thing; but, induced by pay, to allow oneself to be debauched, a foul thing). Anyone who has read this passage attentively, together with what follows in the Speech, cannot possibly any longer confound Paedophilia with Paederastia, or maintain that the latter was approved by the Greeks.

¹ *Aelian*, Var. Hist., III. 12. — *Xenophon*, De republ. Lacedaem., II. 13., Sympos., VIII. 35. *Plato*, De leg., VIII p. 912.

² *Lucian*, Amores, 41., Μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆς, εἰ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἢ Κόρινθος εἴξει, (Do not be annoyed, if Corinth yields to Athens), on which the scholiasts add the explanation: ἢ ὡς τῆς Κορίνθου μὲν ἀνακειμένης Ἀφροδίτῃ (διὸ καὶ πολλὴ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἢ γυναικεία μίξις) Ἀθηνῶν δὲ παιδεραστία κομώντων ἦτοι τῇ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν

show only too abundantly how much occasion he could find for scourging the "Pathics", and how the Gymnasia and Palaestrae (Wrestling-grounds) also were responsible for a great deal of the harm done.

For, as Aristophanes ¹ says:

ἐν παιδοτρίβου δὲ καθίζοντας, τὸν μηρὸν ἔδει
προβαλέσθαι
τοὺς παῖδας, ὅπως τοῖς ἔξωθεν μηδὲν δείξειαν
ἀπηνές.
εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀνισταμένους ξυμψῆσαι, καὶ
προνοῆσαι
εἶδωλον τοῖσιν ἐρασταῖσιν τῆς ἡβης μὴ
καταλείπειν.

(Of old when boys sat at the trainer's, they were bound to throw out the thigh, so as not to expose to the spectators' gaze anything unbecoming; then again when they got up again, they had to scrape out the mark in the sand, and take care not to leave behind a model of their youthful shape,—an incitement to lovers).

Besides the Gymnasia and Palaestrae, the barber's

καὶ σώφρονι ἢ τῇ τῷ ὄντι
μιαρᾷ καὶ διαβιβλημένῃ.
(while Corinth is devoted to
Aphrodité (wherefore in Cor-
inth there is much varied inter-
course with women), Athens
prides herself on paederastia,
whether a love of boys that
is philosophic and wise, or a
love that is veritably vile
and despicable). *Aristophanes*,
Plutus, vv. 149—152.,

Καὶ τὰς χ' ἐταίρας φασὶ
τὰς Κορινθίας,
Ὅταν μὲν αὐτάς τις πένης
πειρῶν τύχη

Οὐδὲ προσέχειν τὸν τοῦν
ἔαν δὲ πλούσιος,
Τὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὰς
εὐθὺς ὡς τροῦτον
τρέπειν.

(And they say that the Co-
rinthian hetærae, should any
poor man chance to solicit
them, pay no attention what-
ever; but if it be a rich man,
at once they turn their poste-
rior to him).

¹ *Clouds*, vv. 973 sqq.—
see also F. A. Wolf's German
translation.

shops (*κουρεία*)¹, perfumers' shops (*μυροπωλεία*)², Surgeries (*λατρεία*)³, Money-changers' counters (*τράπεζαι*)⁴, bath-houses⁵, and to a greater or less extent all kinds of workshops (*ἐργαστήρια*)⁶, particularly when in situations handy to the Market, served as trysting-places of the paederasts and pathics. Here the former sought victims for their vicious desires, and the latter opportunities to sell their persons; while many of the proprietors of such places may well have acted as Procurers (*προαγωγοί, μαστροποί*,—Procurers, Pandars) for this purpose. The vice itself was chiefly practised in lonely, obscure parts of the town, and particularly on the Pnyx hill⁷.

The Eleans and Bœotians are not only reproached with paederastia, but the violation of boys is alleged to have been *allowed* among these peoples⁸. Megara

¹ *Lysias*, *Contra Pancl.*, 731., from which passage it would seem that each "Deme" had its own *κουρείον* (barber's shop) in the city. *Demosthenes*, *Contra Aristogit.*, 786, 7. *Theophrastus*, *Charact.*, VIII. 5. XI. *Plutarch*, *Sympos.*, V. 5. *Aristophanes*, *Plut.*, 339.

² *Aristophanes*, *Knights*, 1380., where the expression *τὰ μειράκια τῶν τῷ μύρῳ* (the striplings, those in the myrrh-market) is intentionally ambiguous.

³ *Aelian*, *Var. Hist.*, VIII. 8. *Aeschines*, *In Timarch.*, § 40. says that Timarchus resided at the Surgery of Euthydicus, not to learn medicine, but to sell his person.

⁴ *Theophrastus*, *Charact.*, V. edit. Ast, p. 183.

⁵ *Theophrastus*, *Charact.*, VIII. 4.

⁶ *Xenophon*, *Memorab.*, IV. 2. 1. *Diogenes Laertius*, III. 21.

⁷ *Aeschines*, *In Timarch.*, p. 35., *τὰς ἐρημίαις καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐν πλείστη ὑποφία πωτούμενος*. (regarding the lonely localities and the darkness as in the highest degree suspicious). p. 112. p. 90., *ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῇ εἰωθε γίνεσθαι λάθρα καὶ ἐν ἐρημίαις*. (this practice is usually carried on secretly and in lonely places). p. 104, it is said that Timarchus had more experience *περὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐν τῇ Πνυκί*. (about this lonely spot and the locality of the Pnyx) than of the Areopagus. *Comp. Plato*, *Sympos.*, p. 217 b.

⁸ *Plato*, *Sympos.* p. 182. 6. *Xenophon*, *Sympos.* VIII.

it is true is charged with ὕβρις (shameful violence), a common designation for paederastia¹, but we may certainly doubt whether the temple of Ἀφροδίτῃ προᾶξις there, which *Pausanias*², mentions, had anything to do with this vice. The author in question says: "After the sanctuary of Dionysus is shown "a temple of Venus. The image of Venus is of "ivory, and is calted Aphrodité *Praxis*. It is the "most ancient image in the temple." No other author however mentions any such cult as existing in Megara, and even though the word προᾶξις (intercourse), as *Meier* (loco citato p. 153, note 49) has shown by examples, is used specially of paederastia, yet at the same time the passage of *Euripides*, Ion 894.

θεὸς ὁμεινέτας ἄγες ἀναιδεῖται
Κύπριδι χεῖριν πράσσω.

(Thou, god, partner of my bed, didst lead me, in shamelessness *doing favour to Cypris—Love*), clearly proves that πράσσειν (to do, to have intercourse) was used of coition generally³.

Moreover in the passage of *Plutarch* quoted a

34.—*Cicero*, De Republ., IV. 4., Apud. Elcos et Thebanos in amore ingenuorum libido etiam permissam habet et solutam licentiam. (Among the Eleans and Thebans, in the love of free-men, lust has actually a permitted and unchecked licence). *Maximus Tyrinus*, Diss. XXXIX. p. 467. *Plutarch*, De pueror. educat., ch. 14. The Elean "boy-loving" was even more notorious than the Boeotian. *Yenophon*, De Republ. Lacedaem., II. 13. *Maximus Tyrinus*, Diss., XXVI. p. 317.

¹ *Theognis*, Sentent., 39.

² *Descript. Graeciac*, Bk. I. ch. 43., Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτῃ πεποιημένον, Πρᾶξις ἐπίκλησιν τοῦτ', ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν τῇ ναῷ. *Pollux*, *Onomast.*, bk. VII. ch. 33. says: εἰ δὲ χρὴ καὶ τὰς αἰσχίους πράξεις τέχνας ὀνομάζειν, (if that is we must call the more disgraceful πράξεις—doings, modes of intercourse—arts); and then cites the different designations of whores, brothels, etc.

little above paederastia is called χάρις ἄχαρις (a grace that is without grace) and further down Ἔρως, Ἀφροδίτης μὴ παρούσης,—"Ἔρως χωρὶς Ἀφροδίτης, (Love—Eros—where Aphrodité is not, Love without Aphrodité); so how can it have been regarded by the Greeks as under the *patronage* of Venus? Undoubtedly *πρᾶξις* is here synonymous with πόρνη (harlot), and the Ἀφροδίτη πρᾶξις at Megara is nothing else than the Ἀφροδίτη πόρνη of other cities.

Chalcis had gained such notoriety for paederastia¹, that *χαλκιδίζειν* (to act the Chalcidian) was said proverbially for *παιδεραστεῖν* (to practise paederastia). It was the same with Chios and Siphnos, as the expressions *χιάζειν* and *σιφνιάζειν* (to play the Chian, the Siphnian) in *Hesychius* prove. *Hesychius* says indeed *σιφνιάζειν*: i.e. to finger behind; for the Siphnians are ill-spoken of as enjoying boy-lovers. To act the Siphnian then means, to poke with the finger. But the first explanation by *καταδακτυλίζειν* (to finger behind), as well as the gloss of *Suidas*², show clearly that the inhabitants of the island of Siphnos,—one of the Cyclades, practised a species, if we may use the expression, of *Onania postica* (back-door, posterior masturbation),—like the cobbler at Vienna, who to allay the Prurigo ani (itching of the anus) pushed his hammer up his posterior, and then alas! could not pull it

¹ *Hesychius* under the word *χαλκιδίζειν*. *Athenaeus* Deipnos., bk. XIII. p. 601 e. *Plutarch*, *Amat.*, 38. 2.

² *Σιφνιάζειν* ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς χεῖρας προσαγόντων τοῖς ἰσχύοις, ὥσπερ λεσβιάζειν ἐπὶ τῶν παρανομούντων ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις· σιφνιάζειν δὲ καὶ λεσβιάζειν, ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου Σίφνου καὶ τῆς Λέσβου ὥς καὶ τὸ κρητίζειν ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης· καὶ τὸ Σίφνιος

δὲ ἀρφαβίων, ὁμοίως σιφνιάζειν γὰρ τὸ ἀπτεσθαὶ τῆς πυγῆς δακτύλῳ. *Λεσβιάζειν* δὲ τὸ τῷ στόματι παρατομεῖν. *Hesychius* s. v. Σίφνιοι· ἀνάθαρτοι ἀπὸ Σίφνου τῆς νήσου. Σίφνιος ἀρφαβίων· περὶ τῶν Σιφνίων ἀτοπα διεδίδото, ὡς τῷ δακτύλῳ σκιμαλιζόντων· δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν διὰ δακτυλίου αἰδοούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοσχόλου. (To play the Siphnian:

out again. In the same way the Siphnians used the fingers ¹.

The inhabitants of Italy were according to *Suidas* (under the name *Θάμυρις*—Thamyris) inventors of paederastia; and Etruscans, Samnites and Messapians, as well as the Greeks dwelling in Magna Graecia, lay under the reproach of practising the most vicious forms of love with men and violation of boys ². In all probability the vice spread from here to Rome, where it is found as early as the year 433 A.U.C. ³. To such an extent did it increase that in 585 A.U.C. (B.C. 169), as *Meier* has demonstrated, the *Lex Scantinia* had to be passed against it. Yet all this amounted as yet to nothing in comparison with the scenes of horror that were enacted under the Emperors *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, etc., of whom *Martial* ⁴ says:

said of those who apply the hands to the loins; as "to play the Lesbian" of those who act viciously in carnal pleasures. *Σιφνιάζειν* and *λεσβιάζειν* from the islands Siphnos and Lesbos; just as the expression *κρητίζειν* (to play the Cretan) from Crete. Also the phrase "*Siphnian surety*"; for in the same way "to play the Siphnian" means to finger the posterior. But "to play the Lesbian"; to act viciously with the mouth.—*Hesychius* under the word *Σιφνιοί*: Siphnians, i.e. unclean persons; from the island of Siphnos. "*Siphnian surety*": of the Siphnians abominable tales were told, to the effect that they poked the posterior with the finger. Signifies therefore one who acts disgracefully in connection with the anus,

said of the idle voluptuary. Comp. *σιμαλίσαι, σινδαρεύεσθαι* in the same—*Hesychius*.

¹ Comp. *Libanius*, In Florent., p. 430. *Touss.* Opusc. critic., Leipzig 1780. p. 420.

² *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.*, bk. XIII. p. 517 f.

³ *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Exc. p. 2336. *Valerius Maximus*, Bk. VI. 1. 9. *Suidas*, under *Γαίος Λαιτῳριος* (Caius Laetorius).

⁴ Bk IX. Epigr. 9. Comp. *Suetonius*, Nero 28, 29. *Dio Cassius*, LXII. 28., LXIII. 13. *Juvenal*, Satir. I. 62., and especially *Tacitus*, Annal., Bk. XV. 37.—*Tatian*, Orat. ad Graec., p. 100., *Παιδεραστία μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων διώκεται, προνομίας δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡξίεται, παίδων ἀγέλας, ὥσπερ ἐκπῶν φορ-*

Tanquam parva foret sexus iniuria nostri
 Foedandos populo prostituisse mares ¹,
 Iam cunae leonis erant, ut ab ubere raptus
 Sordida vagitu posceret aera puer,
 Immatura dabant infandas corpora poenas.
 Non tulit Ausonius talia monstra pater:
 Idem qui teneris nuper succurrit ephēbis,
 Ne faceret steriles saeva libido viros.
 Dilexere prius pueri, iuvenesque senesque:
 At nunc infantes te quoque, Caesar, amant.

(As though it were a small wrong done our sex to make males prostitutes ² to be debauched by the crowd, cradles now became a part of the brothel-keeper's stock in trade, that the baby-boy torn from

βάδων, συναγείρειν αὐτῶν πειρωμένων. (Paederastia is followed by barbarians generally, but is held in preeminent esteem by Romans, who endeavour to get together herds of boys, as it were of brood mares). *Justin Martyr*, Apolog., I. p. 14., Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς πάντας σχεδὸν ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ προάγοντας, οὐ μόνον τὰς κόρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρσενας· καὶ ὃν τρέπον λέγονται οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀγέλας βοῶν, ἢ αἰγῶν, ἢ προβάτων τρέφειν, ἢ ἵππων φορβάδων, οὕτω νῦν δὲ παῖδας, εἰς τὸ αἰσχροῦς χρῆσθαι μόνον, καὶ ὁμοίῳ θηλειῶν, καὶ ἀνδρογύνων, καὶ ἀρβήτοποιῶν πλήθος κατὰ τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἄγους ἔστηκεν. (First because we behold nearly all men seducing to fornication not merely girls, but also males. And just as our fathers are spoken of as keeping herds

of oxen, or goats, or sheep, or of brood mares, so now they keep boys, solely for the purpose of shameful usage, treating them as females, or men-women, and doing unspeakable acts. To such a pitch of pollution has the multitude throughout the whole people come).

² That boys were kept in the brothels at Rome as paramours is seen from a host of passages in Ancient authors, e. g. *Martial*, bk. XI. Epigr. 45.

Intrasti quoties inscriptae limina cellae
 Seu puer arrisit, sive puella tibi.

(As oft as you have crossed the threshold of a "chamber" inscribed with name on door, whether it were *boy* that threw you a smile, or girl). They, as well as women, had to pay the Whore-tax. Comp. above p. 118. Note 6.

the breast might solicit a sordid wage by his wailing, and immature bodies paid horrible penalties. Horrors such as these the great Father of Italy (Domitian) would not suffer: that same good Emperor who of late came to the rescue of tender youths, that raging lust might not make men unfruitful. Heretofore boys loved him,—and young men and old; now the very infants too love thee, Caesar).

Yet this was of little avail; the vice descended from generation to generation, and passed on to the Christian nations, just as the Roman punishments did in their legal codes.

Diseases consequent on Paederastia.

§ 13.

If we consider, first that the contractile power of the *Sphincter ani* muscle offered great resistance to the paederast, a resistance only to be overcome by the exertion of considerable force, secondly that the glands of the *rectum* exude a malodorous secretion, which under the influence of climate,—a subject to be dealt with more precisely later on,—assumes a more or less acrid quality, it will not surprise us to find that manifold forms of disease showed themselves in Ancient times both among paederasts and cinaedi (pathics). These were no doubt all the more serious in cases where the one set of organs or the other was already morbidly affected. As to the paederast indeed the direct evidence is scanty, yet it is not entirely wanting, as may be seen from the following Epigram of *Martial*¹:

IN NAEVOLUM.

Mentula cum doleat puero, tibi, Naevole, culus,
Non sum divinus, sed scio quid facias.

¹ Bk. III. Epigr. 71.

(To Naevolus.—When I see *pained and sore the boy's penis and your posterior*, Naevolus,—I'm no wizard, but I know what it is you do). Here we see both parts suffering from disease, the paederast in his penis, the pathic in his posterior: and *Martial* concludes Naevolus was a *cinaedus*.

But more especially must phimosis and paraphimosis have had a tendency to be set up in the case of the paederast. These at first, because the continuous state of erection of the *penis* which is a feature of these affections was obviously the most visibly conspicuous symptom, were designated by the name Satyriasis, the usual appellation of the latter condition. This will also give a probable explanation of the mortality from this cause observed by *Themison* in *Crete*¹,—a locality notorious, as we have seen, for the dishonouring of boys,—and generally for the frequency of Satyriasis, which often took an almost epidemic character in that island. Paraphimosis it should be noted in passing had already been only too frequently noted as affecting masturbators. Physicians indeed say nothing as to the predisposing causes, and explain the disease as arising from an *Acrimonia humorum* (Acridness of the humours) or from drinking a Philtre (Love-potion). *Naumann*² appears to wish to make the Satyriasis that prevailed in Crete some form of leprous affection, but for this view we can find absolutely no ground.

¹ *Caelius Aurelianus*, *Acut. morb.* (Acute Diseases), bk. III. ch. 18., *Aliorum autem medicorum, excepto Themisone, nullus hanc passionem conscribit, cum non solum raro, verum etiam coacervatim, saepissime invasisse videatur. Memorat denique Themison, apud Cretam multos satyriasi interfectos.* (But of other physicians none, with the excep-

tion of Themison, describes this complaint, though it appears to have attacked the population very frequently not only sporadically, but actually as an epidemic. In fact Themison records that in Crete men died of Satyriasis).

² "Handbuch der medicin. Klinik" (Manual of Clinical Medicine), Vol. VII. pp. 88 and 670.

Much more frequent mention is found of affections of the *rectum* among the pathics as consequences of paederastia. First come fissures, and in their train ulcers of the *rectum*; whence the expressions *sectus*, *percisus* (cut), and the like are applied so often in Roman writers to the pathic, and to his vice generally. So *Martial*¹ says:

IN CARINUM.

Secti podicis usque ad umbilicum
Nullas reliquias habet Carinus,
Et prurit tamen usque ad umbilicum.
O quanta scabie miser laborat!
Culum non habet, est tamen cinaedus.

(To Carinus.—Carinus has no relics left of *his fundament*, cut up to the very navel; and yet he itches with desire up to the very navel. Oh! what a vile itch torments the unhappy man! He possesses no posterior, and nevertheless is a cinaedus (pathic).

IN LESBIAM².

De cathedra quoties surgis, jam saepe notavi,
Paedicant miseram, Lesbia, te tunicae.
Quas cum conata es dextra, conata sinistra
Vellere, cum lacrimis eximis et gemitu.
Sic constringuntur gemina Symplegade culi,
Et Minyas intrant Cyaneasque nates.
Emendare cupis vitium deformem? docebo.
Lesbia, nec surgas censeo, nec sedas!

(To Lesbia.—As oft as you rise from your chair, Lesbia, I have many a time noticed the fact, *your undergarments, poor lady, play the paederast with you. You endeavour to pluck them away first with the right, anon with the left hand; finally you release them with tears and groaning.* So drawn together are the twin Symplegades of your fundament, and enter in between Minyan and Cyanean buttocks. Would you fain

¹ Bk. VI. Epigr. 37.

² *Martial*, Bk. XI. Epigr. 99.

cure *this ungraceful defect*? I will tell you how: I think, Lesbia, you'd better not get up, nor yet sit down!)

Usually indeed the Pathic tried to conceal his complaint, and to make it pass under some other name, as does Charisianus:

DE CHARISIANO ¹.

Multis jam, Lupe, posse se diebus
Paedicare negat Charisianus.
Causam cum modo quaerent sodales:
Ventrem, dixit, habere se solutum.

(On Charisianus.—Charisianus says, Lupus, that for many days he has been unable to indulge in paederastia. When his comrades asked the reason; *his bowels*, he said, *were relaxed*!)

But most frequently of all are the fig-like swellings on the fundament (Ficus, Mariscæ,—figs, large figs) mentioned by Ancient authors as a consequence of paederastia.

DE SE PRIAPUS ².

Non sum de fragili dolatus ulmo;
Nec quæ stat rigida supina vena,
De ligno mihi quolibet columna est,
Sed viva generata de cupresso. —
Hanc, tu quisquis es, o malus, timeto:
Nam si vel minimos manu rapaci
Hoc de palmite laceris racemos;
Nascetur, licet hoc velis negare,
Inserta tibi ficus a cupresso.

(Priapus on Himself.—I am not hewn of fragile elm, nor is my pillar that stands bent back with penis stiffly erect of any chance wood, but born of the living cypress.—Beware this image, thief, whoe'er thou art; for should you damage with plundering

¹ *Martial*, XI, 88.

² *Martial*, VI, 49.

hand the tiniest clusters of this stem, *there shall grow a fig*, deny it if you will, *of cypress-wood inserted up your fundament*.)

DE LABIENO ¹.

Ut pueros emeret Labienus, vendidit hortos,
Nil nisi ficetum nunc Labienus habet.

(On Labienus.—To buy boys Labienus sold his gardens; nought but *a fig-garden* does Labienus now possess.)

AD CAECILIANUM ².

Cum dixi ficus, rides quasi barbara verba.
Et dici ficos, Caeciliane, iubes.
Dicemus ficus, quas scimus in arbore nasci,
Dicemus ficos, Caeciliane, tuos.

(To Caecilianus.—When I have said *figus*, you laugh, Caecilianus, as though I had committed a solecism, and declare *ficos* should be the word. We will say *figus*, meaning the figs that we know grow on the tree, but your figs, Caecilianus, we will call *ficos*).

Now too we shall understand the *medico ridente* (the doctor grinning) in the following passage of *Juvenal* (II. 12):

Sed podice laevi
Caeduntur tumidae, medico ridente, mariscae.

(But from your smooth posterior are cut, the doctor grinning the while, *the bloated swellings*).

¹ *Martial*, Bk. XII. Epigr. 33.

² *Martial*, Bk. I. Epigr. 66. The old Grammars had the following lines:

Haec ficus, fici vel ficus,
fructus et arbor,

Hic ficus, fici, malus est
in podice morbus.

(Feminine:—*figus*. gen. -i and -us, fig and fig-tree; masculine:—*figus*, gen. -i, *is an evil disease of the fundament*.)

Just as it admits of no doubt that in the passage of *Horace*¹:

Nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
Diffissa nate ficos.

(For as loud as a burst bladder sounds, I farted my swellings (ficos—figs) away, splitting the rump), *ficos* and not as commonly *ficus* must be read.

That these morbid growths were not entirely free from contagious matter seems to be indicated by the following passages. In the *Priapeia* (Carm. 50) we read:

Quaedam, si placet hoc tibi, Priape,
Ficosissima me puella ludit,
Et non dat mihi, nec negat daturam;
Causasque invenit usque differendi.
Quae si contigerit fruenda nobis,
Totam cum paribus, Priape, nostris
Cingemus tibi mentulam coronis.

(A certain girl, if it please you to listen, Priapus, is playing with me. Most sorely afflicted is she with swellings; and she will not give herself to me, yet does not say she never will, and ever finds excuses for putting off and putting off. Now if ever she shall be mine to enjoy, I and my comrades with me, will wreath all thy *penis*, Priapus, with garlands). The girl, who was badly affected with these swellings, and that presumably in the secret parts, refuses her lover coition. The latter does not insist, but prays to Priapus, as was habitually done in all cases of affections of the genitals (see p. 74 above) and vows to deck his penis with garlands. It follows that the lover was aware these swellings would be injurious to him, if he should constrain the girl, of whom the poet says, *nec negat daturam* (yet does not say she will *not* give herself), to lie with him. Still clearer evidence of this may be

¹ Satir. Bk. I. Sat. VIII. 46.

found in the following Epigram of *Martial*, where a whole family is affected with these swellings or tumours:

De familia ficosa. ¹

Ficosa est uxor. ficosus et ipse maritus,
 Filia ficosa est, et gener atque nepos.
 Nec dispensator, nec villicus, ulcere turpi,
 Nec rigidus fessor, sed nec arator eget.
 Cum sint ficosi pariter invenesque senesque,
 Res mira est, ficus non habet unus ager.

(On a tumourous household.—The goodwife is tumourous, tumourous the goodman her husband, tumourous the daughter of the house, and the son-in-law and the grandson. Neither house-steward nor factor is free of the foul ulcer, nor the rugged ditcher, nor yet the ploughman. Now when all alike, young and old have tumours (ficos, ficus), the strange thing is, not a single field has fig-trees (ficus)). For the rest the words *ulcere turpi* (foul ulcer) show that *ficus*, like *σῦχος* and *σῦχωσις* (fig, fig-like swelling) in Greek, signifies not only a fig-shaped swelling, but also an ulcer with granulous surface, like a fig cut in two. Or possibly it would be better to understand here swellings that have passed into the ulcerated stage ².

¹ *Martial*, Bk. VII. Epigram 71.

² There still remains some doubt in our mind as to the meaning of another Epigram of *Martial's*, Bk. IV. Epigr. 52.

Gestari iunctis nisi desinis,
 Hedyle, capris
 Qui modo ficus eras, iam caprificus eris,

(Unless you cease, Hedylus, to go with "she-goats" in copulation, you who were but now a fig-tree, will presently be a wild fig-tree (goat-fig)).

If *capra* (she-goat) here has the meaning of *scortum* (common strumpet),—and it cannot very well signify anything else,—the passage is an undoubted proof that such swellings were a consequence of coition with common prostitutes, and that the latter were ordinarily affected with them.—In *Petrinus*, Sat. ch. 46., it is said of some one: Ingeniosus est et bono filo etiamsi in nave morbosus est. (He is of good abilities and good fibre, but

Seeing how plainly the passages just quoted from non-medical Writers point to these swellings being a consequence of paederastia, it is surprising that not one of the Ancient physicians, spite of *Juvenal's medico ridente* (the doctor grinning the while), ever so far as we know, alleges this form of licentiousness as cause of affections of the sort. On the other hand we cannot help remarking that the frequency of these swellings in the time of *Martial* and *Juvenal* can hardly be explained as arising solely from the general prevalence of paederastia. More probably, then as now, the *Genius epidemicus* (Epidemic influences) bore no unimportant share in bringing about the result, just as was the case (see later) with *Mentagra* (Eruption of the chin).

However not merely primary affections of the posteriors were the punishment of the *Cinaedus*, but also secondary ones of the *mouth* and *throat*. First and foremost was hoarseness of the voice, to which *Martial*¹ alludes, when he makes the champion of the baths the *cinaedus* Charinus speak *raucidulo ore* (with a weak, hoarse voice). This we find, following

he is diseased with swellings on the fundament.) *Burmman* notes on this: In nave—id est mariscas habet. Navis est podex ficosus. Hinc dictum illud Casellii apud Quintilianum, (De Instit. Orat. VI. 3. 87.) Consultori dicenti, *navem dividere volo*, respondentis, *perdes*. (In nave—that is, he has swellings. Navis (literally a ship) means a fundament afflicted with swellings. Hence the *bon mot* of Casellius, quoted in *Quintilian*. In reply to a client who said "I wish to cut (divide into shares) my ship" (navis,

—means also diseased fundament), he retorted, "It'll be fatal!")

¹ Bk. VII. Epigr. 33. *Persius*, Satir. I. 33., Hic aliquis—Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus. (Here—upon some one spoke something offensive through stuttering nose—in a stuttering nasal voice). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, Epist. bk. IX., Orationem salebrosas passam iuncturas per cameram volutatam balbutire. (To stammer out through the palate's vault all a-tremble a speech where the periods are joltingly united).

Reiske's ¹ indication, more explicitly dealt with in *Dio Chrysostom* ²:—

"But this is surely worth mentioning, and it is a thing no one can deny. I mean the noteworthy fact that a disease has attacked so many in this city,—one which I used to hear of as prevailing much more frequently with others than amongst you. What is it I mean? Even though I could explain myself no more clearly, yet you might easily guess the answer. Do not think I am speaking of secrets, of hidden doings, when the astounding fact itself speaks plainly enough. For there are many in this city that are asleep, even while they walk and stand and speak; though they may appear to most observers to be awake, yet it is not really so.

"Now they give, in my opinion, the clearest proof that they are asleep,—they snore (*ῥέγγουσιν*). I cannot, by heaven, express myself more clearly with decency. True only a few of the sleepers

¹ *Joannes Jac. Reiske*, and *Joannes Ern. Faber*, "Opuscula medica ex monumentis Arabum et Ebracorum," (Medical Tracts—from Arabic and Hebrew Writings), edit. *Ch. G. Gruner*. Halle 1776. 8vo., p. 61 Note: Ita tamen miror, ab antiquitatis patronis argumentum inde allatum non fuisse, quod veterum cinaedi passi fuerint in naribus et in palato vitium, a quo clare non potuerint eloqui, sed *ῥέγγειν*, stertere et rhonchissare debuerint. Cf. diserta sed acris oratio Dionis Chrysostomi Tarsica prior etc. (Yet I wonder at this, that the advocates of its antiquity have not drawn an argument from the fact that among the

Ancients the *cinaedi* suffered from an affection of the nose and palate, that prevented their speaking distinctly, and made them *ῥέγγειν*, snore and snort, Comp. the eloquent, but censorious, Speech of the Rhetor Dio Chrysostom, First Tarsica, etc.) *Gruner* in his *Antiq. Morborum* (Antiquity of Diseases), p. 77., likewise cited this reference, but it appears without having personally compared the passages with precision.

² *Speeches*, edit. by *Joannes Jac. Reiske*. 2 Vols Leipzig 1784 large 8vo., Vol. II. Speech XXXIII (not XXXII, as given in *Reiske* and *Gruner*), pp. 14 sqq.

"are suffering from the complaint I mean, and of
 "the others it affects only the drunken, the overfed
 "and such as have lain ill. But I maintain this
 "vicious practice (ἔργον) shames the city and brands
 "it publicly. The grossest ignominy is brought down
 "upon their native city by these sleepers by day,
 "and they ought, I say, to have been expelled
 "your borders, as has been their fate everywhere
 "else. For it is not now and then, nor here and
 "there, they are met with; but at all times and in
 "all places in the city occasion may be found to
 "threaten, scorn or deride them. For the rest the
 "practice has actually penetrated now to boys still
 "young, and adults that yet would fain be reputable,
 "suffer themselves to be led away into regarding
 "the matter as a trifle, and if they refrain from the
 "decisive step, yet it was their wish to take it.

"If there were a city in which wailing were to
 "be heard all day long, and no one could walk
 "about in it, no! not one minute, without listening
 "to the sound of lamentation, tell me, what man
 "would willingly stay here? Now wailing, as all
 "agree, is a sign of unhappiness; but that other sound
 "is the sign of shamelessness and lewdness the most
 "scandalous. Surely one would much rather choose
 "to associate with unhappy men than with paeder-
 "asts¹. I might avoid listening, if a single man
 "were to be blowing the flute everlastingly, but if
 "in a particular place there is an everlasting noise
 "of flutes, singing or guitar-playing,—such as might
 "be where the rocks ever ring with the Syrens'
 "song,—I could not, having arrived there, endure
 "to remain. And this unmusical and harsh tone
 "of voice², what man of any virtue can abide it?

¹ Ἀκολάστοις (intemperate). This word often occurs in the sense of paederast, especially when the latter is spoken of as pursuing the vice passionately. Thus *Aeschines*, In

Timarch., pp. 63, 183. *Plato*, *Sympos.*, 186 c.

² Τὸν δὲ γε ἄριον τοῦτον καὶ χαλεπὸν ἦχον. (This rough and harsh tone of voice). The word ἄργιος (rough,

"If a man passes in front of a house in which he "catches the sound, he says, "Of a surety there "is a brothel there!" Now what shall be said of "a city where nothing *but* this tone of voice prevails "universally, so that no exception can be made of "time or day or place whatever? For in streets "and houses, in public places, in the theatre and "in the Gymnasium, *paederastia* is rife¹.

"Again I have never yet heard a flute-player of "a morning in the city, but this horrible sort of din "is raised² from earliest dawn.

"I do not indeed shut my eyes to the fact that "it will be said I am talking silly nonsense most likely, "in making such allegations, and that there is nothing "in it. Nay! but surely you are only carrying pot- "herbs in your cart, and behold with indifference "profusion of white bread on the road, as well as "salt and fresh meat. But just consider the thing "(*πράγμα* i. e. *paederastia*) in this way too: If any "one of these objectors should come into a city, "where all men, when they point to a thing, point "at it with the middle finger³, when any one gives

savage) is specially used of the paederast, *Aristophanes*, *Clouds* 347., and the Scholiast on the passage; the same is true of *χαλεπός* (hard, harsh). The Scholiast on *Aeschines*, In *Timarch.*, p. 731 R., ἀγρίους τοὺς σφόδρα ἐπτοημένους περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ χαλεποὺς παιδεραστάς. (rough men that are above measure agog for boy-loves,—hard paederasts.) All through the Speech are found a host of allusions to the expressions in common use to signify *paederastia*, which may well make the right understanding of it difficult.

¹ *Τὸ πρᾶγμα* (the thing) has the same meaning here as *πράξις* (doing, intercourse) in *Aeschines*, In *Timarch.*, pp. 159, 160. *Plato*, *Sympos.*, 181 b.

² *Κινεῖται* (is raised, is stirred), from which the word *Κίναϊδος*, *cinaedus*, is derived.

³ On the *digitus medius* (middle finger) or *intamis* compare *Upton* on *Arrian's* *Diss. Epictet.*, II. 2. p. 176.—*"Abhandlung von den Fingern, deren Verrichtungen und symbolischen Bedeutung."* (Treatise on the Fingers, their Gestures and Symbolic Meaning). Leipzig 1756. pp. 172 —

'the right hand, gives it with this same gesture,
'and when he stretches out the hand, as the people
'does in voting or the judges in giving decisions,
'does so in the same way, what, pray will he think
'of such a city? What, if further all men walk in
'this city with skirts up-raised, as if wading in a
'quagmire? For do you not really and truly know
'what has given occasion to the defamation you
'suffer; what it is has offered matter to such as
'are unfriendly disposed to you for censure on
'your city? Tell me, what is the reason they
'nickname you "hawks" (*περχίδες*)¹?

221. But in particular *Forberg*, loco citato p. 338. note h.: Cum digitus medius porrectus, reliquis incurvatis, tentam repræsentet mentulam cum coeleis suis, factum est, ut medium digitum hoc modo ostenderent (Graeci uno verbo dixerunt *σκιμαλίζειν*) cinaedis, sive pelliciendis, sive irridendis. (In as much as the middle finger stretched out, the other fingers being bent under, represents the extended penis with its bags (testicles), it came about that the Greeks used to show the middle finger in this way (the Greeks expressed it by one word *σκιμαλίζειν*) to *cinaedi*, whether to beckon them or by way of derision.). *Martial*, I. 93., Saepe mihi queritur Celsus... Tangi se digito, Mammuriane, tuo. (Often Celsus complains to me that he is touched by your finger, Mammurianus.) VI. 70., Ostendit digitum, sed impudicum. (He shows a finger, but an inde-

cent one). Οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ τὸν μέσον τῆς χειρὸς δάκτυλον καταπύγων αὐνόμαζον. (Now the Attics used to call the middle finger of the hand the *lewd* finger.) *Pollux*, Onomast., II. 4. 184. *Suetonius*, Caligula, ch. 56., Osculandam manum offerre, formatam commotamque in obscœnum modum. (To offer his hand to be kissed, put into an obscene shape and moved in an obscene way.) *Tü. Echtermeyer*. "Progr. über Namen und symbol. Bedeut. der Finger bei den Griechen und Römern." (Names and Symbolic Meaning of the Fingers amongst the Greeks and Romans.) Halle 1835. 4to., pp. 41---49., treats very exhaustively of this subject.

¹ On account of the resemblance of its harsh, screeching note: *Reiske* remarks on this passage: Est autem *περχνίς* avis quaedam a stertendo sic dicta, vel stridore, quem edat

"Well, but you opine the question is not what others say of you, but what you really do yourselves? Good; but if a single disease of such a sort attacks a people that they all of them acquire women's voices, and no man, neither stripling nor grey-beard, can utter a word in a man's voice, is not this a horrible thing, and harder to bear, I should suppose, than any Plague? For it is not *shameful* to have a fever, nor even to die.

"Nay! but to speak with women's voice is after all to speak with human voice, and no one is filled with aversion when he hears a woman. But, tell me, whose is this voice; does it not belong to the *Androgyni* (men-women), the Cinaedi? or to such as have had the genitals amputated? True it is not invariably found with all such, but it is characteristic of them and a sign of what they are.

"Well then! suppose a stranger from a distance to judge from your voices, what kind of men you are, and what are your pursuits (*πράττειν*,—what it is you do). You are not fit, I tell you, to be neatherds or shepherds. I wonder would any one take you for descendants of the Argives, as you profess to be, or indeed for Greeks at all,—you who outdo the Phoenicians in lubricity? At any rate I do think it would behove a man of any morality in such a city to close his ears with wax far more than if he were sailing past the Syrens' shore. There he would run the risk of death, but here of foulest licence, of violation, of the vilest seduction.

"Once Ionic harmony was in vogue, or Doric, or yet another sort, the Phrygian and Lydian, now it is the music of Aradus and the Phoenician modes that please you; you love this rhythm *par*

similem iis qui stertunt. (But the *αεζυς*,—hawk, is a bird so called from the snoring, or harsh note it utters, like men

who snore). Comp. *Schneider*, *Lexicon*, under words *αεζυς* and *αεζω* (hoarseness, to make hoarse).

"*excellence*, as others do the Spondaic. Was ever "a race of men that were good musicianers—through "the nose?!

(p. 409). "But such a rhythm must needs have "something to follow. You would seem not to "know what; just as with other nations the wrath "of the gods overtook some single part, the hands, "the feet or the face¹, in the same way among "you an endemic disease has attacked the nose. "Just as the angry Aphrodité they say made the "Lemnian women's armpits abominable, know now that "the gods in their anger have played havoc with the "noses of most of your fellow citizens, and that "is why they have this characteristic voice of their "own. Indeed from where else could it have come?

"But *I* say this thing is the mark of most "infamous lewdness, of most infamous madness, of "contempt for all decency (all morality), and (a "proof) of the fact that there is no more any single "thing held to be disgraceful. Their speech, their "gait, their look, proclaim it."

From this passage of Dio Chrysostom, who lived at the end of the First and beginning of the Second Century A.D., we see that at that period the vice of pæderastia prevailed at Tarsus to an appalling extent; and very possibly it is this circumstances that gave occasion to the declaration of the Apostle St. Paul², whose native town of course Tarsus was, when he says:

"Wherefore God gave them up in the lusts of "their hearts unto uncleanness, that their bodies "should be dishonoured among themselves.

¹ *Horace*, Odes II. 8.,

Ulla si iuris tibi peierati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres, vel uno
Turpior ungui,
Crediderem.

(If *any* punishment for per

jured faith had ever hurt you, Barinus, if you had had but a blackened tooth, or had been disfigured in one single nail, I would believe).

² Epistle to the Romans, Ch. I. vv. 24. 26, 27.

"For their women ¹ changed the natural use into "that which is against nature; and likewise also "the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, "burned in their lust one toward another, men "with men working unseemliness, and receiving in "themselves that recompense of their error which "was due." This recompense was no doubt the *φύγειν* (snoring), which according to *Reiske* was the consequence of an affection of the throat and nose in which the breath was exhaled with a characteristic noise. To corroborate this view he quotes in his edition of Dio Chrysostom the following passage from *Ammianus Marcellinus* ², who picturing the habits of the Romans in the middle of the Fourth Century, wrote thus: "Haec nobilium instituta. "Ex turba vero imae sortis et pauperrimae, in tabernis "aliqui pernoctant vinariis: nonnulli velabris umbraculorum theatralium latent, quae Campanam imitatus lasciviam Catulus in aedilitate sua suspendit omnium primus; aut pugnaciter aleis certant, turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto "spiritu concrepantes." (Such are the usages of the nobles. But of the masses, those of lowest and poorest lot, certain spend the night in wine-taverns, some lurk under the curtains of the theatre awnings,—which Catulus in his aedileship, imitating Campanian luxury, was the very first to erect; or quarrel and fight at dice, *making an ugly*

¹ Names of noted women are given by *Martial*, bk. XI. *Epigr.* 95. Comp. below. p. 118. note 3.

² *Rerum Gestarum* bk. XIV. ch. 19.—*Petronius*, *Satir.*, ch. 68., says of a slave: duo tamen vitia habet, quae si non haberet, esset omnium nummorum: recutitus est et stertit. (Yet has he two faults, lacking which he would

be a man above price: he is circumcised and he snorts.) —Terence, *Eunuch.*, Act. V. sc. 1. v. 53, Fatuus et insulsus, bardus, stertit noctes et dies. Neque istum metuas ne amet mulier. (Foolish and silly, a stupid fellow, *he snores all night and all day*. Have no fear that a woman could love him.)

rattling sound the while by drawing in the breath through their rough nostrils).

Now we know that paederasts had foul breaths, as *Martial*¹ indeed noted, consequently the mucous membrane of the mouth was morbidly affected in its action, and further that they spoke *raucidulo ore* (with hoarse voice)², which must have been with many the ordinary consequence of a thickening of the tissues by previous ulceration; and at this fact this Speech of Dio Chrysostom, as *Reiske* understands it, may very well hint. But to take the main gist of his speech, the author of the "Tarsica" signifies

¹ Bk. XII. Epigr. 87.,

Paediconibus os olere dicis.
Hoc sisic, ut ais, Fabulle, verum est,
Quid tu credis olere cunnilingis?

(You say paederasts' breath smells foul. If what you allege is true, Fabullus, what sort of a breath think you have *cunnilingi*?—*cunnilingi*, i. e. illi qui pudenda mulierum lingunt, men who lick women's private parts).

² *Lucian*, Philopatr., ch. 20. relates: *Ἀνδρωπίσκος δὲ τις, τοῦνομα Χαρίκενος, σεσημμένον γερόντιον, ῥέε γχον τῷ ῥινί, ὑπέβητε μύχιον, ἐχρέμπετο ἐπισεσυρμένον· ὁ δὲ πτύελος κυανώτερος θανόντον· εἶτα ἤρξατο ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι κατισχυημένον.* (But a little man, whose name was Charicenus, a tiny mouldy old man, *snorting through his nose*, gave a deep cough and cleared his throat with a long-drawn hawking,—and his spittle was blacker than death. Then he began to speak in a thin voice). The same is said of an Egyptian boy in *Lucian's*

Navigium, ch. 2. *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Attic., Bk. III. ch. 5., gives the following story: *Plutarchus* refert, *Arcesilaum* philosophum vehementi verbo usum esse de quodam nimis delicato divite, qui incorruptus tamen et castus et perinteger dicebatur. Num cum vocem eius infractam, capillumque arte compositum et oculos ludibundos atque illecebrae voluptatisque plenos videret: Nihil interest, inquit quibus membris cinaedii sitis, posterioribus an prioribus. (*Plutarch* reports a biting phrase made use of by the philosopher *Arcesilaus* of a certain rich and over-dainty man, who yet had the name of being unspoiled and temperate and highly virtuous. Noting his *broken voice*, and hair artfully arranged, and rolling eyes full of allurements and wantonness, "It makes no odds," he said, "which members ye play the *cinaedus* with, whether those behind or those in front). Comp. § 16. below.

by *ῥέγγειν* (to snort) something quite different from this, as the whole context shows clearly.

It was in fact a signal or mode of solicitation, by which the pathics sought to allure the paederasts to them and invited them to lewdness, as comes out more plainly in the following passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus*¹: *Αἱ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων συνουσίαις ἡδονταὶ παρεισφύουσιν δὲ ἔνδον κιναίδων ὄχλοι, ἀθυρόγλωσσοι· μισροὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, μισροὶ δὲ τὰ φθέγματα, εἰς ὑπουργίας ἀκολάστους ἡνδρωμένοι, μοιχείας διάκονοι, κιχλίζοντες καὶ ψιθυρίζοντες, καὶ τὸ πορνικὸν ἀναίδην εἰς ἀσέλγειαν διὰ ῥινῶν ἐπιψοφοῦντες ἐπικιναιδισμόν, ἀκολάστοις ῥήμασι καὶ σχήμασι τέρπειν πειρώμενοι, καὶ εἰς γέλωτας ἐκκαλοῦμενοι, πορνείας παράδρομον ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑπεκκαιόμενοι διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὄργην, ἥτοι πόρνοι αὐτοὶ ἢ καὶ κιναίδων ὄχλον εἰς ὕλεθρον ἐξηλωκότες, ἐπικροτοῦσι τῇ ῥινί, βατράχων δίκην, καθάπερ ἔνοικον τοῖς μυκτῆρσι τὴν χολὴν κεκτημένοι.* (But they delight in the *assemblies of the Androgyni* (men-women); and crowds of pathics hurry along to join them within, everlasting chatterers, abominable in person and abominable in voice; reared up to manhood for unchaste ministrations, servants of adultery; tittering and whispering, and *sounding through their nose the debauched cinaedus' call to shameful licentiousness*, striving to please with indecent words and gestures, and challenging to laughter, a race and competition in harlotry. Then again at times kindled by some chance gust of anger, whether debauchees themselves or roused to a fatal emulation with the crowd of pathics, they make a rattling sound with the nose, like frogs, as though they kept their stock of gall up their nostrils).

But possibly the Tarsians were also *Fellatores* (*ii qui penem alienum in os admittunt, ibique eo sugunt ut voluptas quaedam libidinosa paretur*,—those who allow another's penis to be put in their

¹ Paedagog., bk. III. ch. 4. p. 230.

mouth, and suck it) (see later), and snorted as *fellatores* did at their task,—for the word *ρέγχειν* (to snort) is manifestly used in several different senses. It only remains to mention that a *pale complexion* was also reckoned one of the signs of a *Cinaedus*, a fact to which *Juvenal's* (II. 50.) words refer: *Hippo subit iuvenes et morbo pallet utroque*. (Hippo submits to men, and is pale with twofold disease). Of these marks of the *Cinaedus* we shall speak in greater detail directly.

Νοῦσος Θήλεια (Feminine Disease) ¹.

§ 14.

The passage of *Dio Chrysostom* discussed in the preceding section brings us, in virtue of a variety of hints it contains, to the much canvassed *Νοῦσος Θήλεια* (feminine disease) of the Scythians. *Stark* has collected with the greatest care everything that has so far been adduced by different authors in

¹ *E. G. Rose*, "Progr. de Scytharum νόσῳ θηλείᾳ" (Discussion of the νόσος Θήλεια of the Scythians). Leipzig 1774. 4to.—*Chr. Heyne*, "De maribus inter Scythas morbo effeminatis et de Hermaphroditis Floridae." (On the transformation of males into females among the Scythians as the result of disease, and on the Hermaphrodites of Florida). Göttingen 1779., Vol. I. pp. 28—44.—*E. L. W. Nebel*, "De Morbis Veterum obscuris." (On some Obscure Diseases of the Ancients) Sect. I. Giessen 1794. No. 1. pp. 17, 18.—*Graaf*, "Morbus femi-

neus Scytharum. (Feminine Disease of the Scythians). Würzburg N. D. 8vo., is cited by *Friedreich*. p. 33.—*C. W. Stark*, "De νόσῳ θηλείᾳ apud Herodotum Prolusio." (Disquisition on the νόσος Θήλεια in Herodotus). Jena 1827. 64 pp. 4to.—*J. B. Friedreich*, "Νοῦσος Θήλεια", a Historical fragment in his "Magazin für Seelenheilkunde" (Magazine of Medical Psychology). Pt. I. Würzburg 1829., pp. 71—78., and in his "Analekten zur Natur- und Heilkunde" (Selections in Natural and Medical Science) Würzburg 1831. 4to., pp. 28—33.

explanation of the subject; and on his Work we must base our own efforts in the investigations that follow.

Herodotus relates how the Scythians had made themselves masters of all Asia, and how some of them on their homeward march had plundered the very ancient temple of *Venus Urania* at Ascalon, a town of Syria; and then proceeds as follows:

"On such of the Scythians as plundered the temple at Ascalon, and on their posterity for successive generations, the goddess inflicted the *θήλεια νοῦσος*—feminine disease. And the Scythians say themselves it is for this cause they suffer the sickness, and moreover that any who visit the Scythian country may see among them what is the condition of those whom the Scythians call *Ἐναρέες*", (a Scythian word, probably having the same meaning as Greek *ἀνδρόγυνοι*—men-women).

The different views that have been formulated at different times as to the nature of the *νοῦσος θήλεια* may be readily classified as follows. It was regarded as:—

1. *a Vice*, this vice being,

a) *Paederastia*; manifestly the oldest explanation,—already alluded to by *Longinus*, but specially championed by *Bouhier*², also entertained by the interpreters of *Longinus*, *Toll* and *Pearce*, as well as by *Casanbon* (*Epistolæ*) and *Costar*³;

¹ *Herodotus*, Hist. Bk. I. ch. 105. Τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν συλήσασσι τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκαλῶνι, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλεια νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσιν τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφρας νοσέειν, καὶ ὕρῃ παρῆντο τοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακίεσθαι, τοὺς καλέονσι Ἐναρέας οἱ Σκύθαι.—for translation see text.

² "Recherches et Dissertations sur Herodote." (Researches and Dissertation son Herodotus). Dijon 1746. 4to., pp. 207—212. Ch. XX., Ce que c'étoit que la maladie des femmes, que la Déesse Venus envoya aux Scythes. (What was the nature of the "Women's Disease" which the goddess Venus sent on the Scythians).

³ *Costar*, "Defence des Œuvres de Voiture." (Defence

b). Onanism (Self Masturbation),—a view *Sprengel*¹ is inclined to decide in favour of.

2. *a bodily Disease*,—to wit,

a). *Hæmorrhoids* (Piles); an opinion maintained by *Paul Thomas de Girac*², *Valckenaar* in his Notes to Herodotus, *Bayer*³, and the authors of the "General History of the World"⁴;

b). *actual Menstruation*, for which *le Fèvre* and *Dacier* would seem to have declared;

c). *Gonorrhoea* (Clap), which *Patin*⁵, *Hensler*⁶ and *Degen*⁷ understood to be meant;

d). *actual loss of the Testicles, true Eunuchs, Mercurialis* considered must have been implied; and with this view *Stark's* conclusion in part coincides, who understood a diseases involving complete loss of virile power, both corporeal and mental, and producing an actual metamorphosis of the male type into the female.

(3). *a mental Disease*, in fact a form of Melancholia. This is the view adopted by *Sauvages*⁸, *Heyne*, *Rose*, *Koray*⁹ and *Friedreich*.

of the Works of Voiture), and "Apologie" p. 194.

¹ *Sprengel*, "Apologie des Hippocrates." (Defence of Hippocrates). Leipzig 1792. Pt. II. p. 616.

² *De Girac*, "Réponse à l'Apologie de Voiture par Costar." (Reply to Costar's Apology of Voiture). p. 54.

³ *Bayer*, "Memoria Scythica in Commentat. Petropolitana," (Memoir on the Scythians,—in St. Petersburg Commentaries). 1732., Vol. III. pp. 377, 8.

⁴ Part. VI. p. 35.

⁵ *Patin*, "Comment. in vetus monument. Ulpiae Marcellin." (Commentary on the

ancient Monument of Ulpia Marcellina) p. 413.

⁶ *Hensler*, "Geschichte der Lustseuche." (History of Venereal Disease). Altona 1783., Vol. I. p. 211.

⁷ *Degen*, Translation of Herodotus (German), Vol. I. p. 81. note.

⁸ *Mercurialis*, Various Readings. Bk. III. d. 64.

⁹ *Sauvages*, "Nosologia methodic." (Systematic Nosology). Lyons 1772., Vol. VII. p. 365.

¹⁰ *Koray* on Hippocrates, "De aere aq. et loc." (On influence of Air, Water and Locality), Vol. II. p. 326.

It would naturally be our task to examine the reasons alleged for and against these separate views. Supposing however we succeed in satisfactorily proving one of them to be the right one, then *ipso facto* all the rest come to nothing; and so we propose here to essay the advocacy of the oldest of them,—the view that makes the *νοῦσος θήλεια* to be the vice of paederastia. *En passant* we must call attention to the fact that under the name of paederastia must be understood not only the vicious habit of the paederast pure and simple, of the man that is who *practices* the act, but also of the *pathic*, who offers opportunities for its commission. This is a point which above all others has been quite left out of sight by the adversaries of the view in question.

The next question we have to answer would seem to be this: Could paederastia be regarded as a consequence of the vengeance of Venus? As it is the Scythians that are in question, the first thing would naturally appear to be to determine what conception the Scythians had of Venus. But inasmuch as the data are lacking for any demonstration of the sort, while the Scythians themselves ascribe the *νοῦσος θήλεια* to the vengeance of Venus, we may very well refer for a reply to this first question to the general character of the cult of the goddess¹ and what has been said on the whole subject above; and herein there seems to exist no reason why we should not answer the query asked above in the affirmative. Granted that Venus was regarded as goddess of fruitfulness or as dispenser of the joys of Love, then in either aspect it was but natural she should withdraw the

¹ In *Euripides'* *Hippolytus*, v. 5., Venus says of herself:

τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τάμ' ἀ
 πρεσβεύω κράτη,
 σφαλλῶ δ' ὄσοι φρονοῦσιν
 εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα.

(I love and protect him who recognises my right, and undo him whose pride rebels against me).

marks of her favour from the culprits (the paederasts). These neither wished for posterity nor enjoyed the delights connected with *natural* coition, but were equally indifferent towards the one and towards the other¹; and the first sign of the vengeance of the goddess consists in the withdrawal of her benefits.

How *Stark*, following the lead of an anonymous French author quoted by *Larcher*², can maintain there is no question of punishment here, as in that case Venus would be acting against her own interest, we fail to understand; and *Larcher* himself calls this unknown writer *un homme d'esprit, mais peu instruit* (witty but superficial). This is proof sufficient in our opinion that only a jest is intended, but one that *Stark*, p. 7 (notes 19 and 20.), has taken with the utmost seriousness.

However our view is *directly* supported by another myth, which *Dio Chrysostom* mentions, speaking of the sweating at the arm-pits with which the Lemnian

¹ *Plato*, *Sympos.* 192 b., πρὸς γάμους καὶ παιοποιίας οὐ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν φύσει, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀναγκάζονται, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκεῖ αὐτοῖς μετ' ἀλλήλων καταξῆν ἀγάμοις. (To marriage and the procreation of children they pay no attention whatever naturally, but are only forced by the law to do so. It is enough for them to live out their lives with one another unwed).

² "Histoire d'Herodote, par M. Larcher." (*Herodotus' History*, translated (French) by Mons. Larcher). Vol. I. Paris 1786., p. 368. Un homme d'esprit, mais peu instruit, croyoit que le sentiment de M. le President Poughier se detruisoit de lui-

même. Peut on supposer, disoit il, que Vénus aveugle en sa vengeance, se soit fait à elle même l'affront le plus sanglant, et qu'aux dépens de son culte, elle ait procuré des adorateurs au Dieu de Lampsaque, qu'elle ne doit chérir que lorsqu'il vient sacrifier sur ses autels. (A witty but superficial critic considered the opinion of the president Bouhier to be self-contradictory. Can Venus be supposed, he argued, so blind in her vengeance as to have put on herself the deadliest of affronts, and at the expense of her own worship to have given adorers to the god of Lampsacus, whom she must only patronize when he comes to sacrifice at her altars?)

women were afflicted. According to this legend Venus punishes the women of Lemnos¹:

¹ *Natalis Comes*, Mythologia p. 392., according to the report of several Scholiasts. The Scholiast on *Lucian*, *Amores* ch. 2., writes 'Ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῖς Ἀθηναίαις γυναιξὶν ἐγκυτος Ἀφροδίτῃ γενομένη, εἴτε δυσώδεις αὐτάς ποιήσασα, ἀποκοίτους αὐτάς ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἡνάγκασεν. (When Aphrodité, angered with the women of Lemnos, had then made them malodorous, and so compelled their husbands to expel them from their beds). Similarly the Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Argonaut.*, I. 609., αἱ Ἀθηναῖαι γυναῖκες... τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τιμῶν καταλιγώρησασαι, καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν θεὸν ἐκίνησαν· πάσαις γὰρ δυσσομίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὥς μηκέτι αὐτάς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρέσκειν. (The Lemnian women, by neglecting the honours due to Aphrodite, stirred the goddess' anger against them. For she inflicted on them all an ill-odour, so that they were no longer pleasing to their husbands). To the same purport the Scholiast on *Euripides*, *Hecuba* v. 887., who cites Didymus as authority: 'Ἐν Ἀθήνῃ γυναικες ἐτέλουν ἐτήσιον ἑορτὴν Ἀφροδίτῃ· ἐπεὶ οὖν ποτε καταφρονήσασαι τῆς θεοῦ, ἀπέλιπον

τὸ ἔθος, ἣ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐνέβαλεν αὐταῖς δυσωδίαν, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας αὐταῖς πλησιάζσαι· αἱ δὲ νομίσασαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονεῖσθαι, τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος οὕτω. (At Lemnos the women used to celebrate a yearly festival in honour of Aphrodité. And so when on one occasion they scorned the goddess and neglected the custom, Aphrodité afflicted them with an ill odour, so that their own husbands could not come near them. And they concluding they were scorned by their husbands, killed them all. Didymus confirms this). The Lesbian *Myrtilus* or *Myrsilus* gives a different account of the origin of the evil smell of the Lesbian women, representing it in the First Book of his "Lesbica" as a consequence of the magic arts of Medea, who had landed with Jason at Lemnos. The story was taken from the lost Work of *Myrtilus* by *Antigonus Carystius*, *Histor. mirab.* collect., edit. J. Meursius. Leyden 1629. 4to., ch. 130. p. 97., Τὰς δὲ Ἀθηναίας δυσόσμους γενέσθαι, Μηδείας ἀφικομένης μετ' Ἰάσονος καὶ φάρμακα ἐμβαλλούσης εἰς τὴν νῆσον· κατὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον καὶ μάλιστα ἐν

"Haec Dea veluti etiam ceteri, sua sacrificia prae-
"termitti non aequo animo ferebat: quae cum Lem-
"niae mulieres Veneris sacrificia sprevisent, Deae

ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς
ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Μήδειαν
παραγενέσθαι, δυσώδεις
αὐτὰς οὕτως γίνεσθαι
ᾧστε μηδένα προσῖέναι.

(And that the Lemnian women became malodorous, when Medea came thither with Jason and cast poisonous drugs on the island; and that for some length of time and particularly in those days when Medea is related to have been there, they were so ill-smelling that no man could approach them.)

Also the Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius*, I. 165., says: τῶν ἄλλων ἱστορούντων, ὅτι κατὰ χόλον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης αἱ Λημνιάδες δύσοσμοι ἐγένοντο, Μυρτίλος ἐν πρώτῳ Λεσβικῶν διαφέρεται· καὶ φησὶ τὴν Μήδειαν παραπλέουσαν, διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν εἶπαι εἰς τὴν Αἴημον φάρμακον, καὶ δύσοσμίαν γενέσθαι ταῖς γυναῖξιν, εἶναι τε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατ' ἐνιαυτον ἡμέραν τινα, ἐν ᾗ διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν ἀποστρέφονται τὰς γυναῖκας ἄνδρες τε καὶ νῆες. (Whereas others relate that in consequence of the anger of Aphrodité the women of Lemnos became evil-smelling, Myrtilus in the first Book of the "Lesbica" tells a different tale. He says that Medea, sailing past the land, moved by envy cast a poison on the island, and so an ill

odour fell on the women; further that there is down to the present time a day once a year, on which owing to this foul odour husbands and sons turn and flee from the women.) Finally there is an Epigram of *Lucilius* in the *Greek Anthology* (edit. H. de Bosch, Vol. I. p. 416.) Bk. II. Tit. 14. no. 4., mentioning the evil smell of the Lemnian women:

Ὅτε Χίμαιρα τοιοῦτον ἐ-
νει κακόν, ἢ καδ' Ὀμηρον,
Ὅν ἀγέλη τάφρων (ὥς ὁ
λόγος) πυρίπνους,

Ὁ ὃ Αἴημονος σύμπαδ',
οὐχ Ἀρπυιῶν τὰ περισσά,

Ὅδ' ὁ Φιλοκτῆτου πούς
ἀποσηπόμενος,

Ὡστε σε παμψηφει νικᾷν,
Τελείλλα, Χίμαιρας,

Σηπεδόνας, τάφρους, ὕρ-
νεα, Αἴημονιάδας.

(Neither the Chimaera of Homer had so ill a smell, nor yet the herd (as the story goes) of fire-breathing bulls, not *all* Lemnos, not the foulest of the Harpies, nor even Philoctetes' putrefying foot. So you see, Telesilla, you outdo—the vote is unanimous,—Chimaeras, putrefactions, bulls, birds, *Lemnian women*!) The stench of Telesilla outdid, we see, all known evil smells, even that of the Lemnian women, etc. Also in *Valerius*

also from the play of *Philoctetes*, of whom the *Scholias*t

maiden burns for a maiden. Hardly keeping back her tears she cries: What fate awaits me,—me who suffer sorrow of Venus known to none, a sorrow monstrous and of strange new sort? If the gods were willing to spare me, they would have given me a *natural* curse surely, one of *ordinary* kind. No cow burns for a cow, no mare for the love of mares, nor any woman is taken with love for a woman. Would I were no woman!)

Similarly *Lucillius* says of the pederast *Cratippus* in the Greek Anthology, bk. II. Tit. V. no. 1.;

Τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον
ἀκούσατε· θαῦμα γὰρ ὑμῖν

Καινὸν ἀπαγγέλλω· πλὴν
μεγάλαι νεμέσεις·

Τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον
ἀνέυρομεν ἄλλο γένος· τί;

Τῶν ἑτεροξήλων ἥλιπια
τοῦτ' ἂν ἐγὼ;

Ἥλιπια τοῦτο, Κράτιππε;
μανήσομαι, εἰ λόκος εἶναι

Πᾶσι λέγων ἐφάνης ἐξαπί-
νης ἕριφος.

(Of the boy-loving *Cratippus* will I tell you; for a strange new wonder I report. *Yea! great are the penalties he pays.* The boy-loving *Cratippus* we have found has another character. What character? I should have thought him to be of those whose love is eager on one side only.

Did I think so, *Cratippus*? Well, I shall seem a madman, if—professing the while to all to be a wolf,—you of a sudden appear in the character of a kid).

But most important in this connection is the passage of *Aeschines*, *Orat. in Timarch.*, p. 178., μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθαι, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγείας γίνεσθαι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἡσεβηκότας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαισι, Ποινὰς ἐλαύνειν καὶ κολάζειν θάσιν ἡμῖναις· ἀλλ' αἱ προπετεῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι. (For you must not dream, Athenians, that the causes of calamities are from the gods, and that such are not rather due to the wickedness of mankind. Do not imagine the impious are driven by Furies, as is represented in the Tragedies, and chastised with blazing torches; nay! it is reckless indulgence in bodily pleasures that is the scourge, and immoderate desires). *Comp. Theon*, *Progymn.*, ch. 7.—*Cicero*, *Orat. in Pison.*, 20., *Nolite putare, Patres Conscripti*, ut in scena videtis homines consceleratos impulso deorum terrori Furiarum taedis ardentibus. Sua quemque fraus, suum facinus, suum scelus, sua audacia de sanitate ac mente deturbat. Hac sunt impiorum Furiae,

to *Thucydides*¹ says: "Moreover Philoctetes, having "on account of the death of Paris fallen sick of "the *feminine disease*, and being unable to bear the "shame of it, left his country and founded a city, "which in memory of his misfortune he named Mala-
"cia—Effeminacy." *Martial*² had the same myth in his mind when he wrote:

In Sertorium

Mollis erat, facilisque viris Pacantius heros,
Vulnera sic Paradis dicitur ulta Venus.
Cur lingat cunnum Siculus Sertorius, hoc est,
Ex hoc occisus. Rufe, videtur Eryx.

(To Sertorius. — The Hero, son of Paeas (Philoctetes), was effeminate and easy of access to men; in this way Venus is said to have avenged the murder of Paris. Why should Sicilian Sertorius lick the pudendum of women? this is why, because it would appear, he was the slayer, Rufus, of a man of Eryx.) Of course there can be no question here of the disease which detained Philoctetes at Lemnos and prevented his taking part in the expe-

hae flammae, hac faces. (Dream not, Conscript Fathers, that wicked men, as you see represented on the stage, are driven in terror, at the instigation of the gods, by the blazing torches of the Furies. 'Tis his own dishonesty, his own wickedness his own baseness, his own recklessness, that destroys each man's health and sanity. These are the furies that torment the impious, these the flames and torches).

¹ De Bello Peloponnesiaco, Bk. I. ch. 12. (edit. Bauer. Leipzig 1790. 4to., p. 33.), καὶ Φιλοκτήτης διὰ τὸν

Πάριδος θάνατον θήλειαν νόσον νοσήσας, καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἀπελθὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐκτίσε πόλιν, ἣν διὰ τὸ πάθος Μαλακίαν ἐκάλεσε.—for translation see text above. Our view on this passage is shared by *Manso*, pp. 46 and 70.

² Bk. II. Epigr. 84. How *Meier*, loco citato p. 160., could derive a proof from this passage that Philoctetes had been the *pathic* of Hercules is beyond our comprehension, seeing that Hercules had long been dead when Philoctetes was punished with this vice by Venus.

dition to Troy; and if the older legend says nothing as to the *νοῦσος θήλεια* of Philoctetes, it is clear from this (as Meier, loco citato, has shown) that only in times when paederastia was becoming prevalent, were all these legends invented, to get as it were a sort of excuse by alleging a distinguished predecessor in the practice. So *Martial* says, addressing *Gaurus*:¹

Quod nimio gaudes noctem producere vino,
Ignosco: vitium, Gaure. Catonis habes.
Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo,
Laudari debes: hoc Ciceronis habes.
Quod vomis: Antoni, quod luxuriaris: Apici;
Quod fellas — vitium dic mihi, cuius habes?

(That you love to prolong the night with excess of wine, I can excuse; you have the vice, *Gaurus*, of *Cato*. That you write verses with no inspiration of *Muses* and *Apollo*, for this, you should be praised; it is a fault of *Cicero's* you have. That you vomit, well! 'twas a habit of *Antony's*; that you are a gourmand, 'twas *Apicius'* weakness.—That you suck (as a *fellator*), whose vice have you here, pray tell me!) The above Epigram of *Martial's* (To *Sertorius*) shows very clearly how the poets represented each form of unnatural indulgence of the sexual impulse as vengeance of *Venus*. It is a *cunnilingus* that is in question here, and his vice is accounted for in this way:—just as *Philoctetes* on account of the slaying of *Paris* had been punished by *Venus* with paederastia, so the Sicilian *Sertorius* probably became a *cunnilingus* because he had killed an inhabitant of *Eryx*, where was situated a famous temple of the goddess. Similarly it will not surprise us if besides paederastia *Philoctetes* was saddled with the vice of *Onanism* at a later period, as is implied in the following poem of *Ausonius*:²

¹ Bk. II. Epigr. 89.

Delphin edition, revised by

² Works of *Ausonius*; *J. B. Souhay*. Paris 1730.

SUBSCRIPTUM PICTURAE CRISPAE MULIERIS IMPUDICAE

Praeter legitimi genitalia foedera coetus,
 Repperit obscoenas Veneres vitiosa libido.
 Herculis haeredi quam Lemnia suasit egestas,
 Quam toga facundi scenis agitavit Afrani,
 Et quam Nolanis capitalis luxur inussit;
 Crispa tamen cunctas exercet corpore in uno:
 Deglubit, fellat, molitur per utramque cavernam,
 Ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.

(Inscribed beneath a Portrait of Crispa,—an immodest woman.—Over and above the natural modes of intercourse in legitimate coition, vicious lust has discovered impure ways of love: the way that his loneliness at Lemnos taught the heir of Hercules (Philoctetes), that which the comedies of eloquent Afranius displayed on the stage, and that which deadly luxury branded on the men of Nola. But Crispa practises them all in her sole person: she skins, she sucks, she works by either aperture, that she may not leave anything untried, and so have lived in vain!)

No doubt *Stark*, p. 19, is quite right in saying this passage has nothing to do with the *θήλεια νόστος*; but the poet has by no means, as he puts it in his note, *temporum ordine lapsus*,—committed an anachronism. He makes no mention whatever of any vengeance of Venus, saying nothing more than that loneliness led the inheritor (of the arrows) of Hercules to Onanism. This is not merely advancing a conjecture, as *Stark* does, but (to say nothing of the *Lemnia egestas*—Lemnian loneliness), admits of being legitimately developed from the whole sequence of thought in the Epigram. Crispa's vices are mentioned in the order of their shamefulness. The least disgraceful is Onanism, such as Philoctetes

4to., p. 4. Carm. 71. Following a ridiculous custom the "Obscoena e textu Ausoniano resecta" (Objectionable pas-

sages removed from the text of Ausonius) are printed together at the end of the Book, and separately paged.

practised, next comes the vice of the *cinaedus* and of the *pathic*, for which Afranius serves as example, and lastly *fellatio*. Thus it shows a complete want of comprehension, when the commentators quote the scholion to Thucydides given a little above as an explanation. Had Philoctetes been referred to as a *pathic*, the succeeding verse would be entirely superfluous; which verse does not receive a word of notice from the expositors, presumably because they failed to understand the allusion. The true explanation is afforded by a passage in *Quintilian*:¹ *Togatis excellit Afranius, utinamque non inquinasset argumenta puerorum foedis amoribus, mores suos fassus.*" (Afranius excels in *fabulae togatae* (polite comedies), and it were to be wished he had not defiled his plots by disgusting intrigues with boys, thereby discovering his own morals). *Forberg*, loco citato p. 283, quotes this passage indeed, but explains (both here and on p. 343) the *libido* (lust) of Philoctetes as being that of the *pathic*.

To prove that Venus manifested her wrath in the way specified, we may further cite the race of the daughters of Helios, whom she punished by the infliction of licentious love. Thus *Hyginus* says: ² *Soli ob indicium (concubitus cum Marte) Venus ad progeniem eius semper fuit inimica.* (Because of the Sun's revelation (of her intrigue with Mars) Venus was ever a bitter enemy of his posterity); and *Seneca*:³

Stirpem perosa Solis inuisi Venus
Per nos catenas vindicat Martis sui
Suasque: probris omne Phoebeum genus
Onerat infandis.

¹ Instit. orat., Bk. X. ch. 1.

² Fab. 148.—*Barth* on Statius' Thebaid. V. 59.

³ Tragoed. Hippolyt., 124.; and *Servius* on *Virgil*, *Aeneid*, Bk. VI. v. 14., Venus vehementer dolens stirpem

omnem Solis persequi infandis amoribus coepit. (Venus, exceedingly indignant, proceeds to afflict all the descendants of the Sun with abominable loves.)

(Venus, loathing the posterity of the hated Sun, punishes on us the fetters that bound her lover Mars and her. *With abominable and disgraceful practices* she afflicts the whole race of Phoebus).

An example of such vengeance is afforded by Pasiphaë, of whom the Scholiast on the passage of Lucian cited below relates how, *Ἥλιου οὐσα ἐκ μήνιδος Ἀφροδίτης ταύρου ἡράσθη*, (being a daughter of the Sun, she became enamoured of a bull through the influence of angry Aphrodité), a fable which might very well be explained—for *ταύρος* (a bull), like *κένταυρος* (a Centaur), occurs in the sense of paederast—as meaning that she had become a female pathic. So Theomnestus says in *Lucian*:¹

¹ *Amores*, ch. 2., οὕτω τις ἡγρὸς τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐνοικεῖ μύωψ, ὅς ἅπαν πᾶλλος εἰς αὐτὸν ἀρπάζων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κόρῳ παύεται· καὶ συνεχὲς ἀπορεῖν ἐπέρχεται μοι, τίς οὗτος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ χόλος· οὐ γὰρ Ἡλιάδης ἐγὼ τις, οὐδὲ Ἀημνιάδων ἔρις, οὐδὲ Ἰππολύτειον ἀγροικίαν ὠφρωνμένος, ὥς ἐρεθίσαι τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἄπανστον ταύτην ὀργήν. (for translation see text above.) The word *ἐρις*—strife, in this passage is obviously corrupt, having got into the text probably by confusion with *ἐρεθίσαι*—to provoke, standing just below in the MS. *Jacobs* proposed *ἐρνος*—scion, but according to *Lehmann* this is too poetical a word for *Lucian*; *ἐρεὺς*—in the sense of *heir*, might very well be read, giving the same meaning. Could *ὑβρις*—insolence, have been the original word in the text? *Lucian*

must have written the passage with a reference to the above mentioned punishment of the Lemnian women by Venus, and by *Ἀημνιάδων*—Lemnian women, we must understand not the descendants of the women of Lemnos, but these women themselves, *Apollonius Rhodius* (*Argon.*, I. 653.) also using *Ἀημνιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες*—Lemnian women, of these same inhabitants of the island. Now the Greeks characterized every form of behaviour of a kind to incur the anger of the goddess by the word *ὑβρις*—overbearing insolence; and this would exactly fit in the passage, for the οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ—neither . . . nor, calls for a correspondence of phrase in each clause, and *ὑβρις* and *ἀγροικία*—brutal insensibility, tally excellently. For *ὑβρις* in the sense indicated comp. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.*, Bk. II. ch. 10.,

"So lecherous a look resides in the eyes, that compelling all beauty to its will, it can find no satiety. And often was I uncertain whether this were not some spite of Aphrodité. Yet am I none of the children of Helios, neither a natural heir of the Lemnian women, nor puffed up with the scornful insensibility of Hippolytus, that I could have provoked against me such an implacable hatred on the part of the goddess). *Philo Judæus*¹ also represents paederastia as a punishment of such men as married a woman legally repudiated, and the like: *πρὸς δὲ συμβάσεις εἴ τις ἐθέλοι κωρεῖν ἀνὴρ τῇ τοιαύτῃ γυναικί, μαλακίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας ἐκφερέσθω δόξαν, ὡς ἐκ τετμημένου τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ βιωφελέστατον μισοπόνηρον πάθος.... δίκην οὖν τινέτω σὺν τῇ γυναικί.* (But if any man should wish to enter into contracts with such a woman, let him bear the *ill-repute of softness and effeminacy*, as having eradicated from his soul that

ἐπιθυμία γὰρ κακὴ ὄνομα ὕβρις, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἵππον, ὕβριστην ὁ Πλάτων (Phædr. pp. 1226, 27.) *προσεῖπεν, "Ἴπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθητέ μοι, ἀναγνοῖς.* (for evil concupiscence is called ὕβρις, and the horse of concupiscence Plato named Ἵππος—Overbearing, having read "Wild horses ye became to me.") We should then have to translate, supposing we read ὕβριν in the text, "I am neither puffed up with the insolence of the women of Lemnos, nor yet with the brutal insensibility of Hippolytus." Very possibly an Attic writer would not have expressed himself so; but we must remember that *Fr. Jacobs*, a man of fine discrimination of

Classical diction, denied from the first Lucian's authorship of the passage *ob orationem difficilem valdeque impeditam*—because of its difficult and exceedingly awkward style. The unfavourable judgement which *Lehmann* in his edition passes on this Work (Lucian's *Amores*) so far as its general tenor is concerned, is based we may observe almost entirely on the confusion of paedophilia with paederastia. However under no circumstances has any actual allusion been made to the lewdness of the Lemnian women, if *Belin*, *de Ballu*, and others agree in this rendering.

¹ De special legib., Opera Vol. II. p. 304.

sentiment of hatred for ill-doers which is most useful for life,—So let him pay his penalty along with the woman). In *Athenaeus* one of the speakers exclaims Deipnos., XIII. p. 605 D.): 'Ορᾶτε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ φύσιν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ χρώμενοι, καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες εἰς τὴν θεόν, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν διαφθαρήτε τρόπον. (Beware then ye too, philosophers who indulge the pleasures of Aphrodité against nature, and act impiously towards the goddess, that ye be not destroyed in the same way).

According to *Diodorus* (V. 55) the sons of Neptune in consequence of the wrath of Venus plunged into such madness that they violated their mother. The Propontides, who had denied the godhead of Venus, were cast by her into such an amorous phrenzy that they publicly gave themselves to men, and they were subsequently turned into stones.¹ Myrrha, whose mother proclaimed herself to be fairer than Venus, was driven by the goddess into unchastity with her own father.²

In later times this idea was even transferred to the Star of Venus. The following appears in *Firmicus* "In octavo ab horoscopo loco, Mercurius cum Venere, "si vespertini ambo, inefficaces et apocopus reddent, "et qui nihil agere possint." (In the eighth place of the horoscope, Mercury in conjunction with Venus, if both are evening stars, will make men impotent eunuchs and such as can effect nothing.)—a notion that first arose perhaps from the name *Hermaphroditus*³.

¹ *Ovid*, *Metamorphos.*, bk. X, 238.

² *Ovid*, *Metamorphos.*, bk. X. 298.—*Servius* on *Virgil*, *Eclog.* X. 18. *Fulgentius*, *Mytholog.* III. 8.

³ *Ausonius*, *Epigr.* C.,

De Hermaphrodito
Mercurio genitore satus, genetrice
Cytthere,

Nominis ut mixti, sic corporis
Hermaphroditus,
Concretus sexu, sed non perfectus,
utroque :
Ambiguae Veneris, neutro potiun-
dus amori

(Of Hermaphroditus.—Born of Mercury as sire, of Cytherea as mother, Hermaphroditus, at once of compound name and compound body, combi-

Thus there would be nothing inconsistent with the views universally held in Antiquity in considering the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease) of the Scythians, and equally that of Philoctetes, as consequences of the wrath of Venus. That paederastia was invariably regarded as a *Vice* by the Ancients (and particularly by the Greeks) we have already, following the lines laid down by *Meier*, we think sufficiently proved. *Stark*, who repeatedly (pp. 12, 16, 20.) denies this, has been led into error merely by the mistake that was generally prevalent in his time of confusing paedophilia and paederastia; and it is on this misapprehension he bases his argument. How the Scythians came to hold this belief that the wrath of Venus was to blame for what they suffered, must indeed be left an open question. But it should be remembered it was not the *pathics* themselves who advanced this opinion, but only the rest of the Scythians; for Herodotus says expressly, *λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφεας νοσέειν* (and the Scythians say that for this cause *they* were afflicted). Again it was only *ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες* (a few of the Scythians who were left behind), a few of the stragglers, who would seem to have plundered the temple of Aphrodité; and it certainly was only later that this act of impiety was brought into connection with the vice,—in the same way as the killing of Paris by Philoctetes was with the legend of his lewd practices.

§ 15.

The second question we have to answer will be this: how could Herodotus write *that the descendants of these few stragglers alive in his time suffered from the νοῦσος θήλεια (feminine disease)?* From

ned of either sex, but complete in neither; a being of ambiguous love, that can

enjoy the joys of neither passion.)

the fact that, while descendants are named, strictly speaking only *male* descendants can be in question, it is clear the statement is only a general one, and must not be understood to imply more than that certain members of these families were Cinaedi, not of course that the *whole* posterity was afflicted with the *νοῦσος θήλεια*. We see at the present day how the impurity of the father passes on to the son; so it need be matter for no surprise whatever to find the vice of the cinaedi descending in the same way among certain members of a family. As a matter of fact these Scythian temple-robbers are by no means the only examples Antiquity holds up to us of such a thing, for the Orator *Lysias*¹ says of the family of *Alcibiades*, that *most members of it had become prostitutes*.

What is more, the opinion was avowedly and directly held by the Ancients, that pathics were born with the predisposition to the vice. In particular *Parmenides* (509 B.C.) expressed this view in a Fragment, which *Caelius Aurelianus*² has preserved in a chapter of his Work. This chapter treats solely of the vice of the pathic, and is of the greatest importance for our subject. We could not

¹ Orat. contra Alcibiad., I. p. 550., οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀντῶν ἡταιρήκασιν. (the majority of them have become prostitutes.) Comp. *Meier*, loco citato p. 173., who in another place, p. 154 note 79., has authenticated the meaning of ἡταιρ-εῖν (to be a hetaera, prostitute, used of men, viz. to submit the body for pay to another to violate.

² "De morbis acutis et chronicis, lib. VIII." (On acute and chronic Diseases—8 Books.) edit. Amman, Amsterdam 1722. 4to. Chronic

Diseases, Bk. IV. ch. 9. In this book diseases of the intestinal canal are treated, and immediately preceding the subject of Worms. So the vice must have been regarded as if it were a disease of the rectum, though the author says it had its origin in a mental derangement. Comp. *C. Barth*, *Adversar.*, bk. IV. ch. 3., bk. XLIII. ch. 21, bk. XLVIII. ch. 3., bk. XXIII. ch. 2. bk. XIII. ch. 13., where several emendations are to be found of the corruptions of the text.

forgo^s quoting it in full, particularly as it is the sole authority for the views held by physicians on this vice, and up to now appears to have been entirely overlooked.

DE MOLLIBUS SIVE SUBACTIS, QUOS GRAECI
μαλθακούς VOCANT.

"Molles sive subactos Graeci μαλθακούς vocaverunt, quos quidem esse nullus facile virorum credit. Non enim hoc humanos ex natura venit in mores, sed pulso pudore, libido etiam indebitas partes obscoenis usibus subiugavit. Cum enim nullus cupiditati modus, nulla satietatis spes est, singulis Sparta non sufficit sua. Nam sic nostri corporis loca divina providentia certis destinavit officiis. Tum denique volentes alliciunt veste atque gressu, et aliis femininis rebus, quae sunt a passionibus corporis aliena, sed potius corruptae mentis vitia. Nam saepe tumentes [timentes], vel quod est difficile, verentes quosdam, quibus forte deferunt, repente mutati parvo tempore virilitatis quaerunt indicia demonstrare, cuius quia modum nesciunt, rursum nimietate sublati, plus quoque quam virtuti convenit, faciunt et maioribus si peccatis involvunt. Constat itaque etiam nostro iudicio, hos vera sentire. Est enim, ut Soranus ait, malignae ac foedissimae mentis passio. Nam sicut feminae Tribades¹ appellatae, quod utramque Venerem

¹ Tribades dictae a τριβω, frico, frictrices, sunt quibus ea pars naturae muliebris, quam clitoridem vocant, in tantam magnitudinem excrescit, ut possint illa pro mentuia vel ad futuendum vel ad paedicanum uti. "Tribades", so called from τριβω,—I rub, *women that rub*, are such as have that portion of the

woman's parts which is called the clitoris grown to a size so excessive that they can use it as a penis whether for fornicating or for paederastia. So says Forberg, loco citato p. 345. Comp. Hesychius ἐταρίστριαι τριβάδες (lewd women, *tribades*.) The Lesbian women were especially notorious for it. *Lucian*,

"exerceant, mulieribus magis quam viris misceri
 "festinant et easdem, invidentia pene virili sectantur,
 "et cum passione fuerint desertae, seu temporaliter
 "relevatae, ea quaerunt aliis obiicere, quae pati
 "noscuntur, iuvamini humilitate [iuvandi voluptate
 "ex] duplici sexu confecta, velut frequenti ebrietate
 "corruptae in novas libidinis formas erumpentes,
 "consuetudine turpi nutritae, sui sexus iniuriis gau-
 "dent, illi comparatione talium animi passione iactari
 "noscuntur. Nam neque ulla curatio corporis depel-
 "lendae passionis causa recte putatur adhibenda,
 "sed potius animus coercendus, qui tanta peccatorum

Dialog. meretr. 5., τοιαύτας
 (ἑταιριστροφίας) ἐν Λέσβῳ
 λέγουσι γυναῖκας, ὅτι ἄν-
 δρῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθελούσας
 αὐτὰς πᾶσχειν, γυναῖξί δὲ
 αὐτὰς πλησιαζούσας, ὥσπερ
 ἄνδρας. (such women—*triba-*
des, they say there are in
 Lesbos, who will not suffer
 it from men, but themselves
 go with women, as if they
 were men). But we must
 beware of connecting the word
 λεσβιάζειν (the act the Les-
 bian) with this; it means
 something quite different, as
 we shall see later on. The
 Milesian women were skilled
Tribades, employing an arti-
 ficial penis made of leather,
 which was called by the
 Greeks ὀλισβος. Aristophanes,
 Lysistrat. 108—110.,

οὐκ εἶδον σὺδ' ὀλισβον
 ὀκταδάατυλον,
 ὅς τ' ἦν ἄν ἡμῖν σκυτίνη
 πικσυρία.

(Since when the the Milesians
 betrayed us, I have never seen

even an eight-inch *olisbos*,
 that would have been a
 leathern succour for us.) *Sui-*
das, s. v. ὀλισβος· αἰδοῖον
 δερμάτινον, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο αἱ
 μιλήσται γυναῖκες, ὡς τρι-
 βάδες, καὶ αἰσχροπρῶοι.
 ἐχρῶντο καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ
 χῆραι γυναῖκες.—s. v. μισή-
 της· μισήται δὲ γυναῖκες
 ὀλισβῷ χρήσονται. (under the
 word ὀλισβος: a member of
 leather; which the Milesian
 women used, such as *tribades*
 and bad women. They were
 used by widows also.—under
 the word μισήτης (lewd per-
 son): and lewd women will
 use the *olisbos*.) Comp. the
 Scholiast to the passage to
 the passage of Aristophanes
 quoted. There were also cakes
 shaped like an *olisbos* and
 called ὀλισβόκολλοξ (*olisbos-*
loaves)—*Hesychius*, which
 remind us of the cakes in the
 shape of a penis that were
 sold in Italy at the feast of
 SS. Cosmus and Damian. see
Knight, loco citato p. 62.)

"labe vexatur. Nemo enim pruriens corpus femi-
 "nando correxit, vel virilis veretri tactu mitigavit,
 "sed communiter querelam sive dolorem alia ex
 "materia toleravit. Denique etiam a Clodio historia
 "curationis data ascaridarum esse perspicitur, quos
 "de lumbricis scribentes vermiculos esse docuimus
 "longaonis¹ in partibus natos. Parmenides²
 "libris quos de natura scripsit, eventu, inquit
 "conceptionis molles aliquando seu
 "subactos homines generare. Cuius quia
 "graecum est epigramma et hoc versibus intimabo
 "[imitabo]: Latinos enim, ut potui, simili modo
 "composui, ne linguarum ratio misceretur.

Femina, virque simul Veneris cum germina miscent
 Venis, informans diverso ex sanguine virtus
 Temperiem servans bene condita corpora fingit.
 At si virtutes permixto semine pugnent,
 Nec faciant unam, permixto in corpore dirae
 Nascentem gemino vexabunt semine sexum.

"Vult enim seminum praeter materias esse virtutes,
 "quae si se ita miscuerint et [ut] eiusdem corporis
 "[vim unam] faciant, unam congruam sexui generent
 "voluntatem. Si autem permixto semine corporeo vir-
 "tutes separatae permanserint utriusque Veneris natos
 "adpetentia sequatur. Multi praeterea sectarum prin-
 "cipes genuinam dicunt esse passionem et propterea

¹ *Longao* or *Longano* signifies the rectum—straight gut, the large intestine, the *longus anus*, prolonged anus, as it were. The word is found frequently in *Caelius Aurelianus* and in *Vegetius*, De re veterin. (On Veterinary medicine). II. 14., 21., 28. IV. 8. Since the large intestine was used for sausages (*Apicius*, De re coq. (On Cookery, Bk. IV. ch. 2.), the sausage

was also called *longano* or *longavo*. *Varro*, De ling. lat. V. 111.

² We have not been able to ascertain whether the Fragment here quoted is extant in Greek as well, for the Fragments of Parmenides, by G. G. Fülleborn, Züllichau 1795. 8vo. were as inaccessible by us as were *Brandis'* Commentationes Eleaticae.

"in posteros venire cum semine, non
 "quidem naturam criminantes, quae suae puritatis
 "metas aliis ex animalibus docet: nam sunt eius
 "specula a sapientibus nuncupata: sed humanum
 "genus, quod ita semel recepta tenet vitia, ut nulla
 "possit instauratione purgari, nec ullum novitati
 "liquerit locum, sitque gravior senescentibus mentis
 "culpa, cum plurimae genuinae, seu adventitiae pas-
 "sionis corporibus infractae consenescant, ut podagra,
 "epilepsia, furor et propterea aetate vergente mitiores
 "procul dubio fiant. Omnia et enim vexantia validos
 "effectus dabunt firmitate opposita subiacentium
 "materiarum, quae cum in senibus deficit, passio
 "quoque minuitur, ut fortitudo; sola tamen supra
 "dicta, quae subactos seu molles efficit viros, senescenti
 "corpore gravius invalescit et infanda magis libidine
 "movenet, non quidem sine ratione. In aliis enim
 "aetatibus adhuc valido corpore et naturalia ventris
 "[veneris] officia celebrante, gemina luxuriae libido non
 "divititur, animorum nunc faciendo, nunc facie iactata
 "[animo eorum nunc patiendo nunc faciendo iactato]:
 "in iis vero qui senectute defecti virili veneris officio
 "caruerint, omnis animi libido in contrariam ducitur
 "appetentiam, et propterea femina validius Venerem
 "poscit. Hinc denique coniiciunt plurimi etiam
 "pueros hac passione iactari. Similiter enim senibus
 "virili indigent officio¹, quod in ipsis est nondum,
 "illos deseruit." (On effeminate men or *subservients*,
 called *μαλθακοί*—soft, effeminate, by the Greeks.—
 Effeminate men, or *subservients*, were called by the
 Greeks *μαλθακοί*. A man finds it difficult to believe
 in the existence of such creatures. For it was not
 nature prompted the introduction of this as part of
 human habits; rather was it lust that, expelling
 shame, subjected to foul uses parts of the body that
 should never have been so employed. For no limit
 being set to passion, and no hope of satiety being
 entertained, the several members find each its own
 realm insufficient; whereas divine providence destined
 the different portions of the body to perform definite

functions. In fine they go out of their way to allure by dress and gait and other feminine attributes, things unconnected with bodily emotions, being rather due to a corrupted mind. For often, moved by fear, or (however difficult to believe) by shame, towards persons whom they happen to respect, they change of a sudden and for a brief space seek to show marks of manly power; but not knowing where to put the limit, they are again carried away by excess, and going beyond what is fit for an honest man are involved in yet greater offences. Thus it is evident, in *our* opinion, that such men have a sense of the true state of things. For theirs is, as Soranus declares, the passion of a corrupt and utterly foul mind. For as women that are called *Tribades*, because they practise the love of either sex, are eager to have intercourse with women more than with men, and pursue these with a jealousy almost as violent as a man's, and when they have been deserted by their love or for the time being superseded, seek to do to other women what they are known to suffer, and winning from their double sex a pleasure in giving pleasure, like persons deboshed by constant drunkenness, being nurtured on evil habitude, delight in wrongs to their own sex,—even so these men (pathics) are seen by a comparison with women of this sort to be tormented with a passion that is of the mind. For no bodily treatment it is rightly deemed should be adopted to expel the passion, rather must the mind be disciplined which is afflicted with such a pollution of vices.

For no man ever remedied a prurient body by foul practices as a woman, nor got mitigation by contact of the male member, but concurrently he suffered some complaint or pain from a different (material) cause. So in fact the history of a cure given by Clodius is found to be really a case of recovery from "*ascaridae*", which writers on intestinal worms have shown are a kind of worm born in

the region of the rectum or straight gut. *Parmenides* in his books on natural science says "*Effeminate men or subservients occasionally bring forth as a result of conception.*" But as his Epigram is in Greek, I will imitate it in verse; so I have composed Latin lines like the original so far as I could make them, that there might not be a mixture of the two languages:—"When a woman and a man together mingle in the veins the seeds of love, the formative virtue that moulds of the diverse blood, if it keep due proportion, makes well-framed bodies. But if the virtues are discordant in the commingled seed, and have no unity, in the commingled body furies will torment the nascent sex with two-fold seed." He means that over and above the material seed there are certain virtues residing in it; and if these have commingled in such a way as to have one and the same operative force in the same body, then they produce one single will that tallies with the sex. But if when the bodily seed was commingled, the virtues remained separate, the appetite for love of both kinds must pursue the offspring.

Many leading doctors of the schools moreover declare that the passion is innate, and *therefore passes on with the seed to descendants*, not indeed hereby incriminating nature, which teaches men the bounds of its purity by the example of other animals (for animals are called by wise men nature's mirrors), but rather the human race that retains so obstinately vices once adopted, that by no renewal can it be purified, and has left no room for change. Similarly a *mental* depravity grows graver as men advance in life, whereas most affectionous of the *body*, whether innate or adventitious, get weaker as men get older, for instance gout, epilepsy and madness, and so as age advances undoubtedly grow milder. For all troublesome factors will produce strong effects in proportion to the firmness to resist possessed by the affected parts, and as this firmness is deficient in old men, so the complaint or passion diminishes

in intensity, as does the general strength. *But* that passion which makes men subservient or effeminate, grows stronger and more serious as the body grows old and stirs the sufferers with yet more abominable lustfulness,—and not without a reason. For at other ages, the body being still strong and capable of performing the natural offices of love, there is no division of lust into double forms of wantonness, through their mind being tossed to and fro now by passive now by active lewdness. But in such as have failed from age, and become incapable of the manly office of love, all the wantonness of the mind is directed on the appetite for the opposite form of gratification; and for this cause a woman demands love more strongly than a man. In fact many conjecture it is for this reason that boys also are tormented by this passion. For they resemble old men in lacking power for the virile function. It is not yet born in boys; old men have lost it.)

To leave on one side for the present the many inferences of various sorts that this passage of *Caelius Aurelianus* must necessarily lead us to, as they will find a more suitable place later on, and to return to our question,—the mere fact of Herodotus mentioning posterity at all ought of itself to be sufficient to negative any idea of actual eunuchs, of loss of the generative power. For had the Scythians returning from Ascalon lost this power, they could have had no more descendants, and therefore the *νοῦσος θήλεια* could not have passed on to these, but must have become extinct with the original sufferers. On the other hand children already begotten by them before that period could have been in no way influenced by a disease communicable through the act of generation. Accordingly the *νοῦσος θήλεια* cannot possibly have affected *these* Scythians so as to annihilate the power of generation. Both must have co-existed side by side; and the contrary can never be proved from anything *Herodotus* says. As to another passage of Herodotus

that might seem to demand some notice here, where the expression *ἀνδρόγυνος* (man-woman) is put side by side with *ἐνάρετες*, we will speak subsequently.

§ 16.

But, it is maintained by those who take a different view,—the individuals who suffered from the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease) could be recognized as doing so by their looks; thus it cannot have been a mere vice, it must have been an actual bodily complaint. We will not say a word more insisting on the declarations general amongst ancient writers, for example the words of *Ovid*: *Heu! quam difficile est crimen non prodere vultu* (Alas! how difficult it is not to betray a vice by the look), but will simply ask the question,—*had the Ancients really no bodily marks of identification* by which they could recognise in an individual the vice of the pathic or cinaedus? On this point we must look to the Physiognomists for information, and as a matter of fact they supply it in considerable completeness. First of all Aristotle¹:

¹ Physiognomicon ch. 3., in *Scriptores Physiognomiae veteres* (Ancient Writers on Physiognomy), edit. *J. G. Fr. Franzius*. Altenburg 1780 large 8vo., p. 51., *Κιναιίδου σημαίσα, ὄμμα κατακεκλασμένον, γονύκροτος, ἐγκίσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ· αἱ φοραὶ τῶν χειρῶν ὑπταίαι καὶ ἐκλυτοί, καὶ βαδέσεις διτταί, ἡ μὲν περινεύοντος, ἡ δὲ κρατοῦντος, τὴν ὁσφύν, καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων περιβλέψεις· οἷος ἂν εἴη Λιονύσιος ὁ σοφιστής.* (for translation

see text above). On p. 77. *γονύκροτος* (knock-kneed) is laid down as a characteristic of a woman. On p. 155 we read, *οἱ ἐγκλινόμενοι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι, κιναιδοί.* (those who bend to the right in walking are cinaedi.); on p. 50. *καὶ ἰσχνὰ ὄμματα κατακεκλασμένα — ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ κεκλασμένα τῶν ὀμμάτων, δύο σημαίνει, τὸ μὲν μαλακόν καὶ θήλυ.* (and withered, broken-down looking eyes,—and this broken-down appearance of the eyes denotes

"Distinguishing Marks of the Cinaedus:

"An eye broken-down, as it were, knees bent inwards, inclination of the head to the right side; movements of the hands always back downwards and flaccid, the gait double, as it were, one leg being crossed over the other in walking, the gaze wandering; such a man for example was the Sophist Dionysius." Polemo enters into greater detail¹:

"Distinguishing Marks of the Androgynus (Man-woman): "The man-woman has a lecherous and wanton look, he rolls his eyes and lets his gaze wander; forehead and cheeks twitch, eyebrows are drawn together to a point, neck bent, hips in continual movement. All the limbs twitch spasmodically, knees and hands seeming to crack; like an ox he glares round him and fixes his eyes on the ground. He speaks with a thin voice, at once croaking and shrill, exceedingly uncertain and trembling." In very similar terms the pathic is sketched by Adamantius². Dio Chrysostom in his

two things, the one being softness and effeminacy). *Clement of Alexandria*, *Pædagog.* bk. III. ch. 11., οὐδὲ κατακεκλασμένος, πλάγιον ποιήσας τὸν τράχηλον, περιπατεῖν ὡς περ ἐτέρους ὁρῶ κιναιδούς ἐνθάδε πολλούς ἄσται. (nor yet with broken-down look, bending the neck askance, to walk about as I see others do here, cinaedi,—yea, many of them in the city).

¹ *Physiognom.* bk. II. 9. l. c. p. 290., Ἀνδρογύνον σημεῖα. Ὅσον βλέπει καὶ ἰταμόν ὁ ἀνδρόγυνος, καὶ δονεῖται τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ περιτρέχει μέτωπον σπᾶ, καὶ παρειάς, αἱ ὀφρύες οἰδαίνουσι κατὰ χώραν, τρά-

χηλος κέκλιται, ὁσφύς οὐκ ἀτρεμεῖ κινεῖται πάντα τὰ μέλη ἄλματι γονάτων κρότος καὶ χειρῶν φαίνεται ὡς ταῦρος περιβλέπει εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ καταβλέπει φωνὴ λεπτὴν, κράζει δὲ λιγυρὰ, σκολιὰ πᾶν καὶ πᾶν ἔντρομα. (for translation see text above.) p. 275., οἱ τὰ γόνατα ἔσω ρεύοντες, γυναικεῖοί τε καὶ θηλυδραῖαι. (men that bow the knees inwards are womanish and effeminate).

² *Physiognom.* bk. II. 38. l. c. p. 440., Εἶδος ἀνδρόγυνον. Ὁ ἀνδρόγυνος ὅσον βλέπει, καὶ ἰταμόν καὶ δονεῖται τὰ ὄμματα καὶ περιτρέχει μέτωπον σπᾶ καὶ παρειάς. αἱ ὀφρύες μένουσι

speech cited a little above ¹ relates how "a physiognomist had come into a certain city, in order to give an exhibition of his art there, and declared he could tell by looking at any individual whether he were brave or timid, a boaster or a debauchee, a cinaedus or an adulteror. A man was brought to him who had a meagre body, eyebrows grown together, a dirty look, who was in evil condition, with callosities on his hands, and dressed in coarse gray clothing, one that was overgrown with hair to the knuckles, and ill-shaved, and the physiognomist was asked, what sort of a man he was. When he had looked at him a considerable time, and at the end was still uncertain, as it seems to me, what he should finally say, he declared he did not know and ordered the man to go. But when the latter sneezed, just as he was going, he cried out instantly he was a cinaedus. Thus the sneeze betrayed the man's habits, and prevented them, in spite of all the rest, from continuing hid." No doubt the man's walk had already given the Physiognomist an indication, and the gesture he made when he sneezed,

κατὰ χάρακ, τράχηλος κέκλι-
ται, ὁσφύς οὐκ ἀτρεμεῖ
κινεῖται πάντα τὰ μέλη καὶ
ἐπιθρόωσκει ἄλματίας ἐστὶ,
γογγύροτος, χειρῶν φορὰ
ὑπταί· περιβλέπει ἑαυτὸν
φωνῇ λεπτῇ, ἐπικλάζουσα,
λιγυρὰ, σχολαία πάνν. (Ap-
pearance of the *Man-woman*.
The *man-woman* has a lecher-
ous and wanton look, he rolls
his eyes and lets his gaze
wander; forehead and cheeks
twitch, eyebrows remain drawn
to a point, neck bowed, hips
in continual movement. All
the limbs move and jump;
he is spasmodic, knock-kneed,
the movements of the hands

with backs downwards; he
gazes round him; his voice
is thin, plangent, shrill, very
uncertain.) p. 382., οἱ τὰ
γόνατα ἔσω τεύοντες ὥστε
συγκρούειν, γυναικεῖοι καὶ
θηλυδρίαι. (men that bow
the knees inwards as if to strike
them together are womanish
and effeminate.)

¹ Tarsica I. p. 410., These
distinguishing marks were
adequate for the Romans too,
as we see from the passage
of *Aulus Gellius* quoted on
p. 143 above; side by side
with which may be put an-
other passage of the same
author, Bk. VIII. ch. 12.

quickly confirmed his Diagnosis. In fact the cinaedus probably made a grip at his posterior as he sneezed, so as to close the orifice, the weakened or possibly ruptured *Sphincter ani* no longer being able to perform this office (*χαυνοπρώκτος*,—wide-breeched, in Aristophanes!). Indeed with a healthy *Sphincter* it is often hardly possible during a sneeze to keep back the out-rush of wind and even of the more liquid faeces.¹

Further the following passage of Lucian should be quoted in this connection :²

"But I tell you, pathic,—your habits are so obvious "that even the blind and the deaf cannot fail to "recognise them. If you only open your mouth to "speak, only undress at the baths, nay, if you do "not yourself undress, but only your slaves put off "their garments, what think you,—are not all your "secrets of the night at once revealed? Now just "tell me, if your Sophist Bassus, or the flute-player "Batalus, or the cinaedus Hemitheon of Sybaris, "who wrote your beautiful laws, how you must "polish the skin, and pluck out the hair (with "tweezers), how you must submit to the performance "of paederastia, and how yourselves perform it,—

¹ Still another explanation would seem possible, according to *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.* bk. II. ch. 7. p. 179.. *καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ὄτων οἱ γαργαλισμοὶ καὶ τῶν πταρμῶν οἱ ερεθισμοὶ, ὁδῶεις εἰσληρησμοὶ, πορνείας ἀκολάστον* (Yea! and moreover ticklings of the ears, and irritations causing sneezing, these are swinish itches, signs of excessive licentiousness). For the rest *Seneca*, *Epist.* 114., also says, *Non vides—si ille effeminatus est, in ipso incessu apparere mollitiam?*

(See you not—if he is effeminate, that his lasciviousness is apparent in his very walk?)

² *Lucian*, *Adversus indoctum* ch. 23., ... *μνηρία γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἀντιμαρτυροῦντα τῷ σχήματι, βᾶδισμα καὶ φωνή, καὶ τραχύλος ἐπικεκλασμένος, καὶ ψιμύθιον, καὶ μαστίχη καὶ σῆκος οἷς ὑμεῖς κοσμεῖσθε, καὶ ὅλως, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, θᾶττον ἢν πέτετε ἐλέφαντας ὑπὸ μάλῃς κρούσειας, ἢ ἔνα κίταιδον.* (for translation see text above).

"now if one of these man should throw a lion's skin round him, and enter with a club in his hand, what would the spectators really believe?—that it was Hercules? Surely not, unless they were utterly blear-eyed. A thousand things betray such a masquerade,—gait, look, voice,¹ the bowed neck, the ceruse, the mastich, the paint on the cheeks that you make yourselves up with; in a word it were casier, as the proverb says, to hide five elephants under your armpit than to conceal one cinaedus!"

Now if the *natural* marks of identification that have been specified were sufficient to betray the cinaedus, even when he was devoid of all external adornment from art,² how much more readily recognizable must the pathic become, if he arranged his get-up and costume to match his shameful practices,³

¹ *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedog. Bk. II. ch. 7. p. 173., also says ἀλλὰ τὸ τεθρονημένον τῆς φωνῆς, θηλυδριον. (but the broken character of the voice is a mark of the womanish man).

² *Martial*, Bk. VII. Epigr. 57.,

— sed habet tristis quoque
turba cinaedos,
Difficile est, vero nubere, Galla,
viro.

(.... but the dismal throng contains cinaedi as well; 'tis a difficult matter, Galla, to marry a real man). Comp. Bk. IX. Epigr. 48.; and *Juvenal*, Satir. II. 8—13.,

Quis enim non vicus abundat
Tristibus obscenis? castigas
turpia, cum sis
Inter Socraticos notissima fossa
cinaedos:
Hispidā membra quidem et durāe
per brachia setae

Promittunt atrocem animum? sed
podice laevi
Caedunturtumidae, medico ridente,
mariscaee.

(For what street has not its crowd of *dismal* debauchees? you inveigh against vice, when you are the most notorious pit of abomination of all the host of Socratic cinaedi. Shaggy limbs indeed and sturdy bristles [on your arms promise a rugged virtue; but your fundament is smooth, and the great bursting swellings on it are cut, the doctor grinning the while.) *Seneca*, Epist. 114., Ille et crura, hic nec alas vellit. (One man plucks bare his very legs, another not even the armpits.)

³ *Aeschines*, Orat. in Timarch. p. 179., expresses it excellently, οὕτω τοὺς πεπορνευμένους, καὶ μὴ

and that this was so *Martial* affords evidence in countless places. In fact these male whores used to have the beard quite clean shaven (*ἐξυρνημένοι* close-shaven) and not merely on the posteriors but generally all over the body, with the exception of the head, carefully removed the hair, so as make themselves more like women.

αὐτίκα γυναικεῖ' ἦν ποιῇ τις δράματα,
μετουσίαν δεῖ τῶν τρόπων τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν,

(Directly, if a man play women's parts, the body must have its share in the characterization), Aristophanes makes Agatho say at the Thesmophoria, where Mnesilochus has been transformed into a woman by means of depilation, so as to be able to back up the women in opposition to Euripides in their attacks on him at that festival.

On the other hand cinaedi let the hair of the head grow long ¹ (*comae*,—long locks), and dressed altogether like women. Hence the reply of the Cynic *Diogenes* ² to a young man clothed after this fashion; who had asked him a question on some subject or other; he would not answer, he said,

παρῶμεν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔργοις,
ἐκ τῆς ἀναιδείας καὶ τοῦ
θράσους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
μάτων γινώσκωμεν. (So with
regard to debauchees, even
though we are not present at
their actual doings, we recog-
nize them by their bold,
shameless bearing and their
general habits.)

¹ This was the special
adornment of the woman, and
was sacred to Venus; we read
in *Ansonius*,

Barba Iovi, crines Veneri decor;
ergo necesse est,
Ut noliat demi, quo sibi uterque
placet.

(The beard is Jove's pride,
her locks Venus's: they must
needs then object to the
removal of that wherein each
takes special delight). Hence
Ambrosius too, *Hexamer.* bk.
VI., writes, *Haud inscitum
extat adagium: nullus comatus
qui non idem cinaedus.* (There
is a familiar proverb that says:
never a long-haired man but
is a cinaedus.) In *Martial*,
III. 58., they are called
capillati (long-haired.)

² *Diogenes Laertius*, *Vita
Diogenis* Bk. VI. 54.

till his questioner had lifted up his clothes, and shown him his sex! Equally important is the conversation of *Socrates* with *Strepsiades* in the "Clouds" of *Aristophanes*:¹

Στρεψιάδης.... Λέξον δὴ μοι τι παθούσαι,
εἶπερ Νεφέλαι γ' εἰσὶν ἀληθῶς, θνηταῖς
εἴξασι γυναιξίν;
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖναί γ' εἰσὶ τοιαῦται

Σωκράτης. Γίγνονται πάνθ' ὅτι βούλονται κατ' ἡν
μὲν ἴδωσι κομήτην,
ἄγριόν τινα τῶν λασίων τούτων, οἷόν περ
τὸν Ξενοφάντου,
σκώπτουσαι τὴν μαρίαν αὐτοῦ, Κενταύροις
ἤμασαν αὐτάς.

Καὶ νῦν ὅτι Κλεισθέη εἶδον, ὁρᾷς, διὰ
τοῦτ' ἐγένοντο γυναῖκες.

(*Strepsiades*.—Now tell me, how comes it that, if these are really and truly clouds, they resemble women? Common clouds are not like that.

Socrates.—They can easily make themselves anything they please. And so, if they but catch sight of one of those long-haired, ruffianly, shaggy fellows, such a man as Xenophantus' son for example, straightway in derision of their folly they change into Centaurs. And now when they beheld Cleisthenes, see you? they became women!) *Cleisthenes* was a notorious cinaedus at Athens, whom *Aristophanes* had made a special butt for his wit; for example, he makes *Mnesilochus*, mentioned just above, after his transformation into a woman, say,—he looks just like *Cleisthenes* now.

The evidence adduced will, we think, be sufficient to show that the Scythians had good reason for saying, that with persons in this case (*cinaedi*) it was easy to recognise by looking at them what stamp of men they were: and that *Juvenal*² was right when he wrote:

¹ *Clouds*, 340 sqq. See also (German) Translation of

Aristophanes by *Fr. A. Wolf*.

² *Satir.* II. 16. *W. E. Weber*

Verius ergo

Et magis ingenue Peribomius: *hunc ego fatis
Imputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.*

(More truly then and more candidly Peribomius says: the man I consider a victim of fate, who in face and gait betrays the disease he suffers from.)—a passage that strongly confirms what has been advanced. Peribomius is quite candid, he confesses to being a pathic, for in any case his appearance would betray the fact. He finds the less reason to deny it, as he regards the vice which has mastered him as an infliction of providence (*fatis imputo*). Here is proof that the opinion of the Greeks as to the pathic's being one who had incurred the anger of the gods, was still commonly held in Juvenal's time, though perhaps less as a matter of conviction than in order to provide an excuse for indulgence. So we must further read *hoc* for *hunc* in the passage (*hoc ego fatis imputo*,—

("Die Satiren des D. J. Juvenalis."—The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis. Halle 1838.) is mistaken in his way of taking this passage. Not only does he in his translation assign Peribomius' words to Juvenal himself, but also in the notes, pp. 286 sqq., gives quite wrong explanations of several words. For instance he says, "*inter Socraticos . . . cinaedos*, (amongst the Socratic cinaedi), the Socratic breed of wantons, the kind that give themselves an air of sober and highly moral habits, like Socrates;" but really the poet merely meant to express the idea of later times that Socrates had been a paederast. Dis-

cussing the passage Weber remarks of Peribomius, "One who in looks and gait, as being effeminate and of a womanish dandified bearing, confesses his evil state,—one of enervation and womanish amorousness," whereas as a matter of fact Peribomius makes no other confession than simply that he is a pathic. We are not to suppose any sort of intentional suppression of the facts, as indeed is shown both by the rest of the translation and also expressly on p. VI of the Preface; so we are bound to characterize what is said in these places as the result of downright mistake.

this I regard as an infliction of fate); unless indeed we construe thus, *ego, qui morbum vultu incessuque fatetur, hunc (sc. morbum) fatis imputo*. "I in truth,—as for the man who confesses by look and gait his disease, *this disease* I regard as an infliction of fate." The words are obviously Peribomius' own expression of opinion; and directly afterwards the poet goes on:

Horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse
 Dat veniam: sed peiores, qui talia verbis
 Hercules invadunt et de virtute locuti
 Clunem agitant.

(These men's simplicity moves our pity; their very infatuation craves pardon. But worse are they who enter such courses with Hercules' words on their lips, and prating of manly virtue, heave the wanton buttocks.)

§ 17.

But the passage just quoted from *Juvenal* is of still greater importance for another reason. In it the vice of the cinaedus is called *morbus* (a disease); and in virtue of its explicitness it is sufficient by itself to settle all doubts as to this being a usual mode of expression with the Romans, who ordinarily designated any vice by this name¹. The only

¹ When *Juvenal*, V. 50., says: Hippo subit iuvenes et morbo pallet utroque, (Hippo submits to young men, and is pale with a double disease), this must be understood to mean that Hippo is not only a pathic, but also a Fellator (see subsequently). Further Epigr. 131. of *Ausonius* is to the point in this connection:

Inguina quod calido levas tibi
 dropace, causa est:
 Irritant volsas levia membra
 lupas;
 Sed quod et elixo plantaria podice
 vellis,
 Et teris incusas pumice Clazomenas,
 Causa latet: bimarem nisi
 quod patientia morbum
 Appetit et tergo femina,
 pube vires.

(The reason why you make

question remaining will be, Did the *Greeks* also use this form of expression? Any scholar possessed of a special acquaintance with the Greek language will

the private parts smooth with hot pitch-ointment (as a depilatory) is this: Smooth limbs excite the passions of the harlots, plucked smooth themselves. But why you pluck the hair from your fundament, soaked in hot water first, and polish with pumice your well-pounded Clazomenae (i. e. buttocks) the reason is obscure: *unless indeed your long-suffering lust hankers for a double disease (vice),—a woman behind, in your member a strong man).*

Manilius, *Astronomica* bk. V. vv. 140—156., says:

Taurus, in aversos praeceps cum
tollitur artus,
Sexta parte sui certantes luce
sorores
Pleiades ducit: quibus aspirantibus,
alman
In lucem eduntur Baechi Venerisque sequaces:
Perque dapes, mensamque super
petulantia corda,
Et sale mordaci dulces quaerentia
risus.
Illis cura sui cultus, frontisque
decorae
Semper erit: tortos in fluctum
ponere crines,
Aut vinclis revocare comas et
vertice denso
Fingere et apposis caput emulare
capillis,
Pumicibusque cavis horrentia membra polire,
Atque odisse virum, sterilesque
optare lacertos,
Femineae vestes; nee in usum
tegmina plantis,
Sed speciem; fractique placent ad
mollia gressus.
Naturae pudet atque habitat sub
pectore caeca

Ambitio et morbum virtutis
nomine iactant.
Semper amare parum est: cupient
et amare videri

(When the Bull tending downwards lifts his head with limbs bent back, he brings with him in his sixth house the sister Pleiades, his equals in brilliancy. When these are in the ascendent, there are brought forth to the light of day such as follow after Bacchus and Venus; and hearts that wanton at feast and board, and that seek to raise the merry laugh by biting wit. These will ever be giving thought to their bedizenment and becoming appearance; to curl the hair and lay it in waving ripples or else to gather in the locks with circlets and arrange them in a heavy top-knot, and to alter the head by adding false ringlets; to polish the shaggy limbs with hollow pumice-stone; yea! and to hate the very sight of a man, and long for arms without growth of hair. Women's robes they wear; the coverings of their feet are less for use than show; and steps broken in to an effeminate gait are their delight. Nature they scorn; indeed in their breast there lies a pride they cannot avow, and they vaunt their disease (vice) under the name of virtue. Ever to love is a little thing

in their eyes; their wish will be to be seen to love).

Seneca, *Quaest. nat.* bk. VII. ch. 31., *Egenus etiam in quo morbum suum exerceat, legit.* (The poor man too chooses one on whom he may practise his disease (vice).—

Seneca, *Epist.* 114. *Cum vero magis vires morbus exedit et in medullas nervosque descendere deliciae.* (But when the disease (vice) has eaten deeper into a man's vigour, and its delights penetrated to the very marrow and nerves).

—*Comp. Epist.* 75.—*Cicero*, *De finibus* I. 18., in *Verrem* II. i. 36., *Tusc. quaest.* IV. 11.—*Wytttenbach*, in *Bibliothec. critic.* Pt VIII. p. 73.

—*Horace*, *Sat.* I. 6. 40., *Ut si qui aegrotat quo morbo Barrus, haberi ut cupiat formosus.* (As if one who is sick of the same disease as Barrus, as if he should long to be considered handsome.) Another passage of the same author (*Odes* I. 37. 9.) must be mentioned :

*Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum.*

(With her (Cleopatra's) herd of foul men stained with disease—vice). It is taken by *Stark* as by most of the commentators to mean *castrated* persons, though strictly speaking it implies nothing more than a contemptuous circumlocution for Egyptians. The boys that were kept in

the brothels at Rome for purposes of pederastia were for the most part from Egypt, whence they were imported in flocks. Accordingly the poet calls the whole *entourage* of Cleopatra pathics. There can be no mistake, if only we translate thus: *cum contaminato grege virorum, morbo turpium*, (with a polluted herd of men, defiled with disease—vice). In this Horace was all the more justified, because as a matter of fact Cleopatra did keep cinaedi, as we learn from *Suidas*: s. v. *κίμαιδα καὶ κίμαιδία* ἡ ἀναίσχυντία ἀπὸ τοῦ κινεῖν τὰ αἰδοῖα. Ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας κίμαιδος Χελιδὼν ἐκαλεῖτο. (under the words *κίμαιδα* and *κίμαιδία*: shameless practice; from the moving (τὸ κινεῖν of the genitals. *Cleopatra's cinaedus* was called Chelidon. True *Terence*, *Eunuch.* I. 2. 87., makes *Phaedria* say :

*Porro eunuchum dixi velle te,
Quia solae utuntur his
reginae, lepperi,*

(I have discovered wherefore you said you wanted a *eunuch*, because only queens use them) and Donatus observes on the passage that *reginae* (queens) stands for *feminae divites* (rich ladies). Accordingly just as *Eunuchus* is used for *cinaedus* or *pathicus*, in the same way *cinaedus* might very well stand in *Suidas* for *eunuch*, and as a matter of

fact the *entourage* of Cleopatra may have consisted of actual eunuchs. Still it is Horace's main point that they were *pathics*. As to the reason why *reginae* (queens, rich ladies) kept *castrati* (eunuchs) at all, comp. p. 125 above.—The Latin *grex* (herd) is sufficiently explained by the *παίδων ἀγέλας* (herds of boys) in the passages already quoted (p. 131.) from *Tatian* and *Justin Martyr*, along side which we may put the *μειρακίων ὠραίων ἀγέλαι* (herds of lads in the bloom of youth) of *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedag. bk. III. ch. 4. The word is used in the same sense by *Seneca*, Epist. 95., *Transeo puerorum infelicium greges*, quos post transacta convivia aliae cubiculi contumeliae expectant. *Transeo agmina exoletorum* per nationes coloresque descripta. (I pass over the *herds of unhappy boys*, whom after the feast is done, other affronts of the bed-chamber await. I pass over the *serried ranks of debauchees* (cinaedi) marshalled by nation and complexion.) *Cicero*, Ad Atticum I. 13., *Concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae*, (Thither flocked the youths of the baby beards, all the *herd* of Catiline's friends. *Petronius*, Sat. ch. 40., *Grexit agit in scena mimum*. (The common herd plays the mime on the stage.) *Grexit* was used generally for any crowd of

common men.—The use of the word *contaminatus* (polluted) brings to minds *catamitus*, which bears the sense of pathic, e. g. in *Cicero*, Philipp. II. 31., *Appuleius*, Metam. I. p. 107 and especially is used as a nickname for Ganymede. *Plautus*, Menaechn. I. 2. 34.—*Festus*: Catamitum pro Ganymede dixerunt, qui fuit Jovis concubinus, (Men said *catamitus* for Ganymedes, who was Jupiter's bed-fellow),—which probably led to the ridiculous idea being entertained, e.g. by *Scheller*, that the word was derived from *Ganymedes* by corruption in the pronunciation! The fact that the word is metrically a "Paeon tertius", that is to say the *i* in the third syllable is long, might have led us at once to the conclusion that originally the word was *catamytus*, and derived from the Greek *καταμύσσω* (to tear), and so has the same meaning as the Latin *percisus* (cut), or else that it stands for *καταμίχτος* (mixed), and is connected with *καταμίγνυμι* (to mix), and so in fact *concubinus* (sharing the bed), as *Festus* says! At any rate the passages quoted above from *Cicero* and *Seneca*, which might easily be multiplied, prove that Stark's supposition expressed on p. 22., to the effect that *morbus* (disease) is used in this sense *only* in the poets, is unfounded.

most certainly not hesitate an instant to answer this question in the affirmative, the Lexicographers having long ago collected an exhaustive list of examples of such use ¹.

¹ *Menander*, in *Lucian*, *Amores* ch. 43., says: νόσων χαλεπωτάτη φθόνος (of diseases the cruellest is envy.) It is used of envy by *Aristophanes*, *Birds* 31. νόσον νοσοῦμεν τὴν ἐναντίαν Σάκκῃ. (we are sick of the disease that was Saces' enemy.) *Euripides*, *Medea* 525., γλωσσαλγία αἰσχιστος νόσος (garrulousness, a most shocking disease.) But in a special way νόσος (disease) was used of Love (*Pollex*) *Onomast.* Bk. VI. 42., εἰς Ἀφροδίτην νοσῶν. (being sick of Love). *Eubulus*, in *Nannio*, quoted by *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* Bk. XIII. ch. 24., says:

μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος
τὴν ἡδονήν
καὶ μὴ λαθραίαν Κύπριν
(αἰσχίστην νόσων
πασῶν) διώκειν, ὕβρεος, οὐ
πόθου χάριν.

(To buy pleasure for a small coin, and not pursue secret amours,—most base of all diseases,—for over-mastering lust's sake and not for love.) *Νόσημα* (disease) is used in the same sense in *Lucian*, *Amores* 3., and πάθος (suffering, passion) in many passages in the same Work. *Plutarch*, *Amator.* p. 763., καὶ λελάληκε (*Μένανδρος*) περὶ τοῦ πάθους φιλοσοφώ-

τερον. (And he—*Menander*—has talked about the passion more like a philosopher). The following passage in *Philo*, *De specialibus legibus*,—*Opera.* edit. Mangey, Vol. II. p. 301., is of interest: Ἐχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴ πολλάκις μέμψιν, ὅταν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἀκορέστως χρήται τις αὐτῇ, καθάπερ οἱ ἀπληστοὶ περὶ ἐδωδὴν, κἂν εἰ μὴδὲν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων προσφέροιντο· καὶ οἱ φιλογυναίοις συνουσίαις ἐπιμιμνήντες, καὶ λαγνίστερον προσομιλοῦντες γυναιξίν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν. Ἡ δὲ μέμψις σώματός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς, πολλὴν μὲν ἔχοντος εἴσω φλόγα, ἣ τὴν παρὰ βλεφάρους τροφήν ἐξανάλισκουσα ἐτέραν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιζητεῖ πολλὴν ἰκμάδα, ἥς τὸ ῥοῶδες διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἀποχετεύετο, κνησμούς καὶ ὀδαξισμούς ἐμποιοῦν καὶ γαργαλισμούς ἀπάσους. (So the gratification even of natural pleasure is often blameworthy, when it is indulged immoderately and insatiably, just as men who are insatiably greedy about eating are blameworthy, even though they should not

*Plutarch*¹ says, comparing the action of the Sun with that of Love:—*Καὶ μὴν οὔτε σώματος ἀγύμναστος ἔξις ἥλιον, οὔτε Ἐρωτα δύναται φέρειν ἀλύπως τρόπος ἀπαιδευτοῦ ψυχῆς· ἐξίσταται δ' ὁμοίως ἑκάτερον καὶ νοσεῖ, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν, οὐ τὴν αὐτοῦ μεμφόμενον ἀσθενεῖαν.* — (ch. XXIII.) *Τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἄρρενα ἄρρενος ὁμιλίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἐπιπήδησιν εἰποι τις ἂν ἐννοήσας,*

"Ἰβρις τὰδ' οὐχ ἡ Κύπρις ἐξεργάζεται.

Διὸ τοὺς μὲν ἡδομένους τῷ πάσχειν εἰς τὸ χειρίστον τιθέμενοι γένος κακίας, οὔτε πίστεως μοῖραν, οὔτε αἰδοῦς.... Ἀλλὰ πολλὰ φαῦλα καὶ μαρνακὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρώτων· Τὶ δὲ οὐχὶ πλείονα τῶν παιδικῶν; Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῦτο παιδομανία τὸ πάθος, οὐδέτερον δὲ Ἐρως ἔστιν. (And in fact neither can an untrained body bear the sun, nor can any fashion of uneducated soul bear Love (Eros) without pain; but each equally is disorganized

partake of any forbidden meats. So too men who are madly devoted to intercourse with women, and go with women lewdly,—not strange women but their own wives. *And the blame lies rather with the body than with the mind in most cases, for the body has within it a great flame, which using up the fuel cast to it, does not for long lack much moisture, the watery humour of which is drawn off by intercourse with women, producing ticklings and gnashings with the teeth and unappeasable itchings.)* Immoderate copulation then with a man's own wife is only a reproach that concerns the body more than the mind; on the other hand *Philo* in the succeeding sentences speaks

of those who practise fornication with *strange* women as, *ἀνίατον νόσον ψυχῆς νοσοῦντας* (sick of an incurable sickness of the soul., *Clement of Alexandria*) *Paedag.* bk. II. ch. 10., *μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν τὴν συνουσίαν ὃ Ἀβδηρίτης ἔλεγε σοφιστής, νόσον ἀνίατον ἡγούμενος.* (the sophist of Abdera used to speak of coition as a miniature epilepsy, deeming it an incurable disease). *Gellius*, bk. XIX. ch. 2., indeed attributes this expression to Hippocrates, *Stobaeus*, *Florileg.* I. 6. *De intemperantia*, to Eryximachus.

¹ *Eroticus* ch. 19. in *Plutarch*, *Opera Moralia*, edit. A. G. Winckelmann, Vol. I. Zürich 1836. large 8vo.

and grows sick, having to blame the power of the god, not its own weakness.—ch. XXIII.—Now intercourse of male with male one would rather call, after due reflection, incontinence and violent assault.

"'Tis *overmastering insolence* works this result, not love (Cypris)." ¹

Wherefore such as take pleasure in pathic lust, devoting themselves to the vilest kind of wickedness, have no portion in honour or in modesty.—Indeed much there is base and insane in amours with women; how much more so in those with boys! Now the name of the latter passion is *paedomania*—² madness for boys,—but *neither* kind is Love—Eros).

These passages are of the highest importance in connection with our subject, as confirming in the most distinct manner what has been said above as to the wrath of Venus; but for the sake of greater clearness they had to be held over for discussion till now. It is clearly stated in them: that *paederastia* is no work of Venus, i.e. not an expression or consequence of the customary activity of the goddess, but a *ὑβρις* (act of insolent violence) and the consequence of *ὑβρις* i.e. of some act that has roused the anger of the gods. Here we have the oldest view of all: that *paederastia* is a consequence of the vengeance of Venus, arising in consequence of a *ὑβρις*, and again in turn itself constituting a *ὑβρις*. ³

¹ Manetho, Astronom. bk. IV. 486.,

ἐν αἷς ὑβρις, οὐ Κύπρις ἄρχει.

(women in whom overmastering insolence, not Love, rules).

² *Plutarch*, De capt. util. ex host. p. 88. f., οὐκοῦν μηδὲ μοιχὸν λοιδορήσῃς, αὐτὸς ὦν παιδομανής. (Therefore you must not reproach even an adulterer, being yourself a

paedomaniac). Comp, *Jacobs*, Animadv. in Antholog. (Notes on the Anthology), I. II. p. 244. *Athenaeus*, XI. p. 464.

³ *Isocrates*, Paneg. 32., ὑβρις παίδων (violence towards—violation of—boys). *Aeschines*, Timarch. pp. 5. and 26., πιπράσκειν τὸ σῶμα ἐφ' ὑβρει καὶ ὑβριν τοῦ σώματος (to buy the body for violation, violation of the body).

But besides this the later view of a more enlightened time is also implied. According to this it was not any *δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ* (operation of a god's might), but simply an *ἀσθενεία* or *ἀκρασία*¹ (weakness,

¹ *Aristotle, Nicomach. Ethics bk. VII. ch. 5., ἀλλὰ μὴν οὕτω διατίθενται οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ὄντες· θυμοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι ἀφροδισίων καὶ ἐνια τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιδήλως καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθιστάσιν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ μανίας ποιοῦσιν· δηλὸν οὖν ὅτι ὁμοίως ἔχειν λεκτέον τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς τοῦτοισι. cap. 6. αἱ δὲ νοσηματώδεις ἢ ἐξ ἔθους, ὅλον τριχῶν τίλεις καὶ ὀνύχων τρώξεις, ἔτι δ' ἀνδράκων καὶ γῆς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοισι ἡ τῶν ἀφροδισίων τοῖς ἄρρεσιν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ φύσει τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἔθους συμβαίνουσιν, ὅλον τοῖς ὕβριζομένοις ἐκ παιδῶν· ὅσοις μὲν οὖν φύσις αἰτία, τούτους μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀνείπειεν ἀκρατεῖς, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅτι οὐκ ὀπνίουσιν ἄλλ' ὀπνιόνται. — πᾶσα γὰρ ὑπερβάλλουσα καὶ ἀφροσύνη καὶ δειλία καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ χαλεπότης αἱ μὲν θηριώδεις αἱ δὲ νοσηματώδεις εἰσίν. ch. 8. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦτον μὴ εἶναι μεταμελητικόν, ὥστ' ἀνίατος· ὁ γὰρ ἀμεταμέλητος ἀνίατος. — ὁ δ' ἐλλείπων πρὸς ᾧ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀντιτείνουσι καὶ δύνανται, οὗτος μαλακὸς καὶ τρυφῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τρυφή μαλακία τίς ἐστίν· ὅς ἔλκει τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἵνα μὴ πονήσῃ*

τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρεῖν λύπην κ. τ. λ. ... ἀλλ' εἴ τις πρὸς ᾧ οἱ πολλοὶ δύνανται ἀντέχειν, τούτων ἡττάται καὶ μὴ δύναται ἀντιτείνειν, μὴ διὰ φύσιν τοῦ γένους ἢ διὰ νόσον, ὅλον ἐν τοῖς Σκυθῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἡ μαλακία διὰ τὸ γένος, καὶ ὡς τὸ θῆλυ πρὸς τὸ ἄρρεν διέστηκεν· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ παιδιώδης ἀκόλαστος εἶναι, ἔστι δὲ μαλακός. — ἀκρασίας δὲ τὸ μὲν προπέτεια τὸ δ' ἀσθένεια· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βουλευσάμενοι οὐκ ἐμμένουσιν οἷς ἐβουλεύσαντο διὰ τὸ πάθος, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ βουλεύσασθαι ἄγονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. (ch. 5., But this is the very condition of people who are under the influence of passion; for fits of anger and the desires of sensual pleasures and some such things do unmistakably produce a change in the condition of the body, and in some cases actually cause madness. It is clear then that we must regard incontinent people as being in much the same condition as people so affected, i.e. people asleep or mad or intoxicated.—ch. 6., Other such states again are the results of a morbid disposition or of habit, as e.g. the practice

incontinence) of the individual that was in question, (and it is for this reason *Plutarch* quotes the line of *Manetho*, an old and obscure poet, in this sense);

of plucking out one's hair, or biting one's nails, or eating cinders and earth, *or of committing unnatural vice*; for these habits are sometimes natural,—when a person's nature is vicious,—and sometimes acquired, as e.g. by those who are the victims of outrage from childhood. Now whenever nature is the cause of these habits, nobody would call people who give way to them incontinent, any more than we should call women incontinent for being not males, but females.—For all excess whether of folly, cowardice, incontinence, or savagery is either brutal or morbid.—ch. 8., for he is necessarily incapable of repentance and is therefore incurable, as to be incapable of *repentance is to be incurable*:—If a person gives in where people generally resist and are capable of resisting, he deserves to be called effeminate and luxurious; for luxury is a form of effeminacy. Such a person will let his cloak trail in the mud to avoid the trouble of lifting it up, etc.—if a person is mastered by things against which most people succeed in holding out, and is impotent to struggle against them, unless his impotence is due to hereditary constitution or to disease,

as effeminacy is hereditary in the kings of Scythia, or as a woman is naturally weaker than a man. But the man addicted to boys would seem to be incontinent, and is effeminate.—*Incontinence* assumes sometimes the form of impetuosity, and at other times that of *weakness*. Some men deliberate, but *their emotion* prevents them from abiding by the result of their deliberation; others again do not deliberate, and are therefore carried away *by their emotion*).

This passage has been quite misunderstood by *Stark*, loco citato p. 27, for he has made it too refer to the *νόσος θήλεια* (feminine disease); in this error indeed *Camerarius*, (Explic. Ethic. Aristot. Nicomach.—Explanations of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics—Frankfort 1578, 4to., p. 344) whom he cites, had preceded him. *Stark* says: Excusat autor eos, qui propter naturae quendam mollietatem et levitatem vitiorum illecebris resistere nequeant. Hæc infirmitas vel ex morbo procreata vel a sexus differente natura profecta esse potest. Quarum rationum exempla et quidem alterius *διὰ νόσον*, Scytharum morbum, alterius *διὰ φύσιν τοῦ γένους* mulierum debili-

Paederastia was called a *πάθος*, a form of insanity (*παιδομανία*—madness for boys), and was not looked upon in any sense as a consequence of the power

tatem affert. (The author is excusing such as on account of a certain softness and lightness of nature cannot resist the allurements of vice. This weakness may have been either induced by disease, or have sprung from the different nature of the sexes. Of which cases he gives two examples—*of the one διὰ νόσον* (on account of disease), *the disease of the Scythians*, of the other *διὰ φύσιν τοῦ γένους* (on account of congenital nature), the relative weakness of women). But Aristotle says expressly in the passage that the *μαλακία* (softness, effeminacy) of the Scythians, as well as of a woman, was *διὰ γένους* (congenital), — that Scythians equally with women are weakly by birth; while his examples of the *διὰ νόσον* (on account of disease) do not come till further on. The Scythians, he says, like women, are *μαλακοί* (soft), and the same is true of the man who practises vices with boys (*παιδιώδης*); it is a part of their nature, and so they are not *ἀκόλαστοι* (“intemperate”), for the *ἀκόλαστος* is such a man as cannot owing to disease govern himself (*ἀκρασία*, *ἀσθενεία*, *διὰ τὸ πάθος*—incontinence, weakness, owing to passion). Thus the ques-

tion cannot possibly be here of the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease), but merely of a weakly, effeminate mode of life; and this is properly speaking *μαλακία*, while the vice of the pathic is called *μαλθακία*,—but the two words were constantly interchanged, and thus a part of the blame for the mistake may very well lie with the transcribers. A Pathic is habitually *μαλακός*, but the *μαλακός* is not necessarily also a Pathic. Hence it might very probably be right to read, as Aspasius and other editors have actually done, *Περσῶν* for *Σκυθῶν* (kings of the Persians for kings of the Scythians), even though the MSS. show no variants; and indeed to confirm this one might bring forward the trailing of the cloak (*ὅς ἐλκει τὸ ἱμάτιον*—the man who trails his cloak) which is mentioned as an example, and which was, as is well known, a fashion among the Persians.—ch. 10., *οὐ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ δὲ ἡδονὴν τι πράττων οὐτ' ἀκόλαστος οὐτε φαῦλος οὐτ' ἀκρατής, ἀλλ' ὁ δὲ αἰσχροάν.* (For not every man that does a thing for pleasure is “intemperate” or base or incontinent, but he that does it for *disgraceful* pleasure).

of Eros—Love. That the vice was also called νόσος (a disease) is shown,—not to mention the expression νοῦσος θήλεια (feminine *disease*), which we have yet to fully explain,—by the Speech of Dio Chrysostom cited above, as well as by a number of passages quoted in the course of our investigation,—e.g. on p. 125. In the “Wasps” of *Aristophanes*, *Xanthias* relates how a son had confined his father and put him under surveillance, and then goes on (vv. 71 sqq.):

νόσου γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἀλλόκοτον αὐτοῦ νοσεῖ,
ἣν οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς γνοίῃ ποτ’ οὐδέ ξυμβάλη,
εἰ μὴ πύθοιθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπεὶ τοπάξετε·

(For his father is *sick* of a portentous *sickness*, one that no one would ever know or conjecture the nature of, unless he should have learned it from us; for it you doubt me, guess yourselves.)

Love of play is suggested, and love of drink, love of sacrifice and finally love of winning guests and seeing them at his house (φιλόξενον—lover of guests), which last conjecture Sosias understands in an obscene sense as implying a cinaedus, and (vv. 84 sqq.) says:

μὴ τὸν κύν’, ὦ Νικόστρατ’, οὐ φιλόξενος,
ἐπεὶ καταπύγων ἐστὶν ὄγε Θιλόξενος,

(No! no! by heavens! Nicostratus, not a lover of guests (φιλόξενος) for our friend Philoxenus is a man given to unnatural lust,) where φιλόξενος and καταπύγων are explained as being synonymous. Now if pederastia had not been a disease, how should they have come to call a man φιλόξενος, when guessing the form his sickness took? For the rest there was a well-known cinaedus Philoxenus, to whom allusion is made. The scholiast quotes a very noteworthy line from *Eupolis* (in the “Urbes”) or else from *Phrynichus* (“in the Satyrs”) as follows:

ἔστι δέ τις θήλεια Φιλόξενος ἐκ Διομείων.
(And there is a certain *female* Philoxenus of Diomeia);

The healthy good sense of the Greeks could not possibly regard the vice of the Pathic otherwise than as a deviation from Nature, an *unnatural* appetite; and every *unnatural* appetite (*ἀκολασία*—"intemperance") was a νόσος or πάθος (disease, or suffering, passion), or a consequence of these, as the passages quoted from *Aristotle* and elsewhere show conclusively. From the point of view of the paederast reasons perhaps were to be discovered, that appeared to justify his peculiar taste; and the mode in which he obtained the titillation of sensual pleasure was looked upon merely as one way of getting rid of the semen, as a *figura Veneris* (mode of Love) standing in close relationship with Onanism. The paederast was relegated to the category of voluptuaries, but without his incurring any special condemnation. On the other hand for the pathic who lent himself as subject of the vice, no excuse of this sort was forthcoming. His lust was not seen (this was impossible at the time) to have a bodily origin in "prurigo ani" (itching of the anus), and could only be regarded as springing from a *depraved imagination* (*ἀνίατον νόσον ψυχῆς ἡγούμενος*—deeming it an incurable disease of the soul); it must be that a demon had dragged him along irresistibly in his train, and drove his victim who was incapable of helping himself (*ἀσθενής*—"weak") to degradation.

All men thus held in thrall by evil demons were supposed to have offended against the gods, to have roused their anger, and were avoided and shunned by their fellows. If in addition they showed any traces of mental aberration, madness, epileptic convulsions, or the like, rude peoples saw in *these* the manifestation of a god's influence, and took the victim's sayings and dreams for oracles. So *Herodotus* relates (IV. 67.) that the Scythians considered the *ἐναρέες* to have received the gift of prophecy from Aphroditè,—οἱ δὲ ἐναρέες οἱ ἀνδρόγυννοι, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφισι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι (now the *ἐναρέες*, the men-women, declare that

Venus brought madness on the object of her anger, and held the vice of the pathic to be due to the goddess's wrath, or at a later time to be an [incurable] disease of the soul (*ψυχῇ*),—as is proved again by the passage of *Caelius Aurelianus* already quoted; but they did *not* ascribe to such men the power of prophecy, though in a certain sense every actual madman was supposed to possess it¹. For the vice of the pathic was not in the eyes of the Greeks actual madness, but rather a vice (*νόσος*—disease) that robbed the sufferer of the power of governing himself², in the same sense as they called sexual love a madness. From this point of view therefore the commentators who saw in the *νοῦσος θήλεια* a mental affliction, had some grounds for their view; but should not have lost sight of the fact of its being a *vice* at the same time.

But why did the *νοῦσος* (disease) receive the epithet *θήλεια* (feminine)? Taking the word to be used *passively*,—as obviously is done by those who make out the *νοῦσος θήλεια* to have been an affection similar in character to menstruation,—we might find its explanation in the dictum of Tiresias, who, as

¹ *Cicero*, De Divinat. I. 38., Aristoteles quidem eos etiam, qui valetudinis vitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur, censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagens atque divinum. (Aristotle indeed considered that such men as were mad in consequence of ill-health and were called “melancholics”, also possessed in their minds somewhat of the prophetic and divine).

² *Aristotle*, Nicomach. Ethics VII. ch. 11., ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρατὴς οὐκ ἐμμένει τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον. ch. 12. ἔτι ἐμπόδιον τῷ φρονεῖν

αἱ ἡδοναί, καὶ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον χαίρει, μᾶλλον, οἷον τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων οὐδένα γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι νοῆσαι τι ἐν αὐτῇ. . . . ἔτι παιδία καὶ θηρία διώκει τὰς ἡδονάς. (For the reason why the incontinent person does not abide by reason lies in an excess.—ch. 12., Pleasures too are an impediment to thoughtfulness, and the greater the pleasure, the greater the impediment, as e.g. the pleasure of love, for thought is out of the question, while it lasts. . . . And lastly children and brute beasts pursue pleasure).

is well known, ascribed to the woman the greater pleasure in the act of coition. From this fact,—if it is a fact,—a greater longing on the part of the woman for coition may be deduced; for which reason *Plato* compared the *uterus* (womb) to a wild beast. Thus the *νοῦσος θήλεια* would be *feminine concupiscence*. Just as the woman longs intensely for natural coition with the man, in the same way and with a like intensity does the pathic long after unnatural¹. Thus the punishment inflicted by *Venus* would have consisted in the goddess having implanted in the man the concupiscence of a woman.

If on the other hand *θήλεια* (feminine) is taken in an *active* sense, as it is by *Stark* and other interpreters,—and with greater correctness, then the *νοῦσος θήλεια* is a *form of lust that transforms men into women*,—and this can be said of *paederastia* in several senses, as is manifest from what has been said already on preceding pages. The Pathic becomes a woman, because he renounces his man's prerogative, as being the stronger, to play the *active* part², and assumes instead the

¹ So *Quintilian*, *Declam.* III., says: *Siculi in tantum vitio regnant, ut obscoenis cupiditatibus natura cesserit, ut pollutis in femineam usque patientiam maribus incurrat iam libido in sexum suum.* (The Sicilians are so predominant in vice, that Nature has ceased to satisfy their foul lusts,—that males are debauched to a *feminine passivity* (to suffer treatment proper to women), and men fall back for the gratification of their concupiscence on their own sex).

Seneca, *Epist.* 95., *Libidine vero ne maribus quidem cedunt,*

pati natae. (In concupiscence they yield not even to males, *though born to the passive part*).

² *Nonne vehementissime admiraretur, si quisquam non gratissimum munus arbitraretur, virum se natum, sed depravato naturae beneficio in mulierem convertere se properasset.* (Should one not marvel exceedingly, if any man should fail to hold it a most excellent privilege to have been born a man, but should rather, degrading the gift of nature, have hastened to *turn himself into a woman*?) says *Rutilius Lupus*, *De figur. sentent.* bk.

passive rôle of the woman ¹, Entering into compe-

II. Speaking of men who use unguents, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.* bk. II. ch. 8. p. 177., says, ἀνδρωνίτιν ἐκθηλύνουσιν and τὰ γενικὰ ἐκθηλύνειν (they womanize their manhood, to womanize their sex). Similarly, though with a different reference, *Clearchus* says of the Lydians, τέλος, τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποθηλυνθέντες ἡλλαζάντο τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν βίον. (in fine, having become womanized in their souls, they adopted the mode of life of women). *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* XII. p. 516.

¹ Hence paederastia is called also πασχητιασμός (practice of *passive lust*) in *Lucian*, *Gallus* 32. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.* bk. II. ch. 10. *Eustathius*, *Comment.* in *Hexameron.* p. 38. Also the verb πασχητιῶ (to indulge in *passive lust*) is found in *Lucian*, *Amor.* 26., in this sense. The same is excellently expressed by an anonymous poet in the Greek Anthology. bk. II. tit. 5. No. 2.,

Ἀνέρας ἡρνήσαντο, καὶ οὐκ
ἐγένοντο γυναῖκες·
Ὅτ' ἄνδρες γεγάσιν, ἐπεὶ
πάθων ἔργα γυναικῶν,
Οὐδὲ γυναῖκες ἔασιν, ἐπεὶ
φύσιν ἔλλαχον ἀνδρῶν.
Ἀνέρες εἰσὶ γυναιεὶ καὶ ἀν-
δράσιν εἰσὶ γυναῖκες.

(They refused to be men, and failed to become women. They are no men, for they endure

the tasks of women, nor yet are they women, for they inherited at birth the nature of men. Men are they to women, and women to men).

In *Aeschines*, *Orat.* in *Timarch.*, edit. *Reiske* p. 128., the pathic *Timarchus* is called the γυνή (woman, wife) of *Hegesander*, his violator : θαυμασάντων δὲ ὑμῶν, πῶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, καὶ τίς ὁ λόγος, εἶπε μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἄγνοεῖτε, ἔφη, ὦ, τι λέγω· ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐκείνος νυνὶ, ἔφη, πρότερον δ' ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς Λεωδάμαντος γυνή· ἡ δὲ γυνή Τίμαρχος οὐτοσὶν. (And when you wondered how he could be man and woman, and what the phrase meant, he replied after a moment's pause. You don't understand, he cried, what I mean. The husband is *Hegesander* yonder, he went on, now; but once *Hegesander* himself was *wife* of *Leodamas*; and the *wife* of *Hegesander* is *Timarchus* here). *St. Amphilochius*, who lived under *Theodosius*, says in his "Epistola iambica ad Seleucum" (Letter in iambic verse to *Seleucus*) vv. 90—99.,

ἄλλοι δ' ἐκείνων ἔθνος
ἀθλιώτατον,
τῶν ἀρρένων τὴν δόξαν
ἐξορχούμενον,
μελῶν λιγυρμοῖς συγκατα-
κλῶντες φύσιν.

tition as he does with the ladies of pleasure in courting the favour of men, he has recourse to all the arts they invoke to gain their object; and seeks by artificial means to bring his body into as close a resemblance as possible to the female form. He dresses himself out like a woman of pleasure, adopts female dress, and lets the hair of the head grow long, whilst at the same time he carefully eradicates by the process of *dropacismus* (use of pitch-ointment as a depilatory) every trace of hair on other parts of the person, even sacrificing what was the chief ornament of a man in Ancient

ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες ἄρρενες,
θηλυδαίαι.

Οὐκ ἄνδρες, οὐ γυναῖκες,
ἄψευδεῖ λόγῳ.

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μένουσι, τὸ
δ' οὐκ ἐφθασαν,

Ὅ μὲν γὰρ εἶσιν οὐ μένουσι
τῷ τρόπῳ,

ὃ δ' αὖ κακῶς θέλουσιν,
οὐκ εἰσὶν φέσει.

Ἀσωτίας αἰνιγμα καὶ γρίφος
παθῶν.

ἄνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ γυναῖκες
ἀνδράσιν.

(Others of them belong to that most miserable tribe that dances away their repute as man, breaking down their nature to the shrill tones of songs,—men that are male women, womanish men. Not men and not women are they in very truth. For the one sex they will not keep, the other they have not gained; for what they really are they remain not, such is their fashion, and what they foully long to be, that they are not, such is their nature. An

enigma of uncleanness, and a riddle of lust. Men they are to women, and women to men).

Comp. *Barth*, *Adversar.* bk. XLIII. ch. 21. p. 1968., and the expression *θήλεια Φιλόξενος* (a feminine Philoxenus) quoted p. 169 above. The Romans also used their word *femina* (woman, wife) in the same way; as may be gathered from *Ausonius*, *Epigr.* LXIX. —In eum qui muliebria patiebatur (On one who suffered himself to be treated as a woman), where we read at the end :

Nolo tamen veteris documenta
arcescere fama.

Ecce ego sum factus femina
de puero.

(Yet I need not call up instances from ancient legend. Lo! I myself have become a woman, who was erst a boy).

Petronius, *Satir.* 75, *femina ipse mei domini fui.*—I myself (masc.) was my master's wife. *Justin*, *Hist.* *Philipp.* I. 3. *Curtius*, III. 10.

times,—his beard ¹. All this was done by the hero of *Aristophanes*' "Thesmophoriazusae", and without a doubt an underlying irony *à propos* of the pathics was at the bottom of the poet's conception. Care of the skin, such as women adopt, by means of baths, friction with pumice-stone, etc. complete the feminine appearance ²,—hence the expressions *μάλακος*, *μαλθακός* (soft or effeminate) for the pathic, *μαλακία*, *μαλθακία* (softness, effeminacy) for the pathic's vice; and outraged Nature avenges herself by seconding his endeavours. In consequence of the stretching of the fundament, the buttocks become broader towards the lower part, and the space between them wider, causing the hips to take more the shape they have in a woman,

¹ Comp. *Epictetus*, Dissertat. I. 16. 10., and Upton on the passage.

² *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedag. bk. III. ch. 3.. *Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα ἐλήλακεν ἡ χλιδὴ ὥς μὴ τὸ θῆλυ μόνον νοσεῖν περὶ τὴν κενόσπουδιαν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζηλοῦν τὴν νόσον· μὴ γὰρ καθαρεύοντες καλλωπισμοῦ, οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσιν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μαλθακώτερον ἀποκλίνοντες, γυναικίζονται, κουράς μὲν ἀγεννεῖς, καὶ πορνικὰς ἀποκειρόμενοι· χλανίσι δὲ διαφανέσι περιπεπεμμένοι, καὶ μαστίχην τρώγοντες, ὕζοντες μύρον. Τί ἔν τις φαίη, τούτους ἰδὼν; ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ μετωποσκοπός, ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος αὐτοὺς καταμαντεύεται, μοιχοὺς τε καὶ ἀνδρογύνους, ἀμφοτέρω-
ραν Ἀφροδίτην θηρωμένους· μισότρικας, ἄτρι-*

χας· τὸ ἄνθος τὸ ἀνδρικὸν μυσαττομένους· τὰς κόμας δὲ ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες κοσμουμένους. . . . Διὰ τούτους γοῦν πληρεῖς αἱ πόλεις πιτούντων, ξηρούντων, παρατιλλόντων τοὺς θηλυδρίας τούτους· ἐργαστήρια δὲ κατεσκεύασται καὶ ἀνέφεται πάντῃ· καὶ τεχνῖται τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ταύτης πορνείας, συχνὸν ἐμπολῶσιν ἀργύριον ἐμφανῶς, οἱ σφὰς καταπιτούσιν· καὶ τὰς τρίχας τοῖς ἀνασπῶσι πάντα τρόπον περιέχουσιν· οὐδὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς ὀρώντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς παριόντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἄνδρας ὄντας. (To such a height then has wanton luxury advanced, that not merely the female sex is sick with this eagerness after frivolities, but even men are eager after the disease; for indeed none being free from love of self-adornment,

the pelvis itself seems to be enlarged, while the legs lose their straightness and the knees bend more and more inwards (*γυνύκροτος*—knock-kneed,—in short the whole of the lower half of the body assumes the *feminine* type.

Deterioration of body is followed by deterioration of mind, and the character also grows womanish.¹ The pathic despises intercourse with women, and will not enter into marriage, so long as he continues to find his lust satisfied. When this ceases to be the case as years advance, Nature herself forbids his propagating his race; the genital organs that have withered through disuse and refuse their office.² Driven from

they are not *free from disease*. But giving way to effeminacy, they play at being women, cutting the hair in ignoble and meretricious fashion; decked out too in transparent robes, chewing mastich-gum and scented with myrrh. What should a man say, on seeing them? Why! exactly like a phrenologist, he divines them from their look as adulterers and *men-women*, such as hunt after both kinds of Love,—abhorers of hair, hairless men, that loathe the bloom of manhood,—men that dress their locks like women.—For these men's needs cities are full of such as apply pitch-ointments, sear and pluck out the hairs of these *effeminates*. For this purpose shops are established and open everywhere; and artistes of this meretricious harlotry earn many a fee openly, the artistes that lay on the pitch-ointments for them. And to those that

pluck out their hairs they offer every facility, feeling no shame of spectators nor of passes-by, nay! *nor even of themselves that are no men*).

¹ Clement of Alexandria, Paedagog., bk. III. ch. 5., δι' ἀλαζονείαν περιττήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν αὐτεξούσιον ἀπαιδευσίαν, καθ' ἣν κατηγοροῦσιν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸς γυναικῶν κεκρατημένων, ἀποδεικνύμεναι. (Known by their excessive chicanerie, and particularly that voluntary discipline of character, whereof they accuse womanish men that are mastered by women).

² "Besides haemorrhoidal swellings are a very usual symptom with these unhappy sufferers; and *when the evil has reached its highest development, the power of erection in the male member is completely lost, the scrotum entirely relaxed and the testicles flaccid*," C. L. Klose

the society of men, he takes refuge, neither woman nor man himself, with the women, who in contempt use him as a slave, and like Omphalé of old with Hercules, put the distaff into his hands! Thus from the νοῦσος θήλεια, the vice, an actual disease has sprung; and we can now see that *Longinus*¹ was surely right in calling the expression of *Herodotus ἀμίμητος*,—an *inimitable* one, for certainly in no more concise or better way can the facts and the consequences of the vice of the Pathic be characterized.

However if any one should consider all this still insufficient to prove the case, and regard the indication given by *Longinus* as not explicit enough, he may learn from *Tiberius the Rhetorician*² that as a matter

in Ersch und Gruber, Encyclopädie: Article, Paederastia, Sect III Vol. 9. p. 148. In fact it is the usual practice of the paederast to elicit the pathic's semen at the same time by using the hand!

¹ περὶ ὕψους, ch. 28., Καὶ τὸ ἀμίμητον ἐκείνο τοῦ Ἡροδότου, τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τοῖς συλήσασι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον. (And that inimitable phrase of Herodotus', "and on such of the Scythians as plundered her temple the goddess inflicted *feminine disease*.")

² De figuris, edit, J. Fr. Boissonade. London 1818. 8vo., ch. 35 pp. 56 sqq., Περιφρασις δ' ἔστιν ὅταν τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ εὐθείας γινόμενης ἐρμενείας εὐτελοῦς οὔσης, μεταβαλλόντες, κόσμον ἔνεκα ἢ πάθους, ἢ μεγαλοπρεπείας, ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι,

καὶ πλείοσι τῶν κυρίων καὶ ἀναγκαίων, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐρμηνεύσωμεν· οἶον ἔστι — παρὰ δὲ Ἡροδότῳ, ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐποίησεν ἀνδρογύνους ἢ κατεαγότας. (for translation see text above). The Greek word κατεαγότας broken, enervated) corresponds to the Latin *percisus*. The Romans undoubtedly used *effeminatus* (effeminate) as synonymous with *cinacrus*, as is shown by a passage in *Seneca*, De benefic., bk. VII. ch. 25., Aristippus aliquando delectatus unguento, male, inquit, istis effeminatis eveniat, qui rem tam bellam infamaverunt. (On one occasion Aristippus being much pleased with a certain perfume, said: Confound those vile *effeminates*, who have made so fine a delicacy infamous). This is

of fact the Ancients understood the *νοῦσος θήλεια* in Herodotus in this and in no other sense. He says:

"Now a paraphrase is when authors alter a simple, "straightforward statement of fact that is complete, "for the sake of style or effect or sublimity of "phrase, and express the matter in other words, and "these more forcible and suitable; as e.g. in *Herodotus*, "when he wrote *ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νόσον* " (the goddess afflicted them with *feminine disease*) "instead of "made them men-women or cinaedi".

The word *ἀνδρόγυνος* (man-woman) is used here in the same way as in another passage where *Herodotus* says ¹, *οἱ δὲ ἐνάρες, οἱ ἀνδρόγυννοι* (and the *ἐνάρες*, the men-women). The false interpretation of this word has more than anything else led to misunderstanding as to the *νοῦσος θήλεια*, for it was supposed that by *ἀνδρόγυννοι* (men-women) actual cunuchs were intended, whereas pathics are meant and nothing more. How the case really stood might have been seen from *Suidas*, who tells us: *ἀνδρόγυνος ὁ Διόνυσος, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν ποιῶν καὶ τὰ γυναικῶν πάσχων ἢ ἀνανδρος καὶ Ἐρμαφρόδιτος καὶ ἀνδρογύνων, ἀσθενῶν. γυναικῶν καρδίας ἔχόντων.* (*man-woman*: Dionysus, as both performing a man's part and suffering a woman's. Synonyms, "unmanly", and "Hermaphrodite". Also of men-women, weakly men, having the hearts of women.) Dionysus ² then performed

obviously a free translation of the Greek words as they stand in *Diogenes Laertius*, *Vita Aristippi*, bk. II. ch. 8. note 4.,—and in *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.*, bk. II. ch. 8. p. 279., *Ἀρίστιππος γοῦν ὁ φιλόσοφος, χρισάμενος μύρρῳ, κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι χρήναι τοὺς κιναιδούς ἔφασκεν, τοῦ μύρου τὴν ὠφέλειαν εἰς λοιδορίαν διαβεβληκότας.* (Now Aris-

tippus the philosopher, after he had anointed himself with myrrh, said, foully should the foul cinaedi perish, because they have brought into disrepute that excellent creature myrrh.).

¹ Bk. IV. ch. 67.

² Perhaps it is from this that Bacchus gets his secondary title of *Attis*. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Ad Gentes*, p. 12, says, *δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπει-*

the act of coition as a man, and suffered himself to be used as a woman, and for this reason was called ἀνδρόγυνος (man-woman). We find the word used

κότως τὸν Διόνυσόν τινες ἄτιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, αἰδοίων ἐστερημένον. (For which reason some maintain, and not without probability, that Dionysus is called Attis, as being deprived of the genital organs). According to the Scholiast to *Lucian*, *De Dea Syra*, ch. 16, Dionysus was roaming about in the search for his mother Semelé, when he came upon Polyymnus, and the latter promised to reveal his mother's place of abode, if he would practise paederastia with him. This he did, and Polyymnus accompanied him to Lerna, where Selemé would seem to have been, and died there. Mourning the death of his paederast, Dionysus hewed out of fig-tree wood private parts of wood, and carried them about with him constantly in memory of Polyymnus. For this reason Dionysus is worshipped with Phallic emblems). (λυπηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος, ὅτε ὁ ἐραστής αὐτοῦ ἔθνησκε, αἰδοῖον ξύλινον ἐκ σκίνου ξύλου πελεκήσας, κατεῖχεν αἰετὸς μνήμην τοῦ Πολυύμνου· διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς φαλλοῖς τιμῶσιν τὸν Διόνυσον.) The story is related at greater length by *Clement of Alexandria*, *Cohortat. ad Gentes*, p. 22; but he calls the lover Prosym-

nus (as does *Arnobius*, bk. V. 27. Comp. *Tzetzēs*, in *Lycophron.*, 213), and actually makes Bacchus practise *Onania postica* (Masturbation by the posterior), for he says: ἀφουσιούμενος τῷ ἐραστῇ ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὁρμᾷ, καὶ πασχητῖ· κλάδον οὖν σκῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἐκτεμνὼν ἀνδρείου μορίου σκευᾶζεται τρόπον· ἐφέξεταί τε τῷ κλάδῳ, τὴν ὑπόχρεσιν ἐκτελὼν τῷ νεκρῷ ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πάθους· τοῦτον μυστικὸν φαλλοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνίστανται Διονύσω. (Dionysus by way of performing due service to his lover's memory, hastens to his tomb, and proceeds to practise passive lust. So cutting down the branch of a fig-tree, he fashions it to a semblance of a man's member; and then he mounts the branch in a sitting posture, fulfilling his promise to the dead man,—a mystic memorial of his pathic loves. Phalli are set up in Cities in honour of Dionysus). In *Arnobius*, loco citato, we read that Dionysus: Ficorum ex arbore ramum validissimum praeferens dolat, runcinat, levigat et humani penis fabricatur in speciem: figit super aggerem tumuli, et postica ex parte nudatus, accedit, subdit, insidit. Lascivia deinde luxuriantis

assumpta, huc atque illuc clunes torquet et meditatur ab ligno pati, quod iam dudum in veritate promiserat. —(Bringing with him a sturdy branch of a fig-tree, hews, planes and smoothes it, and fashions it into the shape of a man's penis; then he fixes it upright on the mound of the tomb, and stripping his posteriors, advances, mounts, and sits down on it. Then imitating the lascivious motions of a wanton in the act, writhes his buttocks this way and that, and imagines himself to be receiving from the wooden member the treatment which he had long ago promised in reality). Similarly we read in *Petronius*, Sat., Profert Enothea scortum fascinum quod ut oleo et minuto pipere atque urticae trito circumdedit semine, paulatim coepit inserere ano meo. (Enothea produces a man's member made of leather, which first of all she covered with oil and ground pepper and pounded nettle-seed, and then began by degrees to push it up my anus). Now too we shall be able to explain to our satisfaction what is the meaning of the phrase *συνίκη ἐπικουρία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν* (*fig-wood succour*,—said of weak allies), which is mentioned by *Suidas* under the word *ὀλισθος* (artificial member), and for which in the passage quoted above. *Aristophanes* substitutes *συν-*

τήνη 'πικουρία (*leathern succour*). On this the Scholiast observes: *συντήνην ἐπικουρίαν καλεῖ τὴν συντήνην βοήθειον, εἴτε τὴν δερματίνην βοήθειαν, τὴν πληροῦσαν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀντι τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν αἱ ἀκόλαστοι γυναῖκες· συντήνην δὲ ἐπικουρίαν λέγει, παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· Συνίκη ἐπικουρία· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν βοηθημάτων καὶ ἰσως ἐνταῦθα γραπτέον, συνίκη ἀντὶ τοῦ συντήνη. (leathern succour: so *Aristophanes* calls the leathern help, or help of hide, the instrument that satisfies (women's) longings in default of men. This is a practice that incontinent women follow. He says leathern (*συντήνη*), succour playing on the proverb, "Fig-wood (*συνίκη*) succour", said of weak efforts at assistance. Possibly we should read *συνίκη* (of fig-wood) for *συντήνη* (of leather) here. Again: *συντάλαι· στρογγύλα καὶ λεία ξύλα*. — *συντάλη· βακτηρία ἀκροπαχής* (batons: rounded and polished staves)—(baton: a blunt-pointed staff) in *Suidas*, and the passage in *Aristophanes*, *τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο τῶν συντάλων, ὃν πέρθετο* (this is the particular baton that made him break wind), which *Suidas*, under the word *συντάλον* (baton) has obviously misunderstood, just as much as the Scholiast has. For in all these passages it is the*

in the same way in *Plato* ¹, in the passage of *Dio Chrysostom* quoted a little above, in various places in the *Writers on Physiognomy*, in *Philo*, loco citato,

Priapus ficulnus (Priapus of fig-wood), also well-known to the Romans, that we must understand to be intended. Apposite in this connection is Horace's (Sat. I. 8. 1.), *Olim truncus eram, inutile lignum* (Once the trunk of a fig-tree was I, a useless log,) —on which the commentators have wasted a host of extraordinary interpretations.

¹ Symposium, p. 189., ἀνδρόγυνον γὰρ ἐν τότε μὲν ἦν καὶ εἶδος, καὶ ὄνομα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κοινὸν τοῦ τε ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος. (For then there was a third, a man-woman, sex, in form as well as in name, commingled of both sexes, the male and the female.) Plainest still is this passage from *Lucian*, *Amores* 28., πᾶσα δὲ ἡμῶν ἡ γυναικωνίτις ἔστω Φιλαινίς, ἀνδρογύνους ἔρωτας ἀσχημονοῦσα. καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον εἰς ἄρρενα τροφήν βιάζεσθαι γυναῖκα ἢ τὸ γενναῖον ἀνδρῶν εἰς γυναῖκα θηλύνεσθαι. (And let all our women's apartments be Philaenis, foully indulging in male-female loves. And how much better it were that a woman should trespass on male wantonness than that the noble manliness of men should be effeminated and made womanish.) *Clement of*

Alexandria, *Paedag.*, bk. II. ch. 10., ἐντεῦθεν συμφανὲς ἡμῖν ὁμολογουμένως παραιτεῖσθαι δεῖν τὰς ἀρρένομιξίας, καὶ τὰς ἀκράτους σποράς καὶ κατόπιν εὐνάς καὶ τὰς ἀσυμφύεις ἀνδρογύνους κοινωνίας. (Hence it is manifest we ought avowedly to deprecate intercourse with males and inordinate embraces and copulation behind and unnatural unions of men-women.) A little further on the same author says, αἱ δολεραὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ γυναικώδεις. (deceitful women and the womanish kind of men,) and speaks of *θηλυδριώδης ἐπιθυμία* (effeminate lustfulness). A résumé of pretty nearly all words of this class is given by *Suidas*, s. v. Ἀρρεν καὶ Ἀρρενικῶς. Καὶ ἡμίανδρος καὶ ἡμιγύναιξ καὶ διγενής καὶ θηλυδρίας, καὶ ἐρμαφρόδιτος, καὶ ἱθρις, οὗ ἰσχυρὸς τεθέρισται· καὶ ἀρρενωπὸς, ὁ ἀνδρόγυνος· καὶ ὁ ἀνδρείος· ὁ στερέρὸς· λέγουσι δ' οὕτω τὰ μὲν ἄλλα γύνιδας, ἔχοντας δὲ τι ἀνδρόμορφον. Ἰππῶναξ δὲ, ἡμίανδρον, τὸν οἶον ἡμιγύναικα· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπόκοπος, καὶ βάκηλος [βάτταλος] καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, καὶ Γάλλος, καὶ γύννις, καὶ Ἄττις καὶ εὐνουχώδης. (under the words Ἀρρεν and ἀρρενικῶς (mas-

and in Artemidorus¹. From the last we quote a passage highly interesting for our purpose:

"A man saw in a dream his penis covered with "hair to the extreme tip, shaggy with very thick "hair that grew all of a sudden on it. He was a "notorious cinaedus, indulging in every abominable "pleasure, effeminate and a man-woman; only never "using his member as a *man* does. In this way "it happened that that part was so little employed, "that through not being rubbed against another "body hair actually grew on it." The same author relates in another place¹: "A man saw in a dream

culine, masculinely): Semi-man, semi-woman, double-sexed, womanish man, hermaphrodite, eunuch—one whose virility has been cut; masculine-looking, the man-woman,—also the manly, the strong, man. By such names are signified effeminate men that yet have some look of men. Hipponax also uses in this sense semi-man, and its synonym semi-woman. Such a one is called also castrated, eunuch (pathic), man-woman, Gallus—eunuch-priest of Cybele, Attis, eunuch-like.) The same holds good of the word *εὐνοῦχος* (eunuch), which by no means signifies only actual castrated eunuchs. Thus *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedagog.*, bk. III. ch. 4., says, *εὐνοῦχος* ἢ ἀληθῆς, οὐχ ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος *φληδεῖν* ... *εὐνοῦχοι πολλοί*, καὶ οὗτοι *μαστροποὶ τῷ ἄξοπίστῳ* τοῦ μὴ δύνανσθαι *φληδεῖν*, τοῖς εἰς ἡδονὰς ἐθ' ἵκονται *ῥαθυμεῖν* ἀνυπόπ-

τως διακονοῦμενοι. (But the true eunuch is not he that cannot, but he that will not, love.... Many eunuchs, and these serving as pandars, by reason of the certainty that they cannot love, to such as are fain to indulge in secure pleasures without suspicion.)

² *Oneirocritica.*, bk. V. ch. 65., Ἐδοξέ τις τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἄχρης ἄκρας τῆς κερῶν τῆς τετριχῶσθαι, καὶ λάσιον εἶναι πυκνῶν πάνυ τριχῶν αἰφνιδιον φνεισῶν· ἀποπεφασμένος κίναιδος ἐγένετο πάσῃ μὲν ἀκολάστῳ χρησάμενος ἡδονῇ, θηλυδρίας ὦν καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ αἰδοίῳ κατὰ νόμον ἀνδρῶν μὴ χρώμενος. Τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἦδη ἀργὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μέρος ἐκείνο, ὥς διὰ τὸ μὴ τρίβεσθαι πρὸς ἕτερον σῶμα καὶ τριχὰς ἐκφύσαι. (for translation see text above).

¹ Ἀνδρόγυνον κωμῳδεῖν ἔδοξέ τις δρᾶμα· ἐνόησεν αὐτῷ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Γάλλους

ὁρᾶν ἔδοξε τις ἐνόησεν αὐτῷ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ὕνομα οὕτως ἀπέβη, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς τοῖς ὁρωμένοις. Καὶ τοι καὶ τὸ κωμῳδεῖν οἰσθα ὃ σημαίνει, καὶ τὸ Γάλλους ὁρᾶν. Μέννησο δὲ, ὅτι, εἴτε κωμῳδεῖν, εἴτε τραγωδεῖν ὑπολάβοι τις, καὶ μνημονεύει, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ δράματος κρίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα. (for translation see text above). The signification of κωμῳδεῖν and τραγωδεῖν (to represent Comedy, Tragedy) is given by *Artemidorus*, bk. I. ch. 56. As to the *Galli* comp. bk. II. 69. In bk. II. ch. 12. we read: "Ταῖνα δὲ γυναῖκα σημαίνει ἄνδρ' ὁ γυνὸν ἢ φαρμακίδα, καὶ ἄνδρα κίναιδον οὐκ εὐγνώμονα. (Hyaena signifies a woman that is *male-female* or a sorceress, and a man that is a *cinaedus* without moderation). It was a widespread belief amongst the Ancients that the hyaena was at one time a male and at another a female (comp. *Aelian*, *Hist. anim.*, I. 25. *Horapollo*, *Hieroglyph.*, II. 65. *Ovid*, *Metamorph.*, Bk. XV. Fab. 38. *Tertullian*, *De Pallio*, ch. 3.). As early however as the time of *Aristotle* it had been declared a fable by him, *Hist. anim.*, Bk. VI. ch. 32., and *Clement of Alexandria* says the same, *Paedagog.*, II. 9. Yet the idea was still cherished at the beginning of the present Century at the Cape of Good

Hope, see *Corn. de Jong*, "Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung," (Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope). Hamburg 1803. Pt. I. Letter 6. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedagog.*, bk. II. ch. 9., tells a still more remarkable tale of the hare, καὶ τὸν μὲν λαγῶν κατ' ἔτεος πλεονεκτεῖν φασὶ τὴν ἀφόδενσιν, εἰς ἀριθμὸν οἷς βεβίωκεν ἔτεσιν ἰσχυόντα τρυπάς· ταύτῃ ἄρα τὴν κάλυσιν τῆς ἐδωδῆς τοῦ λαγῶ, παιδεραστίας ἐμφανεῖν ἀποτροπὴν. (Moreover it is said that the hare gets every year fresh means of voiding its excrement, having holes corresponding to the number of years it has lived; and that for this reason the prohibition against eating hare appears to be a dissuasion from *paederastia*). This is confirmed by *St. Barnabas*, *Epist.*, ch. 10. and by *Pliny*, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII. 55. To this fable also we must look for an explanation of the proverbial saying *δασύπους κρεῶν ἐπιθυμῇ* (puss longs for flesh-meats), and *Lepus tute es, et pulmentum quaeris?* (Are you a hare, and look for condiments?) in *Terence*, *Eunuch.*, III. 36. Possibly too the *κύων τεῦτλα οὐ τρώγει*. (dog does not gnaw pot-herb) of *Diogenes* has a connection with the same notion, — *Diogenes Laertius*, VI. 2. 3. So *Strato* in the distich (*Greek Anthology* bk. I. tit. 72. No. 6.):

"the rôle¹ of a man-woman played on the stage; "his *privy member fell sick*. A man thought he saw "a priest of Cybelé (a castrated man); *his privy member fell sick*. This happened in the first instance "because of the name, in the second because of "the coincidence of the fact with the spectator's "condition. And indeed you know what *κωμῳδεῖν* "(to represent in comedy) signifies in dreams, and "what it means to see a priest of Cybelé. You "remember too that if any one dreams he sees a Comedy "or Tragedy and remembers it afterwards, the event "can be predicted according to the plot of the "piece dreamed of."

The passage affords us yet another proof as to the causes that were supposed in Antiquity to condition the rise of diseases of the genitals, and we need certainly feel no surprise if we find the ætiological relations of these complaints even in professional writers wrapped in all but impenetrable obscurity.

Now what is the word *ἐναρέες*? Some scholars take it to be Greek; and accordingly would read

Ἔστι Δράκων τις ἔφηβος,
ἀγαν καλὸς· ἀλλὰ δράκων ὦν
Πῶς εἰς τὴν τρώγλην ἄλλον
ὄφιν δέχεται;

(A certain youth there is, Draco (serpent) by name, very fair to see; but being a serpent, how comes it he *takes another snake* into his hole?) *Aristophanes*, *Eccles.*, 904., καὶ πλὴν τῆς κλίνης ὄφιν εὗροις, (and on your bed may you find a *snake*), on which the Scholiast comments ὄφιν—*λαμβάνεται ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου οὐ τεταμένον δηλαδὴ, ἀλλ' ἀνειμένον.* (ὄφιν — snake: to be taken as meaning the *privy member*,—not erect that

is, but relaxed). So in the *Priapeia*, LXXXIII. 33., we find: *licebit aeger, angue lentior* (will be reckoned as sick, slacker than a snake).

¹ *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedagog.*, Bk. II. ch. 10., οὐδὲ τῶν κατεργότων, τούτων δὴ τῶν τὴν κιναιδίαν τὴν ἄφρων ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς μετιόντων ὀρχηστῶν ἀπορρέουσιν εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕβρεως τὴν ἐσθιῆτα περιορῶντων. (nor yet of the debauchees, those dancers I mean that bring onto the stage cinaedia in pantomime, and suffer their costume to flow loosely to such a degree of indecency).

ἐναγέες (persons who have sinned against the god-head), as *Bouhier* did, and perhaps *Caelius Rhodoginus* even in his time, or else **ἀνάριες** (*imbelles, ad luctum veneream inepti*,—unwarlike, i.e. unfit for the struggle of love), which was *Coray's* emendation. *Stark* does not believe in any corruption of the word, but thinks it should be derived from **ἐναίρω** (*spolio*,—I rob, spoil), **ἐναρα** (*spolia*,—spoils), making it signify *virilitate spoliati*,—men robbed of their virility. But **ἐναίρω** according to *Buttmann's* *Lexilogus*, p. 276., means “to send down to Hades”, to slay, **ἐναρα** the spoils taken from the slain, and from this comes the idea of spoliation, deprivation. The word undoubtedly occurs (Homer, *Iliad* XXIV. 244.) in the sense of “to be slain”, but the meaning *virilitate spoliari* (to be deprived of virility) without the addition of some supplemental word can certainly not be authenticated in old Writers. Supposing this derivation to be correct, **ἐναγέες** might signify simply (Temple) robbers, and as a matter of fact the glosses give **ὀπλίται** (warriors) as an explanation. It is a surprising thing that those who make out the **νοῦσος θήλεια** to have been gonorrhœa (clap), should not have derived the word from **ἐάω**, the sap, the seed, with inserted *v*.

However a Greek origin of the word is rendered unlikely by one simple circumstance. *Herodotus* writes **τοὺς καλέονσι Ἐναγέας οἱ Σκύθαι**, (whom the Scythians call **Ἐναγέες**,—which is obviously the same thing as saying, “in the language of the Scythians they are called **Ἐναγέες**”). And again why should *Herodotus* have explained it by **ἀνδρόγυννοι** (men-women), if it was a word that every Greek could understand. In this view moreover *Wesseling* and *Schweighaüser*, scholars possessing a special, critical knowledge of their *Herodotus*, concur. We do not indeed know to what family of speech the Scythian belongs; but it may be assumed that the word signifying the disease took its origin from the same country where the **νοῦσος θήλεια** itself arose.

We believe *ἐναρῆες*¹ to have been originally a Syrian word, which the Scythians, or more likely the Greeks², first adopted into their own idiom. The Greeks were particularly good at the transformation or, if you please, distortion, of foreign names! The word which we think must be claimed as the original is the Semitic *נַאֲרָא* (*naārā*),—the *girl*, the *woman* in the abstract; and we conjecture *Herodotus* wrote *ναρῆες*, a form which is actually found according to *Coray* in one Manuscript. The meaning then would be the *womanish* man, and this gives a complete correspondance with *νοῦσος θήλεια* and *ἀνδρόγυνος*. Another conjecture is based on the name of the Babylonish Praefect or *Ἀνναρος*, to which *Coray* calls attention, adding: *mais qui pourroit bien être un surnom altéré par les copistes, et relatif à sa vie effeminée et au milieu des femmes.* (but which might very possibly be a surname

¹ *Naumann* (Schmidt's Jahrbuch 1837. Vol. 13. p. 100.) says: *Ἐναρῆες*, probably a Scythian word, calls to mind the dwarf *Anar* or *Onar* in the old Northern Mythology, —a eunuch in a sort, but who was nevertheless revered as father-in-law of *Odin*. (*J. Grimm*, "Deutsche Mythologie" (German Mythology). Göttingen 1835. p. 424). With this *Hippocrates* statement would agree, according to which these eunuchs were regarded by their countrymen with a reverence almost as if they had been gods.—As to this, first observe that it yet remains to be proved that the Scythian language belongs to the Indo-Germanic family, secondly that with *Onar* or

Anar there is no question at all of a *non-man* or actual *eunuch*, for *Anar* *begat a daughter on Notta*. This daughter, *Jördh*, was wife of *Odin*, making *Anar* *Odin's* father-in-law.

² Such a corruption of the word on the part of *Herodotus* is all the more likely, as it is clearly established by modern investigations (as indeed *Heyne*, loco citato, maintained long ago) that he never was in Scythia proper. Comp. *Herodoti Musae*, edit. *J. Ch. F. Baehr*, Vol. IV. Leipzig 1835., p. 395., and Vol. I. p. 455. *C. G. L., Heyse*, *De Herodoti vita et itineribus* Diss. (Dissertation on the Life and Journeys of *Herodotus*). Berlin 1826. 8vo. p. 104.

changed by the transcribers and referring to his effeminate life and his living surrounded by women.) In *Athenaeus*¹ we read in fact: *Κτησίας δ' ἱστορεῖ, Ἀνναρον τὸν βασιλέως ὑπαρχόν καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας δυναστεύσαντα στολῇ χρῆσθαι γυναικείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ· καὶ ὅτι βασιλέως δούλῳ ὄντι κ. τ. λ.* (Ctesias relates in his History that Annarus, the King's Praefect and Governor of Babylon wore a woman's robes and ornaments; and that being a slave of the King, etc.) Still as a matter of fact it is difficult to see *why* the transcriber should have introduced the name as *Ἀνναρος*, the whole form of the sentence demanding a proper name. Coray refuses to admit that *ἐναρέες* is a foreign word at all, for he says, "cette manière de s'exprimer n'est souvent qu'une version littérale du mot étranger dans la langue de l'écrivain qui l'emploie". (such a mode of expression is very often nothing more than a literal translation of the foreign word into the language of the writer using it). But if this were the case, and the word one that a Greek would have understood, why did *Herodotus* go out of his way to explain it by *ἀνδρόγυννοι*? Supposing a transcriber to have inserted *Ἀνναρον* into the text, yet even then the word must have been familiar to him in the sense of *womanish*, *unmanly*. But if it *has* this meaning, Coray's conjecture,—to read *ἀναρέες* for *ἐναρέες*, should be unhesitatingly adopted,—if that is (a point to which Prof. *Pott* has drawn attention) the derivation is taken from Sanskrit or Zend.

In Zend in fact man is *nara*, woman *narī*; in Sanskrit *nrī* is the stem, nom. *nā*, pl. *nar-as*,—or else *nara* the stem and nom. *naras*, from which has come the Greek *ἀνῆρ* (man) by addition of the prosthetic, (not privative), *α*. Now from *nara*, by prefixing *a* privative, which exists both in Zend and Sanskrit, may be formed *a-nara*, with the meaning of *not-man*, *unmanly*,—a meaning which is preserved

¹ Deipnos., bk. XII. p. 530 D.

in the name *Ἄναρος* (the doubling of the *ν* is undoubtedly wrong); and so *ἀναρέες* would be literally the same by etymology with Hippocrates' *ἀνανδρείεις* (unmanly men), occurring in a passage to be presently discussed. This, and equally *ἀνανδρία*, *ἀνάνδρος* (unmanliness, unmanly) are all expressions for the pathic and his vice, as is shown again and again by passages quoted in the course of our investigation.

But again, if with *Coray* an actual verbal translation of a foreign word is supposed, then *ἀνανέρες* (*ἀ-ν-ἀνέρες*) might be read,—a word which though quite legitimately formed, was not in actual use by the Greeks, and for this reason *Herodotus* naturally enough explained it by *ἀνδρόγυννοι*. In any case the remarkable fact remains that no one of the ancient Lexicographers, *Suidas* for instance or *Hesychius*¹,

¹ *Hesychius* does give the word *ἀνάρσιοι*, and explains it by *ἀνάρμοστοι πολέμιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ μη συννηρμοσθῆναι τοῖς ἡθέσιν*. (incompatible foes: from their not being compatible in character and disposition). Plutarch, *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας* (On the Generation of the Soul in Plato's "Timaeus") near the end says: *οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν ἀναρσίους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, ὡς ἀναρμοστιαν τὴν διαφορὰν οὖσαν*. (the poets call incompatible such as are hostile and at enmity, the difference being irreconcilable). *Zonaras*, *Lexicon*, writes: s. v. *ἀνάρσιοι* *ἐχθροὶ ἀδικοὶ ἀνάρμοστοι*. (under the word *ἀνάρσιοι*—incompatible: hostile; unjust; irreconcilable). Similarly the

Etymologicum Magnum; s. v. *ἀνάρσιοι* *ἀδικοὶ, ἐχθροὶ*. — *ὁ ἀνάρμοστος καὶ ἀσύμφωνος*. *Ἄρος* *πολέμιος, ὑβριστής* καὶ *ἀνάρσις* *νεῖκος, πόλεμος*. (under the word *ἀνάρσιοι*—incompatible: unjust, hostile,—one that is irreconcilable, discordant. Orus (the Grammarian) gives: enemy, overbearing man; also *ἀνάρσις*,—incompatibility: strife, war). According to this we might very well read for *ἐναρέες ἀνάρσιοι*; for the Temple-robbers had been *ἀδικοὶ* and *ὑβρισταὶ* (unjust, overbearing), and were further known as pathics—whose vice was *ἀδικία* and *ὑβρις* (injustice, overbearing violence), as we have seen again and again. Another point is that *Homer*, *Iliad* XXIV. 365., *Odyssey* X. 459., uses the

should have thought the word, in whatever form it may have been read, worthy of notice in his Dictionary.

§ 18.

We have now, we think, adequately discussed the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease) in the preceding Sections, and proved that the oldest view of all, viz. that *the vice of the Pathic* must be understood by that term, may be justified from every point of view. It only remains to subject to examination passages from such other authors as have employed the expression. These *Stark*, §§ 11—18., has most carefully collected. In this way we shall see how far they may be brought into harmony with the view adopted.

*Philo*¹ relates among a number of other evidences

expression *ἀνάρσιοι* in the sense of *ὑβρισταί, ἄδικοι* (overbearing, unjust men), and this fact was always likely to be of weight with Herodotus, even when he was translating a foreign word. Inasmuch as the word *ἀνάρσιοι* had several meanings, he may very well have added the *ἀνδρόγυννοι* in the second passage, instead of the *καλοῦσι Σκύθαι* (the Scythians call it), in explanation of it.

¹ *Liber quisquis virtuti studet. Opera, edit. Mangey, Vol. II., p. 465., λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι θεασάμενός τινα τῶν ὠνονμένων, ὃν θήλεια νόσος εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως οὗκ ἄρρενα, προσελθὼν ἔφη, σύ με πρῶτον γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χρεῖαν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖς ὥς τὸν μὲν δυσ-*

ωπηθέντα ἐφ' οἷς ἐαυτῷ σὺ νοῖδε, καταδύναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὸ σὺν εὐτολμία εὐθυβόλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι. (for translation see text above).

Diogenes Laertius, bk. VI. ch. 2. note 4, relates the story only in outline: *Φησὶ δὲ Μένιππος ἐν τῇ Διογένηςος πράξει, ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτήθη τί οἶδε ποιεῖν; ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν καὶ πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα, Κήρυσσε, ἔφη, εἴ τις ἐθέλει δεσπότην αὐτῷ προῖασθαι.* (Menippus says in the sale of Diogenes that the philosopher, a captive and for sale as a slave, was asked what he could do. He answered, "Govern men"; turning to the crier and adding, "Cry!—does anyone wish to buy a master to govern him?") *Comp. ibid. note 9.*

of the out-spokenness of Diogenes the Philosopher, when he was a captive and exposed for sale as a slave, how his fellow-prisoners all stood sad and cast down, but *he* again and again gave free course to his witty humour. "For instance when he cast "his eye on one of the buyers, who suffered from "the *feminine disease*, he would seem to have gone up "to the man, whose outward appearance announced "him to be an *unmanly* man, and said: "Do you "buy me, for you seem to be in want of a "man!" The buyer, conscious and ashamed, slunk "away among the crowd, whilst the bystanders "marvelled at Diogenes' wit and boldness."

In another place ¹ *Philo* says, after having spoken

¹ De Specialibus Legibus, pp. 305 sqq., Ἐπεισκηκώμακε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἕτερον πολὺ τοῦ λεχθέντος μεῖζον κακὸν τὸ παιδεραστεῖν, ὃ πρότερον μὲν καὶ λεχθῆναι μέγα ὄνειδος ἦν, νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγχίμα οὐ τοῖς ὁρώσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πάσχουσιν, οἱ νόσον θήλειαν νοσεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι. τὰς τε ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα διαβρέονσι, μηδὲν ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἔδωτες ὑποτύφεσθαι, περιφανῶς οὕτως τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι, καὶ ψιμυθίῳ καὶ ψύκει καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις τὰς ὕψεις τριβόμενοι, καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι, καὶ εὐώδεσι μύροις λίπα χριόμενοι (προσαγωγὸν γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὸ εὐώδες) ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς εὐκοσμίαν ἡσκημένοις καὶ τὴν ἄρρενα φύσιν ἐπιτηδεύει τεχνάζοντας εἰς

θήλειαν μεταβάλλειν, οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι. Καθ' ὧν φονῆν ἄξιον νόμῳ πειθαρχοῦντας, ὅς κελεύει τὸν ἀνδρογυνον τὰ φύσεως νόμιμα παρακόπτοντα, νηποίνει τεθνάναι, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὥραν ἔωμενοι ζῆν, ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πατρίδος ὄντα καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους. Ὁ δὲ παιδεραστῆς ἔστω τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην ὑπομένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴν διώκει, καὶ τὰς πύλεις, τὸ γ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος, ἐρήμους καὶ κενὰς ἀποδείκνυσιν οἰκητόρων, διαφθείρων τὰς γονάς, καὶ προσέτι, τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν, ἀνανδρίας καὶ μαλακίας ὑφηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἀξιοὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς νέους ὠραίων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἄνθος ἐκδηλεύων. ὁ πρὸς ἀλήκην καὶ ῥάμην ἀλείφειν ἀρμόττον ἦν. Καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι κακοῦ τρό-

of the Laws of Moses against harlotry : " Yet another " evil much more serious than the one mentioned, " has crept into states, *paederastia* to wit, the bare " naming of which was *formerly* an outrage. But " now it is a matter of boast, not only with those " who *practise* it, but also with the *pathics*, the men " of whom it is customary to say,—*They suffer from " feminine disease*. In fact they are effeminated in body " and soul, and not one spark of manliness do they " suffer to appear in them. They braid and deck " their hair to look like women, they smear and " paint their faces with ceruse and cosmetics and " such like things, anoint their persons with fragrant " ointments,—for a fragrant smell is an attraction " much sought after by such. Expending every " possible care on their outward adornment, they " are not ashamed even to employ every device to " *change artificially their nature as men into that of " women*. Against such it is right to be bloodthirsty,

πον γεωργοῦ, τὰς μὲν βαθυ-
γείους καὶ εὐκάρπους ἀρού-
ρας χερσεύειν ἑα, μηχανώ-
μενος ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἀγωνίαν·
ἐξ ὧν δ' οὐδὲν βλάβημα
προσδοκᾷται τὸ παράπαν,
εἰς ταῦτα πονεῖται καθ'
ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. Αἴτιον
δ' οἶμαι, τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς
τῶν δήμων, ἀκρασίας καὶ
μαλακίας ἄθλα κείσθαι.
Τοὺς γοῦν ἀνδρογύνους
ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ διὰ πληθούσης
ἀγορᾶς ἀεὶ σοβοῦντας, κἂν
ταῖς ἑορταῖς προπόμπεύον-
τας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοὺς ἀνιέ-
ρους διειληχότας, καὶ μυσ-
τηρίων καὶ τελετῶν κατ-
αρχοντας, καὶ τὰς Δῆμητρος
ὀργιάζοντας. Ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν
τὴν καλὴν νεανειάν προσ-
επιτείνοντες, εἰς ἅπαν ὥρε-

χθησαν μεταβολῆς τὰς εἰς
γυναικάς, τὰ γεννητικὰ
προσαπέκοψαν, ἀλουργίδας
ἀμπεχόμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ
μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι ταῖς
πατρίσι, προέρχοντο δορυ-
φορούμενοι, τοὺς ὑπαντῶν-
τας ἐπιστρέφοντες. Εἰ δ' ἦν
ἀγανάκτησις οἷα παρὰ τῷ
ἡμετέρῳ νομοθέτῃ, κατὰ τῶν
τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμώντων· καὶ
ὥς κοινὰ τῶν πατρίδων ἄγη
καὶ μιάσματα δίχα συγγνώ-
μης ἀνηροῦντο, πολλοὺς ἂν
ἐτέρους νουθετεῖσθαι συνέ-
βαινεν. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν προκα-
ταγνωσθέντων τιμωρίαῖά πα-
ραίτητοι, ἀνακοπήν οὐ
βραχείαν ἐργάζοντο τοῖς
ζηλωταῖς τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπι-
τηδευμάτων. (for translation
see text above.)

"obeying the Law, which commands: to slay,—and
"fear no penalty,—the *man-woman* who transgresses
"the law of nature, to let him live not a day, not
"an hour,—shaming as he does himself, his family,
"his country, nay! the whole race of mankind. The
"*paederast* must endure the same penalty, for he
"pursues after a pleasure that is contrary to Nature,
"and, so far as in him lies, makes States desert and
"empty of inhabitants, annihilating the begetting of
"children. More than this he endeavours to entice
"others and lead them away into two most abomin-
"able vices, *unmanliness* and *effeminacy*, bedizening
"youths (like women), and womanizing men in the
"vigour of their age, just at the time when they
"ought rather to be roused to aim at strength and
"hardihood. In a word, like a bad farmer, he lets
"the rich and fertile ploughland lie untilled, and makes
"it unfruitful, but labours day and night where he
"can expect no harvest whatever. Now this comes,
"I think, from the fact that in most States prizes
"are really offered for *incontinence* and *effeminacy*,—
"the vices of the *paederast* and the *pathic*. At
"any rate these men-women may be seen constantly
"strutting in the *agora* at the hour of high market,
"walking in procession at the sacred festivals, shar-
"ing, unholy as they are, in holy offices, participating
"in mysteries and sacrifices, even engaging in the
"rites of Demeter. Some of them have brought the
"charm of their youth to such a pass that *craving*
"*a complete transformation into women, they have*
"*amputated their generative members*; and now clad
"in purple robes, as if they had wrought some
"great benefit to their country, and surrounded by
"a body guard, they enter in state, all eyes fixed
"on them. Now if only such indignation as our
"Lawgiver has expressed, were generally entertained
"against those guilty of such effrontery, and if they
"were banished, as expiating the common guilt of
"their country, without appeal, this would do much
"to improve many of their companions. The punish-

"ment of such as had been condemned, if in no possible way to be shirked, would contribute no little to checking any imitation of these lusts on the part of others."

In the third passage, *Philo*¹ is speaking of the difference between the *symposia* (banquets) of his time and those of the Greeks, and says:—"The Platonic banquet has to do almost entirely with Love, but not the love of men for women, or of

¹ De vita contemplativa, p. 480., Τὸ δὲ Πλατωνικὸν ὄλον σχεδὸν ἐστὶ περὶ ἔρωτος, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπιμα- νέντων, ἢ γυναικῶν ἀνδρά- σιν αὐτὸ μόνον (ἐπιτελοῦντο γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αὐταὶ νόμῳ φύσεως)· ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν ἄρσεσιν ἡλικία μόνον διαφέ- ρουσι. Καὶ γὰρ εἴτι περὶ ἔρωτος καὶ οὐρανίου Ἀφρο- δίτης κεκοιμήσθαι δοκεῖ, χάριν ἀστεϊσμοῦ παρείληπ- ται· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁ κοινὸς καὶ πάνδη- μος ἔρως διελήφεν· ἀν- δρεία μὲν τὴν βιωφειλεστά- την ἀρετὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην ἀφαιρού- μενος, θήλειαν δὲ νόσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀπεργα- ζόμενος, καὶ ἀνδρογύ- νους κατὰς κενάξων, οὓς ἐχρὴν πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήν ἐπιτηδεύμασι συγκρο- τεῖσθαι. Λυμηνάμενος δὲ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰς ἑρωμένης τάξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀγαγὼν, ἐξημίωσε καὶ τοὺς ἑραστὰς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαϊότατα, σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ οὐσίαν. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦ παιδεραστοῦ τὸν μὲν νοῦν τετάσθαι πρὸς τὰ

παιδικὰ, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον ὀξυδερχοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἰδιά τε καὶ κοινὰ τυφλούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀποτυγχάνοιτο, συντή- κεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν ἐλαττοῦσθαι διχόθεν, ἓκ τε ἀμελείας, καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀναλωμάτων. Πα- ραφύετο δὲ καὶ μεῖζον ἄλλο πάνδημον κακόν· ἐρημίαν γὰρ πόλεων, καὶ σπάνιν τοῦ ἀρίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων, καὶ στεῖρωσιν καὶ ἀγωνίαν τεχνάζονται, οἱ μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀνεπιστήμονας τὴν γεωργίαν, κ. τ. λ. (for trans- lation see text above). This passage at any rate shows beyond a doubt that *Philo* quite failed to understand *Plato*, who not only clearly and distinctly distinguishes paedophilia from paederastia, but also analyzes at length the injuries to body and soul the latter involves on the pathic,—particularly in the *Phaedrus*, pp. 239—241., which we beg the reader to consult. To quote textually would occupy too much space.

"women for men,—for these are passions that are "satisfied conformably with the law of Nature,— "but the love of men whose affections are directed "to youths. For all the noble things that are said "besides about Eros (Love) and the heavenly Aphro- "dité are to be taken as mere fine talk. By far "the most part in fact concerns *"Ερωσ κοινός* and "*"Ερωσ πάνδημος* (Common Love, Public Love), "which destroys all manliness, the virtue that is "most needful in war and peace, *infecting the mind "with the "feminine disease", and turning men into "men-women*, whereas they should be equipped with "everything conducive to manly vigour. Instead of "this it ruins young men's manliness, and gives "them the nature and character of a wanton; also "inflicting injury on the Lover in the most important "factors of life,—body, soul and property. For the "thoughts of the paederast must needs be all centred "on the boy he loves, and his gaze quick to see "that object only: while for all other concerns, "private or public, his eyes are blinded and use- "less, and this especially if he is unhappy in his "love. His wordly condition takes hurt in two "ways, partly through neglect, partly through ex- "penditure on the loved one. Associated with this is "yet another, and a greater because general, mischief. "Such men bring about the depopulation of Cities, and "cause a lack of a good, sound strain of men, producing "barrenness and unfruitfulness. They resemble those "that are unskilful in husbandry, etc."

In a fourth passage again, one overlooked however by *Stark, Philo*¹ says, speaking of the inhabitants of

¹ De Abrahamo, pp. 20. sqq., Οὐ γὰρ μόνον θηλυ-
μανοῦντες ἄλλοτριους γά-
μους διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἄνδρες ὄντες ἄρρεσιν ἐπι-
βαίνοντες, τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς
τοὺς πάσχοντας οἱ δρωῶντες
φύσιν οὐκ αἰδούμενοι, παι-

δοσποροῦντες ἡλέγχοντο μὲν
ἀτελῇ γονῇ σπεύροντες. Ὁ
δ' ἔλεγχος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν
ὄφελος, ὑπὸ βιαιοτέρας νικω-
μένων ἐπιθυμίας· εἰτ' ἐκ τοῦ
κατ' ὀλίγον ἐθίζοντες τὰ
γυναικῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς
ἄνδρας γεννηθέντας, θή-

Sodom and their unbridled dissoluteness and vice:—

“For not only being mad after women did they
“form disgraceful unions with strange women, but
“actually, men as they were, they had intercourse
“with males: they that practised the vice had no
“shame for the sex they shared in common with
“those that suffered it, but were guilty of wasting
“their seed and disdaining the generation of offspring.
“But conviction of guilt was of no avail to restrain
“men mastered by an overpowering lust. Later,
“learning by degrees the custom for such as were
“born men yet to endure the treatment proper to
“women, *they brought upon themselves feminine disease,*
“*a curse they could in no wise contend against.* For
“not merely womanizing their bodies by effeminacy
“and wanton luxury, but utterly unsexing their very
“souls, they destroyed, so far as in them lay, all
“the manliness of their sex. In fact, if Greeks and
“Barbarians had been unanimous and had all been
“eager at once after such intercourse, the conse-
“quence would have been to make every city
“desolate, as though wasted by some pestilential
“sickness.”

In the fifth and last passage of all *Philo*¹ is speaking of those whose entry into the sanctuary

λειαν κατεσκευάζον
αὐτοῖς νόσον, καὶ οὖν
θύσμαχον. Οὐ μόνον
γὰρ τὰ σώματα μαλα-
κότητι καὶ θρύψει
γυναικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεν-
νεστάτας ἀπεργαζόμε-
νοι, τὸ γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦκον
μέρος, τὸ σύμπαν ἀνδρόπων
γένος διεφθαιρον. Εἰ γοῦν
Ἕλληες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι
συμφωνήσαντες ἐξήλωσαν
τὰς τοιαύτας ὁμιλίας, ἡρή-
μυντο ἂν ἔξῃς αἱ πόλεις,
ὥσπερ λοιμώδει νόσῳ κε-

νωθεῖσται. (for translation see
text above).

¹ De Sacrificantiis, p. 261.,
προανέλγει πάντας τοὺς
ἀναξίους ἱεροῦ συλλόγου,
τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος ἀπὸ
τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν
ἀληθῆ [θ' ἡ λειαν] νόσον
ἀνδρογύνων, οἱ τὸ φύσεως
νόμισμα παρακύπτοντες, εἰς
ἀκολάστων γυναικῶν πάθος
καὶ μορφᾶς εἰςβιάζοντο·
θλαδίας γὰρ καὶ ἀποσκευο-
μένους τὰ γεννητικὰ ἐλαύνει,
τό τε τῆς ὥρας ταμιεύοντας
ἄνθος, ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως μα-

was interdicted by the Law-giver: "He forbad all "that were unworthy to frequent, the Temple, "beginning *with the men-women, those that are sick "of the true (the feminine) disease*, who transgressing "the established law of Nature, *annex the lust and "looks of incontinent women*. He expelled all eunuchs, "those with strangled testicles and those with "amputated, who carefully safeguard the bloom of "youthfulness against decay, and transform the manly "type into a womanish shape. He expelled not only "harlots, but harlots' children as well, etc."

If we review systematically and in detail these passages of *Philo*, given by *Stark* only in fragments, any unprejudiced reader must see that there is not one of them that does not refer to the vice of the Pathic. As to the second and third passages *Stark* himself (pp. 13 and 22.) admits this, while as to the fourth we do not know what he thought, it having been unknown to him: thus it is only in relation to the *first* and *fifth* passages that we have to examine his reasons for supposing this not to be the case. After quoting the text and *Mangey's* Latin translation, *Stark* remarks à propos of the *first* passage,—that dealing with Diogenes:—"Quin "hic verum corporis, nec animi vitium seu morbum "indicetur, quo laborantes virilitate orbarentur et "hanc suam impotentiam corporis habitu atque oris "specie proderent, nullus dubito. Nam hoc et ver- "borum series aperte declarat et ex eo colligi potest, "quod ille, qui hoc crimine tactum se sentiret, pudore "moveretur.... Si vero Pathicorum labes, quam ab inter- "pretibus quibusdam hic suspicari video, ita intelli- "genda esset, haec neque ex vultu conici "poterat neque a Graecis tam turpi ma- "cula notabatur, ut huic vitio deditis causa "esset, quam ab rem eius opprobrium effugerent.

γαίνοιτο, καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα
τύπον μεταχαράττοντας εἰς
θηλύμορφον ἰδέαν. Ἐλαύνει

δὲ οὐ μόνον πόρνους ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόρνου κ. τ. λ.
(for translation see text above).

"Tantum enim abfuit, ut Pathici dedecus suum occultarent, ut potius multo fastu atque pompa prae se ferrent.... Verum autem Eunuchum genitalium exsectione redditum his verbis significari, non crediderim, quia hi neque inter licitatores, sed potius inter vendendos reperiri, neque ob harum partium defectum pudore tangi solerent."

(I have no doubt whatever that a real fault of body, and not of mind, in other words a disease, is intended here,—a disease that robbed the sufferers of virility, who then betrayed this impotence by the condition and appearance of body and countenance. This indeed is fully shown by the context, from which it may also be gathered that the sufferer who felt himself touched by this vice, has a feeling of shame.... But if it is the taint of the pathics that is to be understood here, as I see is conjectured to be the case by some commentators, this taint could not be guessed at from the face; nor yet was it marked by the Greeks with so strong a stigma of disgrace, as to cause those who were given to it to strive to escape the opprobrium. For so far were pathics from wishing to conceal their shame, that they actually made a point of displaying it ostentatiously.... On the other hand I should not be inclined to suppose that a Eunuch, an actual Eunuch by amputation of the genitals, is meant by these words. These were hardly likely to be found among the bidders, but rather with the slaves for sale: nor were eunuchs accustomed to feel shame on account of the loss of these organs.)

In § 16 above it has been abundantly proved that the recognition of a pathic *ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως*, *ex vultu*, (by the look), was a simple and familiar thing with the Ancients; and especially so if we understand, as is only reasonable, by *ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως* not merely by the *face*, but by the whole appearance of the person as well. We can only wonder at Stark's repeated denials of the existence of such external marks of recognition, and all the more so, as every

Text-book of Medical Jurisprudence making any pretensions to complete detail (e.g. *Masius, Mende*) gives information on the point. Again, it is proved that paederastia was always regarded by the Greeks, till the time when they lost their independence, as a disgraceful vice,—the reason why the buyer spoken of slunk away with a blush. As for the ostentatious show of pathics, and particularly their importance and the power they acquired, to which *Stark* refers (p. 12. in his Note—28), this is only true for times as late as *Philo's* own, (he lived 40 A.D.), whereas *Diogenes* appears in History in the middle of the 4th. Century B.C. *Stark*, again, cites as evidence the words from the second passage: *Puerorum amor, de quo vel loqui olim probum fuit maximum, nunc laudiducitur*, (The love of boys, merely to speak of which was formerly a deep disgrace, but which now is made a boast),—without observing that his contention as to paederastia not being held disgraceful in Antiquity is most obviously contradicted by it. Undoubtedly actual castrated eunuchs were not meant, but the reasons *Stark* brings forward to show this are without force, for he will hardly be able to prove that in Asia the Castrated never acquired importance and wealth, so as to be in a position to buy themselves slaves. Further it may be gathered that the man *Diogenes* addressed was rich or held an important station from the fact that the bystanders marvelled at *Diogenes'* boldness and outspokenness, a point that *Stark* indeed has forgotten to mention. For *Philo's* own times the second passage is evidence enough. Equally do we fail to see why a castrated eunuch would be unlikely to blush, when the fact is thrown in his face. *Stark* (p. 22) explains the *νοῦσος θήλεια* as *vilitium corporis* or *effeminatio interno morbo corporis statu procreata*, (a fault of body, condition of effeminacy produced by an internal morbid state of body). Now if it were really this, how could he possibly speak of the sufferers as *crimine tactos*, (touched by

his *vice*)? They had nothing to be ashamed of, unless indeed they had acquired the disease in a shameful way, but this was not the case according to his original assumption. This is confirmed by *Clement of Alexandria*.¹

So far as the *fifth* passage is concerned, *Stark* declares castrated eunuchs to be certainly intended, and blames the editor of *Philo* (*Mangey*) for wishing to read for ἀπὸ τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν ἀληθῆ νόσον ἀνδρογύνων (with the men-women, those that are sick of the *true* disease) τὴν θήλειαν νόσον (the *feminine* disease). He says in his note 30.: "*Mangetius* (a mistake for *Mangey*) reponit "*θήλειαν*. Quare hoc fieri, non dicam debeat, sed "ne oporteat quidem, non video. Nam νόσος "*ἀνδρογύνων* idem est, quod νόσος *θήλεια*. Si "igitur haec vox verbis superioribus adiiciatur, iners "atque inutilis appareat et pleonasmum vanum efficiat, "necesse est: τὸ ἀληθῆ contra, quod ille demit, "non vacuum ceteris additur verbum, ut eo perspicue "demonstraretur, hic verum morbum seu illud "corporis vitium esse intelligendum, quod "viros exsecando paritur, nec hanc animi labem, "qua contaminati solum muliebria patiuntur, quaeque "iisdem verbis nuncupatur, ut loci mox laudandi "docebunt." (*Mangetius* restores *θήλειαν*—feminine.

¹ Paedagog., bk. III. ch. 3., "πρὸς τοὺς καλλωπιζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν": ἔνα τινὰ τούτων τῶν ἀγεννῶν παιδαγωγικῶς ἐπιπλήττων ὁ Διογένης, ὁπηνίκα ἐπιπράσκετο, ἀνδρείως σφόδρα, ἤκε, εἶπεν, μειρακίον, ἄνδρα ὠνήσαι σαντῶ· ἀμφιβόλῳ λόγῳ τὸ πορνικὸν ἐκείνου σωφροσίζων· τὸ γὰρ ἄνδρας ὄντας, ξύρεσθαι καὶ λειάνεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀγεννές; ("To men who

bedizen their persons": One of these base fellows Diogenes rebuked like a schoolmaster. At the very time he was on sale as a slave, he cried with wonderful boldness: 'Come, young man, buy a man for yourself': by this double entendre chastising his meretricious habits. For is it not a base thing, that men should have their bodies shaved and polished smooth.

I cannot see why he should do this; in fact he had no business to do so whatever. For νόσος ἀνδρογύνων (disease of men-women) is the same thing as νόσος θήλεια (feminine disease). So if this expression is added on to the preceding words, it can only appear redundant and useless and make a silly pleonasm. Τὸ ἀληθῆ (the word *true* disease) on the other hand is not otiose when added to the other words. It shows distinctly that the *true disease or notorious vitiation of body* was meant to be understood, that which arises from castrating men, and not merely the taint of mind that makes the men whom it affects endure the treatment proper to women, and which is called by the same name, —as will be shown in passages to be cited presently.)

These last words evidently refer to the third passage, where we read: Θήλειαν δὲ νόσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀπεργαζόμενος καὶ ἀνδρογύνους κατασκευάζων (infecting the mind with feminine disease, and turning men into men-women), for Stark himself explains the νοῦσος θήλεια (feminine disease) as being identical with the ἀνδρογύνων νόσος (disease of men-women). So he is bound to explain this sentence too as a *Pleonasmus vanus* (silly, useless, pleonasm), for as a matter of fact those suffering from νοῦσος θήλεια *are* men-women (ἀνδρογύνουι). But if a pleonasm is found in these latter words, it is difficult to see why there should not be one equally well in the fifth passage.

Yet for all he says, it is far from being demonstrated that this pleonasm *is* useless and silly. The sequence of thought is evidently this: Common Eros (Love) infects the soul (ψυχῇ) with the νοῦσος θήλεια, rousing the insatiable craving to play the part of the woman, to be pathic in fact; and then, this craving being indulged, the man becomes a man-woman (ἀνδρογύνος). As long as he goes on practising the vice of the pathic, he is sick of the νοῦσος θήλεια, and so it is perfectly correct to speak of the νοῦσος θήλεια ἀνδρογύνων (feminine

disease of men-women). A man-woman, that is a person who suffers coition to be consummated with him as with a woman, and concurrently also consummates coition with women as a man, or at any rate has the ability to do so,—this anyone may quite well be, without suffering for all that from the *νοῦσος θήλεια*. For instance he may be constrained by force to be a pathic, or may regard it as a way of earning money, like the male prostitutes of Greece and Rome; and in that case has no interest further in the vice of the pathic as such. On the other hand if he is urged to it by *prurigo ani impudica* (lascivious itch of the anus), this is sheer lubricity, not to be expected in a sensible, healthy-minded man. It can only be the consequence of a morbid condition of temperament and body. Such a man is the victim of *νοῦσος θήλεια*, the craving to be a woman! This is just the position taken in the fifth passage, as the subsequent words show quite plainly.

But granted that *Philo* actually wrote in this fifth passage *τὴν ἀληθῆ νόσον ἀνδρογύνων* (the true disease of men-women), would a bodily defect, castration, be signified by the expression? Certainly not. We could then take it in no other way but this, "he began with the men-women, who suffered from the true disease," and should be constrained to ask, "*what* disease?",—a definite disease being manifestly intended, as the addition of the definite article (*τὴν*) shows. But this would imply that men-women who were not suffering from this particular disease were *not* excluded from visiting the Temple. Yet most certainly *Philo* would never make any such statement. However *Stark* translates with *Mangey*: *Exorsus a vero semivirorum morbo laborantibus* that is, "he began with those suffering from the true disease of men-women", from which it would follow that there were other persons who suffered from the *apparent* disease of the men-women, or no reason exists for the special emphasis the definite article gives.

Really the question all along is not of castrated persons at all, and cannot be, if the sense of the whole passage is taken into account; for these (castrated persons) are specially and separately forbidden access to the Temple in the next sentence, —a fact which nothing but the introduction into the text of the conjunction γάρ (for) by *Mangey*, (following a MS. it is true), has obscured. The words as they stand are *Θλαδιᾶς [γάρ] καὶ ἀποκεκομμένους τὰ γεννητικὰ ἐλαύνει*, (he expells all eunuchs, those with strangled testicles, and those with amputated). So if the men-women who suffered from the νοῦσος θήλεια were actual eunuchs, this would indeed be a *Pleonasmus vanus et ineptus* (silly and idle pleonasm). *Stark* has evidently been led to maintain the opinion he does, and to blame *Mangey*'s emendation, which is in any case justified, by a mistake as to the construction of the sentence. *Stark* construed νοῦσον ἀνδρογύνων (disease of men-women), whereas the construction requires: τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος ἀπὸ ἀνδρογύνων, τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν θήλειαν (ἀληθῆ) νόσον (beginning with men-women,—those that were sick of the feminine—true—disease), the latter words being simply in apposition to ἀνδρογύνων.

§ 19.

We now proceed to consider the passages from the historian *Herodian* (170—240 A.D.). He relates ¹:

¹ *Herodian*, *Historiarum Libri Octo*, edit. *Th. Guil. Irmisch*. Leipzig 1780. 8vo., Vol. II. Bk. IV. ch. 12.: εἰς τοῦτον οὖν, ὡς μηδὲ στρατιωτικὸν, μηδὲ γενναῖον, δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἀπέσκωπτε, καὶ μέχρις αἰσχροῦς βλασφημίας ἐπεὶ γὰρ

ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καὶ διαίτη ἐλευθερίῳ χρῶμενον, καὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἀπερῶμιμένα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ ποτῶν μυσαττόμενον, οἷς, ὡς στρατιωτικὸς δὴ, ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἔχαιρε, γλαμῦδιον ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἐσθίῃται ἀμφιεσάμενον ἀστειοτέραν, εἰς ἀνανδρίαν

"Now he (Antoninus) had two generals, of whom the one, an oldish man but stupid and quite unacquainted with state affairs, was yet held to be a good soldier; his name was *Adventus*. The other who was called *Macrinus*, was not inexperienced in forensic practice and possessed besides some knowledge of law. Now the latter *Antoninus* frequently assailed in public with gibes, saying he was neither a soldier nor a man, going so far as positive *insult*. For having heard that he led a somewhat free life, and abominated scanty, rough eating and drinking (in which *Antoninus* as a hardy soldier took a pride), and wore a woman's cloak or other elegant raiment, he accused him of *ἀνανδρία* and *θηλεία νοῦσος* (*unmanliness* and *feminine disease*), and was constantly threatening to put him to death. *Macrinus* could not endure such treatment and was very much exasperated. And this was the result.... etc." Here *ἀνανδρία* and *θηλεία νοῦσος* (*unmanliness* and *feminine disease*) are laid to *Macrinus*' charge by *Antoninus* by way of insult, but it is not in any way stated that he had become actually impotent or Pathic. True *ἀνανδρία* (*unmanliness*) is frequently used of the Pathic, but here it refers simply to a womanish way of life in connexion with eating and drinking, whilst the *θηλεία νοῦσος* (*feminine disease*) is inferred from the female costume, a thing in which, as we have seen, the Pathics delighted ¹.

καὶ θηλείαν νόσον
διέβαλλεν, αἰεὶ τε ἀποκτενεῖν
ἠπειλεῖ· ἅπερ οὐ φέρων ὁ
Μακρίνος, πάννυ ἡσχαλλεῖ
συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον
κ. τ. λ. for translation see
text. A somewhat similar
circumstance is given in *Lucy*,
Hist. XXXIX. ch. 42.

¹ Aeschines, Orat. in
Timarch. edit. Reiske, p, 139.

μὴ Δημοσθένην καλούμενον,
ἀλλὰ Βάταλον, — p. 142.
ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς Δημοσ-
θένους ἐπωνυμίας, οὐ κακῶς
ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ
τῆς τίτθης, Βάταλος προσα-
γορεύεται, ἐξ ἀνανδρίας
τινὸς καὶ κιναιδεΐας
ἐνεγκάμενος τοῦνομα· εἰ
γάρ τις σου τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτα
χλανίσκια περιελάμενος, καὶ

Stark indeed gives the following note on the passage: "Ego quidem impotentiam virilem et illam "morbosam in sexum sequiorem degenerationem, "quae per animi mollitiem aequae ac per corporis "mutationem se prodit, hic accipiendam esse credo, "nec video, cur interpret labem illam qua muliebris "tolerantiae viri maculantur, intellectam velit." (In fact I consider we must take to be here meant impotence and that morbid degeneration towards the inferior sex which betrays itself at once by effeminacy of mind and bodily deterioration; at the same time I see no reason for a commentator thinking that specific pollution to be signified whereby men are affected who suffer themselves to be treated as women.) However if only *Stark* had chanced to read through the succeeding 13th. chapter of *Herodian* as well, he would have found *Antoninus* only meant to put upon the man an ordinary coarse jest; for he there makes the very same reproach against the Centurion *Martialis*, whose brother he had had executed a few days previously; *αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μαρτιαλίῳ ἐνύβρισεν, ἄνδρα ἄνδρὸν καὶ ἀγεννή καλῶν καὶ Μακαρίνου φίλον,*

τοὺς μαλακοὺς χιτωνίσκους, ἐν οἷς τοὺς κατὰ τῶν φίλων λόγους γράφεις, περιενέγκας δοίῃ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν δικαστῶν, οἶμαι ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἴ τις μὴ προειπὼν τοῦτο ποιήσειεν, ἀπορῆσαι, εἴ τε ἄνδρὸς, εἴ τε γυναικὸς ἐλλήφασιν ἐσθῆτα. (called not Demosthenes, but Batalus, i.e. Pathic.—Now with regard to Demosthenes' surname, he is excellently called by common report, though not by his nurse, Batalus—Pathic, having got the name from a certain unmanliness and cinaedism. For

if a man should strip you of these elegant robes you wear and your womanish tunics, clad in which you indite your speeches against your friends, and bring them up and put them in the hands of the jurymen, I suppose, if he should do so without any previous explanation, the latter would be quite unable to tell *whether it were a man's or a woman's clothes they had got hold of.*)—a passage which affords the best commentary to what is stated in the text both here and on previous pages.

(And be insulted Martialius himself, *calling him unmanly and ignoble and a friend of Macarinus.*) In any case the passage shows that even at that period Paederastia was held to be dishonourable and the name of Pathic involved an insult.

The Church Historian *Eusebius Pamphili* (264—340 A.D.) relates in his *Life of Constantine*¹ that on a part of the peak of Mount Lebanon stood a Temple of Venus: "Therein was a school of vice for licentious persons of every description, for all such as dishonoured their bodies in various ways; womanish men, that are no men at all, abrogated their natural dignity and propitiated the goddess by *Θήλεια νοῦσος* (feminine disease); and again unlawful unions of women, lecherous embraces, abominable and abominated acts, were indulged in in this Temple, as in a spot where neither law nor religion held good. And there was no one to overlook their doings, for no respectable man dared go near the place." Now to any one examining the whole drift of the passage, it cannot for a single moment remain doubtful that by *Θήλεια νοῦσος* is here meant some particular form of vice; and the words of the text are such that, even if the expression only occurred here and nowhere else at all, absolutely no other meaning could be assigned to it but that of the vice of the Pathic. We have already shown that the words *ἀκόλαστος* (licentious person), *πρᾶξις*,

¹ Bk. III. ch. 55: *Σχολή τις ἡ αὐτῆς κακοεργίας πᾶσιν ἀκόλαστοις, πολλῇ τε ἑστώ- νη διεφθορόσι τὸ σῶμα· γύνυιδες γοῦν τινες ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄνδρες, τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀπαρνησάμενοι, θηλεία νόσῳ τὴν δαί- μονα ἰλεοῦντο· γυναικῶν τ' αὖ παράνομοι ὁμιλῖαι, κλε- ψιγαμοὶ θ' ὁμιλῖαι, ἄρῆστοί τε καὶ ἐπίρῆστοί πρᾶξεις, ὥς ἐν ἀνόμῳ καὶ ἀποστάτῃ*

χώρῳ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νεὼν ἐπεχειροῦντο· ἐφορός τε οὐ- δεις ἦν τῶν πραττομένων, τῷ μηδένα σεμνῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόθι τολμᾶν παρῆναι. for translation see text. As to this Temple of Venus compare *Zosimus, Histor., bk. I., Etymolog. Magnum*, under word *Ἀφᾶνα*; *Suidas*, under word *Χριστόδωρος*; *Selden, Syntagm. de Diis Syris, II.*

πράττειν (action, to act) are used of the Pathic, whilst the phrase **τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς φύσεως** (natural dignity) finds its explanation in the **τὸ φύσεως νόμισμα** (custom of nature) of *Philo*, and **γύννιδες** (womanish men) is interpreted in *Zonaras*¹ by **ἀνδρόγυννος** (man-woman), **μαλακός** (soft, effeminate), and in *Eustathius*² by **θηλυδρίας μὴ εὖ διακείμενος**

¹) *Zonaras*, Lexicon. edit. Tittmann. Leipzig 1808. 4to. p. 457

² *Eustathius*, Commentar. in Homer., Iliad 1680. 44., *Stark* cites merely the figures. We can clearly see the meaning of **γύννιδες** in the following passage of *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedag., bk. III. ch. 3. p. 227, **τί τοίνυν οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν αἱ γυναῖκες, αἱ εἰς μαχλοσύνην σπεύδουσαι, τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν ἐνοποριζόμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἂν δρας βατάλους δὲ καὶ γύννιδας καλεῖν τοὺτους χρεῖ' ὦν καὶ αἰφωναὶ τεθρομμέναι καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς τεθληυμένη ἄφῃ καὶ βαφῇ; δῆλοι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐλεγχόμενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔξωθεν ἀμπεχόνῃ, ὑποδέσει, σχήματι, βαδίσματι, κουρᾷ, βλέμματι. Ἀπὸ ὁράσεως γὰρ ἐπιγνωσθήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἢ Γραφὴ λέγει κ. τ. λ.** (What then would not women practise, such women as run into wantonness, rivalling the men that dare such abominations? but these men ought we not rather to call *batali* (cinaedi) and

womanish fellows? whose voices are broken languishingly and their dress fashioned like women's in texture and colour. *Now such-like men are clearly manifest in outward appearance for what they are by their show, and their foot-gear, by their bearing, and walk, and hair, and glance. For by the eyes shall a man be known*, says the Scripture, etc.). The word **βάταλος** meaning *cinaedus* is found also in *Aeschines*, In Timarch., p. 139, 163, 142. De legatione falsa, p. 273. *Harpocration* under the word, conjectured that the Cinaedi were called for the same reason that e. g. *Eupolis* ὁ **πρωκτος** (the wide-bottomed) was called **βάταλος**; and *Plutarch* also, Vita Demosth. 4. *Schol. Aeschin.* p. 742., *Etymolog. Magnum*, 190. 20., agrees in same idea. Comp. Schäfer, Appar. Crit. ad Demosthen., 1. 875. Moreover this was the nick-name of *Demosthenes* (De Corona 288. 18.). At any rate this passage of *Clement of Alexandria* tells in favour of the possibility of recognizing Pathics by their exterior!

πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια (womanish man, one not properly behaved with regard to love),—meanings the real force of which we have elsewhere verified, but which most certainly are not to be taken as implying actual castration, as *Stark* (§ 16) thinks. Indeed the last named says, commenting on the passage of Eusebius: “Haec verba non solum de mera morum atque cultus mutatione muliebri rationi magis congrua, intelligi posse, sed etiam per veram evirationem genitalium truncatione confectam aptissime explicanda esse, cum verborum series et Eustathii, Hesychii ac Zonarae atque Valesii auctoritas me suadet, tum multo magis illud monet, quod in cultu Veneris virorum exsectionem solemnem fuisse compertum habemus. Sin autem contenderis, viros tales exsectos et effeminatos etiam muliebria passos esse, ego quidem non repugno, exploratam vero rem esse atque ratam, ex ipsis auctoris verbis non liquet.” (That these words may be understood not merely of a simple change of mode of life and habit to one more closely assimilated to the female type, but that they are most suitably to be explained as implying an actual effemination of the individual produced by amputation of the genitals, both the context of the passage and the authority of Eustathius, Hesychius, Zonaras and Valesius induces me to believe, and still more am I led to this view by the fact we already know, viz. that the castration of men was customary in connection with the cult of Venus. But if you further maintain that such men so castrated and effeminated submitted to the treatment proper to women, I do not deny it; I only say that this point is not duly ascertained and certified on the showing of the Author's own words.)

Certainly we have already seen from the passage of *Lucian* and from *Philo* that Paederastia supplied a motive for the making of Eunuchs; but the passages quoted from *Athanasius* and other Authors have also taught us that the pollution of boys was carried out in hour of Venus in her temples. As for the

auctoritas Valesii (authority of Valesius), *Stark* adds in his notes (49): "Eandem vim his verbis tribuit, 'ut ex interpretatione ejus Latina Eusebii videre est. 'Histor. scriptor. ecclesiast. Paris 1677. fol. p. 211. B.'" (He assigns the same force to these words, as may be seen from his Latin translation of Eusebius). To our regret we are unable to refer to this edition,—which it appears to us would have been a highly desirable precaution; for the one which lies before us,¹ a word for word, only more correct, re-impression of the Paris edition, gives the version of Valesius entirely in our sense: "Quippe effeminati quidam 'et feminae potius dicendi quam viri, abdicata sexus 'sui gravitate, muliebria patientes, daemonem 'placabant." (Whereas certain effeminate men, that should rather be called women than men, abrogating the dignity of their sex, and suffering treatment proper to women, used in this way to propitiate their deity.) The same holds good of the translation given by *Stark*: "Viri effeminati et non viriles, 'naturae dignitatem ultro exuentes, morbo muliebri deam placabant." (Effeminate men and unmanly, of their own will putting off their nature

¹ *Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiasticae historiae libri decem; eiusdem de vita imp. Constantini libri IV. Quibus subicitur Oratio Constantini ad Sanctos et Panegyricus Eusebii. Henricus Valesius graecum textum collatis IV. MSS. Codicibus emendavit, Latine vertit et Adnotationibus illustravit. Iuxta exemplar quod antea Parisiis excudebat Antonius Vitré, nunc vero verbo tenus et correctius edebant Moguntiae Christian Gerlach et Simon Beckenstein. MDCLXXII. fol. (Eusebius*

Pamphili, Ecclesiastical Histories, X books; also the same author's Life of the Emperor Constantine, IV books. Together with Constantine, "Ad Sanctos", and the Panegyric of Eusebius. Greek text emended by the collation of four MSS, a Latin translation provided and illustrative notes added, by Henricus Valesius. Based on the edition first printed at Paris by Antonius Vitré, now re-edited unexpurgated and corrected by Christian Gerlach and Simon Beckenstein at Maintz. 1672. fol.)

dignity, used to propitiate the goddess *with feminine disease*.) Ought this to be taken as implying a claim on his behalf to the translation generally as adduced by him or merely to the rendering of the word γύννιδες by *virī effeminati*? The previous authorities, *Eustathius*, *Hesychius* and *Zonaras*, at any rate refer only to γύννιδες, while *Stark* himself assigns it the meaning of the *Vice of the Pathic* in the last words quoted.

Bishop *Synesius* (378—431 A.D.) in his *Speech De Regno*¹ addressed to the Emperor *Arcadius* exhorts the latter to set bounds to the insubordination in the army, and for the foreign subject peoples, that are continually meditating treason, to attack them and really conquer them, rather than wait till their hostile temper break out in open revolt. That the renown of the Romans stood fast, that they were victorious, wherever they came and marched through the countries of the world, like the gods, supervising men's insolence and government. "But those *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us so, and

¹ *Synesii Episcopi Cyrenes Opera quae extant omnia, interprete Dionysio Petavio — codicum fide recensita ac notis illustrata et eodem modo omnia secunda hac editione multo accuratiora et uberiora prodeunt. Lutetiae Parisiorum 1633. fol. p. 25. A. 'Ὡς Ὀμηρός φησι τοὺς θεοὺς Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐφέποντες Σκύθας δὲ τούτους, Ἡρόδοτος τέ φησι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρώμεν, κατεχομένους ἅπαντας ὑπὸ νόσου θηλείας· οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ παντοχοῦ δοῦλοι κ. τ. λ. *Synesius* Bishop of Cyrené, Complete Works so far as Extant, edit. *Dionysius Petavius*; text*

revised and compared with MSS, and illustrated with explanatory notes; the whole re-issued in a more accurate and fuller form in this Second Edition. Paris 1633. fol., p. 25. A., "As *Homer*—*Odyssey* XVII. 487—says of the gods, visiting the insolence and good government of men; but these *Scythians* *Herodotus* declares, and we see the fact for ourselves, to be all fallen under the feminine disease; and it is they from whom come as a rule the slaves, etc." The word *θηλείας* even in the edition mentioned stands both in text and margin as γρ. *δειλίας*.

we see it for ourselves, are all fallen under the νόσος θήλεια (feminine disease). And it is they of whom the subject peoples mainly consist, etc." He goes on to say how they had submitted only in appearance, while secretly they laughed at the folly of the Romans, who took their submission seriously, etc. Now in the first place we must remember the fact that *Synesius*, like all Greek Orators and Fathers of later times, considered it his special duty to cite the Classical Greek authors as frequently as possible, and with this object made almost any peg do to hang a quotation on. He says of the Romans that they, ὥς "Ὀμηρός φησι τοὺς θεοῦς

Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐφέποντες

(as Homer says of the gods, "visiting the insolence and good government of men"), and to explain this ὕβρις (insolence), he recalls the statement of Herodotus to the effect that the Scythians suffered from the νόσος θήλεια, a statement which, he adds, still holds good of them; that the vice had prevailed amongst them from the earliest times, that it was quite inveterate, and that accordingly men of such abandoned character could never be trusted, trained as they were to dissemble; all this *Synesius* is specially anxious to enforce strongly upon Arcadius! In this sequence of thought we find a sufficient explanation of the καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρώμεν (and we see it for ourselves); this refers not so much to the ocular recognition of the νόσος θήλεια, the possibility of which however we have demonstrated elsewhere, as to the fact that the disease was *still* to be met with among the Scythians, in order to show which *Synesius* laid special stress on the phrase, and added—undoubtedly to the sacrifice of truth—the word ἅπαντας (all of them). Besides which, *Dionysius Petavius* reminds us in his notes on this passage that the name "Scythian" is used here, as it is in *Strabo*, in its widest signification, and includes

Goths, Alani, Vandals, Germans, Huns, in fact all the Northern peoples. This is the more interesting as *Sextus Empiricus*¹ relates of the Germans that they practised Paederastia, Prof. *Meier* (loco cit. p. 131. Note 20.), who cites the passage, doubted the truth of the statement, on the ground that Sextus Empiricus is the only author, and even he does so only as a matter of hearsay (ὡς φασιν—as men say), to lay this vice to the charge of the Germans, whose purity of morals is not impugned

¹ Pyrrh. Hypotyp., bk. III. ch. 199., *Νενόμισται τὸ τῆς ἀρρενομιξίας παρὰ Γερμανοῖς ὡς φασιν οὐκ ἀσχερὸν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τι τῶν συνηθῶν* (But the practice of intercourse with males is not among the Germans, so they say, reckoned a shameful thing, but as one of the customary acts)—*Aristotle*, Polit. II. 6. 6., *Strabo*, Geogr., IV. 199. *Diodorus*, Bibl. V. 32. *Athenaeus*, Deipn., p. 603 a., relate the same thing of the Celts. *Quintilian* who lived about 42 after Christ, directly denies the fact, it is true: Declam. 3, Nihil tale novere Germani et sanctius vivitur ad Oceanum. Non sit mihi forsitan quaerendum aversis auribus saeculi huius in tantum vitia regnare, ut obscœnis cupiditatibus natura cessarit, ut pollutis in femineam usque patientiam maribus incurrat iam libido in sexum suum, finem tamen aliquem sibi vitia ipsa exceperunt, ultimumque adhuc huius flagitii crimen fuit corripuisse futurum virum. Hoc

vero cuius est dementiae? In concubinatum iuniores leguntur, et in muliebrem patientiam vocatur fortasse iam maritus. (The Germans know no such practice; for life is purer near the Ocean. Would it were possible to shut my ears to the fact that Vice in this age prevails to such a degree that Nature has had to yield to foul lusts, that men corrupted even to the length of suffering themselves to be treated as women are filled with lust towards their own sex; yet vice itself set some limit to its own excesses, and the last extremity of this lewdness was to have ruined one that might have grown into a man. But what a height of insanity is here! Young men are chosen as mistresses, and a man is called upon to endure the treatment proper to a woman.) Who can fail to see that in this passage the words *femineæ patientia*, *muliebris patientia*, are given as a translation of νοῦσος θήλεια?

by any other Writers. But surely he did not take into consideration that Sextus Empiricus lived about 200 years after Christ, and is speaking of the Germans of his own times, not of the old Germans such as *Tacitus* and *Caesar* knew them. It is hardly likely the Germans of Sextus' and Synesius' day should have entirely escaped the universal degeneracy of all Nations; and again, with what object did German Emperors at a later date promulgate laws against the vice of Paederastia, Sodomy, etc., if it did not exist among their people?

Clement of Alexandria, after speaking of the objectionable character of the worship of the different gods of the Heathen, goes on to relate as follows¹:

"All blessings befall that King of the Scythians, whatever his name may have been, who when one of his subjects copied the service of the Mother of the gods usual among the people of Cyrené, beating the drum and clashing the cymbals hung at his neck, and dedicating himself as a Menagyrtes (Priest of Cybelé), shot him dead, as a man who had been made *no man* (ἄνανδρος) among the Greeks, and as a teacher of the *feminine disease* (νόσος θήλεια) to the rest of the Scythians." *Herodotus*² who tells the same story, calls the King Saulius and the offending citizen Anarcharsis³, but makes no mention,

¹ Cohortatio ad Gentes, edit. Potter. Oxford 1715., Vol. I. p. 20., Πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ θὰ γένοιτο τῷ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν οὗτος τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν παρὰ Κυβικηνοῖς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τελετὴν ἀπομιμούμενον παρὰ Σκύθαις, τύμπανόν τε ἐπικτυπούντα, καὶ κύμβαλον ἐπηχοῦντα τοῦ τραγγήλου, οἷα τινὰ Μηναγύρτην ἐξηρημένον, κατετόξευσεν, ὥς ἄνανδρον αὐτόν τε παρὰ Ἕλλησι γε-

γενημένον, καὶ τῆς θήλειας τοῖς ἄλλοις Σκυθῶν διδάσκαλον νόσον. for translation see text.

² *Herodotus*, Histories, Bk. IV. ch. 76.

³ In Anacharsid. I. ch. 8. note 4. The question here is solely of Greek customs (ἐλληνίζειν, βιοῦν ἡθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς—to Greecize, to live after Greek fashions), without any evil implication, or of Greek mysteries (τελετὰς Ἑλληνικὰς διατελοῦντα—

any more than do *Diogenes Laertius* and *Philo*¹, of the *θήλεια νοῦσος* (feminine disease). Accordingly we must evidently regard this as an *addition* on the part of Clement of Alexandria, who judging from his own times, when the Priests of Cybelé universally practised paederastia with each other, and in order to further lay stress on the fact that the Scythian king had done right in killing the man who was introducing a heathen, and besides an exceedingly licentious, form of worship, felt no hesitation in making the addition. And as a matter of fact, how widely paederastia prevailed in the time of Clement of Alexandria, and how intimately he was acquainted with it, is proved by the passages quoted on previous pages from his writings. *Stark* prefers here also to understand a *vera eviratio* (true effemination), i.e. that they were actually castrated, maintaining that this was the case with the priests of Cybelé, whilst *Larcher* considers merely the womanish cult of the *Dea Mater* (Goddess Mother) to be indicated.

The last passage in which the expression *θήλεια νοῦσος* (femine disease) occurs, is a *scholion* on the word *γαλλιαμβικόν* (viz. *μέτρον*—galliambic metre) in *Hephaestion*². The Scholiast says: *Γαλλιαμβικόν δὲ ἐκλήθη, ἐπεὶ λελυμένον ἐστὶ τὸ μέτρον οἱ δὲ*

carrying out Greek rites). How else could the words, *γλώσσης, γαστρός, αἰδοίων κρατεῖν* (to be master of tongue, of belly, of *members*) have been used as a motto on the pedestals of statues of Anacharsis, and how could he himself have written to Croesus, that after he had learnt the customs of the Greeks, *ἀπόχρη με ἐπανήκειν ἐς Σκύθας ἄνδρα ἀμείνονα* (I was bound to return to the Scythians a *better man*). For the rest Anacharsis is

called the son of Gnurus and brother of the Scythian king Caduidas, who stabbed him on a hunting party.

¹ Archæolog. Jud., bk. II.

² *Hephaestionis Enchiridion* (de metris) ad MS. fidem recensitum cum notis variorum, præcipue Leonardi Hotchkis, A. M. curante Th. Gaisford, Edit. nova et auct. Lips. 1832. c. 12. p. 75. (*Hephaestion's Enchiridion* (on metres); the text revised and compared with the MSS, together with notes of various

Γάλλοι, διαβάλλονται ὡς θήλειαν νόσον ἔχοντες. διὸ καὶ σώματα φόρον ἐτέλουν Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο· οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ Δήμητρος.

(Now it was called galliambic, because the metre is loose; and the Galli are evil spoken of as having *feminine disease*. Wherefore also they used to pay their bodies as tribute to the Romans—or, their bodies used to pay tribute to the Romans—to this day; and such men are priests of Demeter.) *Stark* gives (p. 21.) the following translation of this. "Galli—"ambicum vocabatur, quod solutum est metrum; "Galli enim utpote morbo muliebri laborantes "inculpantur, quod Romanis corpora ad hoc (tanquam) "tributum persolverent," (It was called galliambic, because the metre is loose; for the Galli are accused as suffering from *feminine disease*, inasmuch as they used to pay their bodies to the Romans to this day as it were a tribute),—but without committing himself to any more precise explanation of the words. The meaning of the first two sentences is plain enough: The metre is called the galliambic, because it is loose, resolved, i. e. instead of long syllables short are used, and so the metres changed from masculine to feminine. Now the Galli are charged with practising **θήλεια νόσος** (*feminine disease*) (as *Homer*, *Odyssey* I. 368., says: ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἔχοντες—having, practising very audacious insolence). But what do the words that follow mean: **διὸ καὶ σώματα φόρον ἐτέλουν Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο**? The *tanquam* (as it were) added in the Latin translation shows that the translator took the sentence in a figurative sense. But what is the subject of the sentence? is it **σώματα** or **Γάλλοι** — **ἔχοντες**? The translator must necessarily have taken the latter as the subject: "wherefore they paid or offered up their bodies to the Romans as it were for tribute"; and this could imply nothing less than that the Galli

Commentators, notably Leonard Hotchkiss, M. A. edit. Th. Gaisford. New and enlarged edition). Leipzig 1832., ch. 12. p. 75.

gave themselves up to the Romans as Pathics. Now does the arrangement of the words admit of this? We think not; for in that case the Scholiast must needs have put *ἐαυτῶν* with *σώματα* or at any rate the article *τὰ*.

Therefore if we take the sentence literally and regard *σώματα* as being the subject, it reads: "wherefore also the bodies (of the Galli) were subject to tax to the Romans to this day." We have seen already how the word *τέλος* signified among the Greeks the "prostitution tax," and how the Septuagint translators rendered the Hebrew *קֶדֶשׁ* (Kêdeshah) and *קִדְשׁ* (Kâdesh), by which names the Priests of Cybelé were understood, by *τελεσφόρος* and *τελιόκομμος* (subject to tax, paying tax), how the Priests of Cybelé are characterised by other writers as men who were Pathics in honour of their goddess, and how as a matter of fact the *Cinaedi* or *Exoleti* at Rome in the time of the Emperor Severus had to pay an impost similar to the prostitution-tax. The *scholion* then shows us that the Galli also were subjected to this impost payable to the State. Were it a question merely of Castrated persons or indeed of anything else but actual Paederastia, the whole *scholion* would be unintelligible; yet *Stark* maintains that simply Eunuchs are intended, and this because of the words that are appended, to the effect that the Galli were Priests of Demeter. No doubt they may have been castrated, but this is a side issue; the important point is, that they were Pathics.

Finally we have still a passage from *Dio Chrysostom*¹ to mention, in which however the hitherto

¹ *Dio Chrysostom*, De Regno, Orat. IV. p. 76., Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθένης τε καὶ ἄτολμος ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους δαίμων ἐπὶ τε τὰς γυναικείας νόσους

καὶ ἄλλας αἰσχύνας, ὁπόσαις πρόσσει ξημία καὶ ὀνείδη, προσάγει θαδίως. — Ὁ δ' ἐκ μέσων ἀναβοάτων τῶν γυναικῶν, ὀξύτερον καὶ

almost stereotyped expression *θήλεια νόσος* (feminine disease) is exchanged for *γυναικεία νόσος* (womanly disease). The author is here expounding how all acts are under the governance of a definite Genius or Spirit, and says: "for a weakling and faint-hearted Spirit of this sort leads readily to the *γυναικεία νόσος* (womanly disease) and other shames, to which is attached punishment and disgrace." Then in the following sentences the life and appearance of one governed by this Spirit are more exactly described, in such a way that there can be no possibility of supposing anything else to be intended than the vice of the Pathic, and even *Stark* (p. 12.) admits this much.

On reviewing once again what has been said, we find that the Scythians in Asia became acquainted with paederastia, when Pathics returned from foreign lands, and henceforth practised the vice at home as well. Their fellow-countrymen could only suppose an evil demon animated them. So when at length as a natural result of their vice they fell sick in body and in mind, when nervous disorders and imbecility visited the unfortunates, they never for a moment ascribed this to the vice these men practised, but rather regarded their condition as a consequence of the avenging wrath of Venus, whose temple they had robbed, and thus brought into connection an earlier incident and a later.

When the Greek became acquainted with the vice,

ἀκρατέστερον· λευκὸς ἰδεῖν,
ἐντροφεὸς αἰθρίας καὶ
πόνων ἄπερος, ἀποκλίνων
τὸν τράχηλον, ὑγροῖς τοῖς
ὄμμασι, μάχλον ὑποβλέπων,
αἰετὸ σῶμα καταθεώμενος,
τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ οὐδὲν προσέχων,
οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς προσ-
τασσομένοις. (But that Spirit
which cries out from the midst
of women is something shriller

and more intemperate; he is
pale to look upon, wanton
and luxurious, incapable of
enduring open air or toil,
drooping the neck, with
liquorish eyes, casting stolen
glances of lewdness, ever
looking down upon the body,
but giving no thought to the
soul, nor the things beneath
its ordinance).

he of course shared at first the notion of the avenging action of a deity, but he directed his attention less to the consequences of this vice, which in Greece were generally slighter, than to the Vice itself, which robbed the man of his manly characteristics and normal activity, and drove him to take on him the rôle of the woman in exchange for that of the man. But to be a woman was invariably among all nations a disgrace for the man, whom *Plato* (*Timaeus* 42.) considered the γένος πρεῖττον (superior sex), while *Aristotle* not merely represents the woman as owing her existence to an ἀνάγκη (unavoidable necessity), but calls her an ἄρρεν πεπηρωμένον (crippled male), an ἀναπηρία φυσική (natural crippling), even a παρέκβασις τῆς φύσεως (aberration of nature)¹. But no man of sound intellect could possibly suffer himself to be used as a woman; therefore he must needs be sick, be afflicted with a disease that assimilated him to a woman (θηλεία—feminine). When *Herodotus* wrote, the Greeks to be sure knew the vice which was practised with boys (*Paederastia*) or youths, who had not yet reached man's estate, but these were always first corrupted by adults; they did not practise the vice of their own impulse and could not as a rule be held accountable. When however they saw adults, men who were already in possession of manly prerogatives, appear as Pathics—not merely boys and youths not yet capable of the procreative act,—they could in no way explain the phenomenon to their satisfaction except by supposing them to have been attacked by a disease that changed them into women². This also gives

¹ Comp. author's Work, *De Sexuali Organismorum Fabrica* (*Of the Sexual Conformation of Organisms*), Pt. I. Halle 1832. pp. 1—12., where these relations are brought out in detail, and referred back to anatomical reasons.

² We expressed an opinion above (p. 175.) that no grounds of excuse could be found for the Pathic; but we must here modify this so far as to admit that *Aristotle* imagines himself to have discovered such. In the *Problemata*, IV. 26., he

the reason why the expression *νοῦσος Θήλεια* (feminine disease) occurs so seldom in the Greek writers, for it was the violation of boys, not the

examines the question: *διὰ τί ἔνιοι ἀφροδισιαζόμενοι χαίρουσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἅμα δρῶντες, οἱ δ' οὐ;* (Why some men take pleasure in being loved, and of these some in performing the act also, but others not?), i.e. why some find a pleasure in suffering pederastia to be practised with them (the word *ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι* is found in this meaning possibly also in *Hippocrates*, edit. Kühn, Vol. III. pp. 680 and 574., where exactly such symptoms of a complaint are described as might serve for an explanation of the *ῥέγγχειν*—snorting (mentioned above), while either they exercise coition as men concurrently, or do not. As answer we read, to follow the translation given by *Th. Gaza*: An quod excrementis singulis locus determinatus a natura est, in quem instituto secerni naturali debeat, sollicitaque natura spiritus excurrens tumorem admovet, excrementumque una extrudere solet... His autem proxime genituram quoque in testes et penem deferri constitutum est. Quibus itaque meatus habitu suo naturali privantur, vel quia occaecati sunt qui ad penem tendant, quod spadonibus hisque similibus evenit

(οἷς δὲ οἱ πόροι μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀποτυφλωθῆναι τοὺς εἰς τὸ αἰδοῖον, ὅλον συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐνουχίαις), vel etiam aliis de causis, his talis humor in sedem confluit (εἰς τὴν ἔδραν σφῆρει ἢ τοιαύτην ἰκμας), quippe qui hac transmeare soleat, quod eius loci contractio in coeundo et partium sedi oppositarum consumptio incidant. Qui si admodum semine genitali abundant, excrementum illud large in eum locum se colligit; itaque cum excitata cupiditas est, attritum pars ea desiderat, in quam confluit excrementum. Cupiditas autem excitari tum a cibo tum imaginatione potest. Cum enim alterutra de causa libido commota est, spiritus eodem concurrat, et genus id excrementi confluit, quo secedere natum est... Quorum vera natura mollis et feninea est (οἱ δὲ φύσει θηλυδρῖαι) ita ii constant ut genitura vel nulla vel minima conveniat, quo illorum secernitur qui praediti natura integra sunt, sed se in partem sedis divertat; quod propterea evenit quia praeter naturae normam constiterunt. Cum enim mares crearentur, ita degenerarunt ut partem virilem mancam atque

violation of *men*, that was a familiar fact to them. For in the fact that the beautiful form of a boy was capable of firing a sensual longing to enjoy it,

oblaesam habere cogerentur,.... ita enim mulieres non viri crearentur. Ergo perverti citari-que aliorum, quam secernendum natura voluit, necesse est. Unde fit ut insatiabiles etiam sint modo mulierum (διὸ καὶ ἄπληστοι, ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες). Humor enim sollicitans ille exiguus est, nec quicquam se promere conatur, refrigeraturque celeriter. Quibus itaque sedem humor ex toto adiit, ii pati tantummodo avent, quibus autem in utramque partem sese dispertit, ii et agere et pati concupiunt (καὶ ὅσοις μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔδραν, οὗτοι πάσχειν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ὅσοις δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, οὗτοι καὶ δρᾶν καὶ πάσχειν), idque eo amplius quo tandem plenius fluxerit. Sed sunt quibus vel ex consuetudine affectus hic accidet (ἐνίοις δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐξ ἔθνους τὸ πάθος τοῦτο). Fit enim ut tam gestiant quam cum agunt, usque genituram nihilo minus ita emittere valeant. Ergo agere cupiunt, quibus haec ipsa usu evenerunt et consuetudo magis veluti in naturam iccirco illis evadit, quibus non ante pubem sed in ea vitium patiendi invaluit (ἐθισθῶσιν ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι), quoniam his recordatio rei, cum desi-

derant, oritur; una autem cum recordatione gestiens exsultat voluptas. Desiderant autem periude ac nati ad patiendum (ὥσπερ πεφυκότες, ἐπιθυμοῦσι πάσχειν) magna igitur parte vel ob consuetudinem rex exsistit sed si accadat ut idem et salax et mollis sit (λάγνος ὢν καὶ μαλακός) longe expeditius haec omnia evenire posse putandum est. (Is it because for each evacuation a particular locality has been fixed by nature, to which it must be secreted by the law of its being, and when effort occurs the spirit issuing out causes a swelling, and then pours out the evacuation along with it.—And similarly to these other secretions, the semen is naturally secreted to the testicles and private parts. And accordingly in the case of those in whom the passages are not in a natural state, either through those that lead to the private part being blocked as is the case with eunuchs and those similarly affected to eunuchs, or through some other circumstance, this sort of humour flows to the seat; for it passes that way, as is proved by the contraction of this part in the act of coition, and the wasting of the regions about the seat. Therefore

the Greek saw nothing at all unnatural; and he found excuses for the momentary forgetfulness of self-respect on the part of the pæderast, as he did

whenever men have an excess of lewdness, in their case it collects in this quarter, and so when desire is excited, that part where it accumulates desires friction. And desire may be excited either by food or mentally; for whenever it is stirred by any circumstance, the spirit runs to that spot, and the particular secretion flows to the particular quarter natural to it.—But such as are womanish by nature are so constituted that no secretion or only a little occurs in the quarter where the secretion takes place with such as are naturally constituted, but to this spot (the seat) instead. And the reason is they are not naturally constituted, for being males they are yet so framed that of necessity the manly part in them is maimed. Now maiming either destroys an organ completely, or produces perversion and deterioration; but here it cannot be the former; otherwise the patient would be a woman outright. Wherefore it follows that it is perverted and deteriorated, and the secretion of semen elsewhere directed. And for this cause they are insatiable, like women; for the humour is small in quantity, is not constrained to find an issue, and quickly cools. And those

in whom the secretion is to the seat, these desire passive pleasure only, but those in whom it is both to the seat and to the private parts, these desire both active and passive love; and to whichever part the secretion is greater, the more do they desire the corresponding kind of pleasure. Besides in some cases this occurs through habituation. Whichever act they do, a pleasurable feeling results, and so they emit semen correspondingly. Then they desire to do the act in which this most occurs, and thus this becomes in preference their custom, and a sort of second nature. Wherefore such as have been habituated to passive love not before puberty but about the time of puberty, because when they desire pleasure memory suggests what they must do, and on memory follows pleasure, acquire through habituation the desire for passive gratification just as if they were born to it. And if a man happen to be lewd and effeminate to begin with, all this results all the sooner).—In the Pathic then, according to Aristotle's view, the semen-vessels carry the semen not to the penis, but to the fundament, and set up there the feeling of desire and

in the case of the boy or youth. But if there had been seduction, then the offence was strongly reprobated, unless the Pathic had been a slave.

Neither bodily nor psychical consequences of the vice of the Pathic ever attained in Greece, as has been said, any very high degree of development; and most of the characteristic marks of the *Cinaedus* were regarded as artificial, worn half intentionally by him for show. Even in his peculiar gait, voice and look, the Greeks saw more an invitation to the perpetration of the vice than anything else; and if *Plato* denies to this class of persons the wish for natural coition, this is rather a sign how completely the vice mastered them than a proof of the annihilation of their power to procreate at all.

Even when positive diseases did actually occur in consequence of the vice, public opinion was far from ascribing these to the vice itself; nervous and mental affections were regarded as a punishment from the gods, or else they were treated according to their several symptoms without any examination into the original cause. Bodily ailments, especially if they did not affect the posterior or penis, were set down to any cause but the true one, often to quite ridiculous ones. The *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease) was invariably thought of merely as a form of vice dependent on a morbid imagination, while its consequences as such were left entirely out of consideration. *Nam neque ulla curatio corporis depellendae passionis causa recte putatur adhibenda, sed potius animus coercendus, qui tanta peccatorum labe vexatur*, (For the right opinion is this: no bodily treatment should be applied in order to expel the

sensual craving. These are the *born Pathics* (πεφνωότες), from whom he distinguishes the *seduced Pathics*, who indulge in the vice as the result of habituation (ἐξ ἔθους). This is the very same view

that we have already (p. 172. Note 3.) gathered from his *Ethics*, and which supports in the strongest way what we there made good as against *Stark*.

complaint, rather should the mind be disciplined that is vexed by so foul a stain of sinful indulgences), are the words of *Coelius Aurelianus* in the passage quoted on page 159.

From this it is evident the later enquirers quoted above could take the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease) for a purely mental affection, and be right in a sense,—but a sense that certainly never entered into their heads to consider. For they looked upon the intellectual imbecility that resulted from the vice of the Pathic as being the essence of the *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease), and the bodily derangements as merely secondary and dependent on the psychical disturbances. Thus to some extent they confounded cause and effect, putting one for the other; yet without hitting on the true explanation, against which the meritorious *Stark* has tried so hard not perhaps to shut his eyes, but rather to forcibly remove it in any possible way out of the range of his ideas. For this very reason it has pursued him from beginning to end of his investigations, and in spite of all his struggles has found at last a reluctant and partial recognition from him.

As to the remaining views cited above, no attentive reader surely needs any further confutation of these.

§ 20.

We have now, we think sufficiently, proved that *Herodotus* as well as the other writers who use the expression *νοῦσος θήλεια* (feminine disease), denoted by it merely a *Vice*, which lent a feminine character to the behaviour and indeed to the whole look and mode of life of a man, assimilating him equally in body and in mind to the woman. Throughout the enquiry we have kept our eyes fixed on the *cause* of this transformation; and we shall now find it easy to estimate the value of a passage of *Hippocrates*, originally brought forward by *Mercurialis* (loco citato,

p. 143. Note 10.) later by Zwingler¹ and others, but which Stark in particular has characterised as *a more complete delineation of the disease, merely pointed out and named νοῦσος θήλεια (feminine disease) by Herodotus*. On the other hand Bouhier specially and strenuously denies the identity of the two, yet without accurately recognising the true relationship.

Hippocrates in his well-known Work on *Air, Water and Environment*, describes the country of the Scythians as a bare but well-watered tableland, with so cold and damp a climate that a heavy mist covered the fields all day long and only a short summer was enjoyed. The inhabitants he says are arrogant, puffed up and exceedingly idle creatures, in outward look and mode of life having little distinctly marked characteristics of sex, the men having only very moderate desire for coition, and the women, whose menstruation is less frequent, possessing little capacity for conception. Then he goes on²: "Moreover there are very many men amongst the Scythians resembling Eunuchs (εὐνουχίαι); these not only follow women's occupations (show feminine inclinations, behave as women?—γυναιχεῖα ἐργάζονται) just like the women, but also bear a name signifying this, for such men are called No-men (ἀνανδρεῖς). The natives ascribe the cause to a deity; they are afraid of these men, and show them a slavish respect (προσκυνέουσι³), though each individual dreads such a fate for himself. It seems to me that affections of this sort may

¹ Hippocratis Coi XXII. Commentarii tabulis illustrati, (Hippocrates of Cos, The XXII Commentaries; illustrated with Plates). Bâle 1579. fol., p. 273.

² Hippocratis Opera (Hippocrates, Works), edit. Kahn., Vol. I. pp. 561—564.

³ For the use of this word,

compare *Lé'ronne*, Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire d'Egypte, (Researches with a view towards a History of Egypt), pp. 134, 148, 458; and what we have called attention to on an earlier page in *Hecker's Annalen* (Annals), Vol. XXVI. p. 143.

be said to have come from a deity to exactly the same degree as all other diseases,—no single one is more than any other in a sense of divine origin. Each one of them has its own peculiar nature, and nothing happens outside its nature. Now how these affections arise in my opinion, I will proceed to state. From constant riding they get *κέδματα*¹

¹ The word *κέδματα*, which probably is used in several senses, can scarcely in this case betoken anything else than varicose veins, and is according synonymous with *ιξίαι*, with which it also occurs in connection. It is interesting to find Aristotle also pronouncing those suffering from varicose veins incapable of generation; he writes in *Problemata*, Bk. IV. 20., *Διὰ τί αἱ ἰξίαι τοὺς ἔχοντας κωλύουσι γεννᾶν, καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὅ, τι ἂν ἔχη; ἢ ὅτι ἡ ἰξία γίνεται, μεταστάντος; διὸ καὶ ὠφελεῖ πρὸς τὰ μελαγχολικά* "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀφροδισιασμὸς μετὰ πνεύματος ἐξόδον. *Εἰ οὖν ὁδοποιεῖται ἡ ὁρμὴ γινομένου αὐτοῦ, οὐ ποιεῖ ὁρμᾶν τὸ σπέρμα, ἀλλὰ καταψύχεται μακρύνει οὖν τὴν συντονίαν τοῦ αἰδοίου.* (Why varicosities hinder those that have them from begetting, both men and of other animals all that are subject to them? is it because the varicosity arises, through a transference of spirit; for which reason also it is of use in case of melancholia. But the act of love also occurs

in conjunction with an outburst of spirit. If therefore the impulse is made at the time the varicosity is forming, it suffers not the seed to make a vigorous impulse, but it is quickly cooled; and so it wastes and destroys the tension of the private part). On the contrary according to *Problemata*, 31., the lame are lecherous: *διὰ τ' αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες λᾶγνοι καὶ οἱ χωλοὶ ἢ γὰρ τροφὴ ἀμφοτέροις. κάτω μὲν ὀλίγη, διὰ τὴν ἀναπηρίαν τῶν σκελῶν.* (And for the same reason birds are lecherous and lame men; because in both cases the nourishment downwards is slight, on account of the deficiency in the legs). In connection with *κέδματα* we must refer to *Foesius*, *Œconomia Hippocratis*, *Coray*, loco citato p. 339 sqq., and *Stark*, loco citato Note 20., and observe that like the Latin *ruptura* and the English *rupture* it appears to specially signify swellings due to distension and subsequent bursting. That swellings of the groin are a result of long-continued riding, we see also from *Livy*, *Hist.* bk. XLV. ch. 39., where

(varicose dilatations), because their feet always hang away from the horse. Hence they become lame, and get, those that are seriously ill, ulcers on the hips (in the region of the *ischium*, festering of the *cotyla* or joint-socket? ¹). Then they treat themselves with a view to cure in the following fashion. So soon as the complaint breaks out, they open their veins on either side of the ear; then when the blood has flowed, they fall asleep from weakness, and go on sleeping till they wake, some of them cured and some of them not. But it appears to me that by such a treatment they ruin themselves ². For there

M. Servilius says: *tumorem hunc inguinum in equo dies noctesque persedendo habeo* (this swelling of the groin I have owing to sitting my horse nights and days on end). Comp. *Plutarch*, In *Aemil.*, Vol. II. p. 308.

¹ ἔλκοντα τὰ ἰσχία (they are ulcerated on the hip-joints) is found in the text. But the meaning of both words is disputed, and by no means fixed so far. With regard to ἰσχία—we must primarily understand the mass of muscle at the lower exterior portion of the “*os ilium*”, secondly the whole seat, and the joint-socket (*cotyla*) of the upper thigh. This is the interpretation of the *Etymologicum Magnum*: ἰσχία, ὅτι ἰσχει τοὺς καθήμενους· σημαίνει δὲ ἰσχίον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ὀσφύν ὀστέον, εἰς δ' ἐγκείται τὸ ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν, ὅπερ καὶ γλοντὸς καλεῖται, καὶ κοτύλη, παρὰ τὴν κοιλότητά· ἢ τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ γλοντοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἡ κοτύλη στρέφεται. (ἰσχία,—

so called because supporting (ἰσχεῖν) those who sit; also ἰσχίον signifies the bone below, the loin, on which rests the *os sacrum*, which is also called γλοντός (rump), and also κοτύλη (joint-socket) in reference to its hollowness; or else the hollow of the rump, in which the joint-socket turns). Similar is the explanation of *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Zonaras*, the Scholiast on *Homer*, *Iliad*, V. 305, and on *Theocritus*, VI. 30. The general context shows that the meaning of “Joint-socket” is evidently to be preferred here.

² The word διαφθείρεσθαι (ruin themselves) in the text is undoubtedly written by the author with reference to the ἀνανδρία (unmanliness). Still it is surprising that what is here pointed out as injurious is in the *Epidem.* bk. VI. edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 609. recommended as salutary. The expression there is: κεδμάτων τὰς ἐν τοῖσιν ὥσιν ὑπασθεν φλίβας σκάζειν (in cases of

lie near the ears certain veins, and when these are severed, the men so cut become seedless (unfruitful); and it is these veins that, *as I think*, they sever.

varicose dilatations to open the veins that are behind in the ears). *Palladius* in his Commentary on this passage (edit. Dietz. Vol. II. p. 143.) declares the whole sentence wrong, writing: Πᾶς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ψευδής· κέδμα γάρ ἐστι διάθesis τις περὶ τὴν λαγόνα, ἢ φλεγμονή ἢ ξευματική διάθesis· φησὶν οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διαθέσει τέμνων τὰς ὀπισθεν φλέβας ὠφελήσεις· καὶ ποία συγγένεια τῆς λαγόνος καὶ τῶν ὠτων, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγγείων λεπτῶν ὕντων, καὶ τριχοειδῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον κενῶσαι δυναμένων; (*All this sentence is wrong*; for κέδμα is really a certain condition of the parts about the flank, either inflammation or rheumatic condition. Now they say that in this condition, by cutting the veins behind, you will do good; but what connexion is there between the flank and the ears, and especially as the vessels there are small, and like hairs, and not able to void any considerable quantity?).—Not a word is said here about the practice among the Scythians; are we to suppose *Palladius* was ignorant of the fact? Also in the “*De Natura Ossium*” (Of the Nature of Bones), (edit. Kühn, I. p. 508.) we find the operation recom-

mended in pains of the hips, testicles, knees and knuckles; and according to a passage in the “*De Morbis*” (Of Diseases), bk. II. (edit. Kühn, bk. II. p. 223.) these veins should be seared, until they cease to pulsate. (On the other hand in the “*De Genitura*” (Of Generation), (edit. Kühn, I. p. 373.) and the “*De Locis in Homine*” (Of certain Localities in the Body), edit. Kühn, II. p. 106.) incapacity for generation is represented as a consequence of blood-letting from these vessels. We leave to others the task of drawing the necessary conclusions in view of the unanimity of the Authors of the books named, and merely observe further that *Dr. Paris* (Roux Journ. de Med., Vol. XLIV. p. 355., *Murray*, Med. Pract. Bibliothek., Vol. III. p. 293.) while giving some observations on the diseases of the Turks, relates as following: Almost every Armenian, Greek, Jew, Turk, has a seton, and they abuse cupping to an equal extent. For a simple head-ache, they allow the first barber they come across to put a bandage round their throat, in order to retain the blood, and then with a razor make sundry cuts round about the ears, for then as much blood flows away, and without risk, as would fill a phial.

But when subsequently they approach women, and find themselves in no condition to use them (to consummate coition with them), at the first they are not discouraged, but keep quiet. However later, after they have tried twice, three times, or oftener, with no better success, they believe themselves to have sinned against the deity, whom they hold to be to blame, put on a woman's frock, and acknowledge their unmanliness (*ἀνανδρίην*), behave as women, and in company with the women perform the same tasks as they do. The like of this however happens only to the rich Scythians, not to the poor, in fact to the nobler classes and such as have attained to some considerable wealth, to a smaller degree to those of lesser position, because these latter do not ride.

But surely the complaint, since it is above all others of divine origin, must attack not solely the noblest and richest Scythians, but all equally,—or even to a greater extent those who possess little, and therefore fail to make offerings; if that is to say the gods take pleasure in (active) veneration on the part of men and see that they win a due return for it¹. For naturally the rich offer much to the

¹ In the text of Froesius it stands: *καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖσιν ὀλίγα κεκτημένοισιν, οἱ τιμωμένοισιν ἢ δὲ, εἰ χαίρουσιν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ θανυμαζόμενοι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, κ. τ. λ.* (to a greater extent those who possess little and therefore fail to make offerings; if that is to say the gods take pleasure in being venerated by men, etc). *Coray* has emended this into *εἰ δὲ τιμώμενοι χαίρουσι* (if that is to say the gods take pleasure in being honoured and venerated), on the grounds that *τιμᾶν*

and *θανυμάζειν* (to honour, to venerate) are frequently used in conjunction with one another to express the veneration of the gods, which fact he confirms by passages from *Euripides* and *Aristophanes*. Yet this emendation can scarcely be right, even though *de Mercy* has also adopted it. The latest editor, Prof. Petersen of Hamburg, a professed Philologist, has undoubtedly maintained not without weighty reasons the old reading, noting *Coray's* conjecture in the notes. Indeed neither is the old read-

gods, bring correspondingly great contributions from their goods as marks of their veneration; but the poor less, because they possess nothing. Then are these discontented, because they have given them no wealth; so that those who possess little suffer more of the punishments for such faults than the rich. But as a matter of fact, as I have said before, these things come from the deity to just the same degree as the others; for everything happens in accordance with nature, and so does this affection arise among the Scythians from the original cause I have pointed out. Now it is precisely the same among the rest of mankind; where riding is practised most and most continuously, there very many suffer from *κίδματα* (varicose dilatations), hip and foot

ing altogether correct, but can be easily restored, we think, if the words, as has already been done in our translation above, are read in the following way: οὐ τιμωμένοισιν' εἰ δὲ χαίρουσιν οἱ θεοὶ θαυμάζομενοι,—a way of taking it that *Coray* had already seen to be possible, only that he preferred to read instead of οὐ τιμωμένοισιν, — ἢ τοῖσι τιμωμένοισιν, because he does not think that the words can refer at all to the poorer Scythians, as did *Cornarius* before him, though he translates quite correctly: "It affected to a greater extent poorer men, as being more negligent concerning the worship of the gods." *Foesius* translates: "and they do not pay honour." In fact *Coray's* chief difficulty was as to the active meaning of *τιμωμένοισι* (i.e. "paying honour", not "being honoured"); but

this use is by no means so rare, and exactly in this sense of veneration paid to the gods by men is found in *Homer*, *Od.* XIX. 280, where we read of the Phaeacians on the occasion of *Odysseus's* landing:

οἳ δὲ μιν περὶ κῆρι θεῶν
ὥς τιμῶσαντο.

(Now they honoured him from their heart as if he had been a god). The whole sense of the passage requires us to refer the words οὐ τιμωμένοισιν to the poorer Scythians, who possess little, and therefore can offer nothing to the gods, and also do not wish to do so, as is clearly shown in what follows; and it is exactly for this reason that *Hippocrates* says, then they ought to suffer more from the disease than the rich, if the gods practised any system of equivalent returns.

affections, and accomplish coition very badly (are only slightly disposed to coition). And this is the case with the Scythians, and they are of all men most like eunuchs, for the following reasons: Because they always wear trousers, and besides that pass the greatest part of their time on horseback, so that they cannot touch the genitals with the hand, through cold and lassitude forget the desire for coition and coition itself, and (in their senseless infatuation) think of nothing else but how to resign their manly privilege¹. This is an account of how it is with the stock of the Scythians."

¹ Ταῦτα δὲ τοιοῖς τε Σκύθησι πρόσσεσι, καὶ εὐνοχοειδέστατοι εἰσι ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὰς προφάσις, καὶ ὅτι ἀναξυρίδας ἔχουσι αἰὲ καὶ εἰσι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου, ὥστε μήτε χειρὶ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ αἰδοίου, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ψύχεος καὶ τοῦ κόπου ἐπιλήθεσθαι τοῦ ἡμέρου καὶ τῆς μίξις, καὶ μηδὲν παρακινέειν πρότερον ἢ ἀνανδρωθῆναι. for translation see text above: "And this is the case, to resign their manly privilege." We have it is true translated according to the text, yet we cannot possibly take this as being uncorrupted, but without for the moment being in a position to offer a complete emendation of it. The sequence of thought, if we are not altogether in error, is this: The Scythians ride *continually*, which of its self weakens their power of generation and desire for coition, then besides

this they wear trousers, a thing that particularly struck the Greek because he did not use them himself. These trousers were so tight, that the wearer could not get at the genitals with his hand; again the genitals lay close to the body, did not hang down, could not be set in motion; at the same time they were also protected against the wind, so that no cooling process could take place; the idle repose and the constantly heightened temperature in combination weakened the genitals to such a degree that the impulse to coition was at last totally lost. Views which entirely agree with our experience of the present day, and indeed were by *Faust*, as is notorious, exaggerated almost to caricature. Now if Hippocrates has expressed, as is likely enough, these views in the words ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ψύχεος καὶ τοῦ κόπου (under the influence of cold and lassitude), the text must be corrupt, and

Now if we separate the facts which are brought forward in this passage of Hippocrates from his attempted explanations, there can be no doubt that the same thing is in question here as that which

this is what we wish to insist on. For if by the words we understand frost and lassitude, then the first at any rate is impossible; how could the Scythians suffer from frost, when they wore trousers! Then the cooling process spoken of just now must be intended by ψύχος (cold)! But if κόπος (striking, beating, so weariness, lassitude) is understood literally, in accordance with its derivation from κόπτω (to strike), in the sense of blows, shocks, and taken as referring to the genitals, especially the testicles, a negative and a verb must have been lost from the text, and this appears to us too the most probable explanation, though at the time we cannot say what verb. The matter would be at once decided, if we could translate: "so that they could not put the hand to the genitals, and since these were encountered neither by the cooling wind, nor yet by the shock (against the horse's back or the saddle), they forgot the desire for coition and coition itself, i.e. the genitals being neither fortified by the cold nor yet set in motion, do not remind the Scythians of the fact that they have such organs and must use them. The movement (κίνησις)

in riding is at any rate regarded as early as Aristotle (Probl. bk. IV. 12.) as cause of the greater lasciviousness of those who ride. He asks: Quare qui equitant, libidinosiores evadunt? An caloris agitationisque causa eodem afficiuntur modo, quo per coitum. Quocirca aetatis quoque accessione membra genitalia contrectata agitataque plenius augentur, quod igitur semper eo utuntur motu qui equitant, hinc fluctiore corpore praeeparatoque ad concumbendum evadunt. (Why those who ride come to be more lascivious? It is that on account of the heat and movement they are affected in the same way as by coition? Wherefore as age also advances, the genital organs being handled and moved more, are the more increased in size, so therefore because those who ride use the same movement, hence they come to be of a more fluid body and one ready prepared for sexual intercourse). In Probl. 24. he is investigating the causes of the erection of the penis, and says διὰ τε τὸ βάρος ἐπιγίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑπισθίεν τῶν ὄρχεων αἰρεσθαι (now it is on account of the increase of weight in the hinder part of the testicles that it is raised). Comp. Probl. 25.

Herodotus describes. There are men amongst the Scythians who behave as women, speak as women, perform women's work and keep with the women, and their condition the Scythians consider as something sent by the deity, and for this reason honour and fear these men. All the rest is part of the attempted explanations of the author, who brings together every possible consideration in order to discover a natural cause of the phenomenon, leaving utterly and entirely unrecognized all the time the most natural cause of all. This of course was due to no other reason except that it was *unknown* to him, and that he was acquainted with the circumstances not from his own observation, but only from hearsay. This is a conjecture which *Heyne* (*loco citato*) had already made in his time, but which has met with many opponents, yet without the argument having ever been properly brought to the test of the evidence. In favour of Heyne's view a passage from the book *περὶ ἄρθρων* (On Joints) ¹ might be cited, in which

Continual riding naturally stimulates the impulse, wherefore the Scythians are the first in later times to become *ἀνάνδριες* (unmanly), and this sooner than other riding nations because they wore trousers. However those who are better informed must decide the point!—Finally that in any case *ἀνανδρωθῆναι* (to be made unmanly) and not *ἀνδρωθῆναι* (to be made manly) must be read, any one who considers the passage at all carefully must easily see. *Coray's* lucubration cannot for a moment convince us.

¹ Edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 218., *μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες ὅτι οἱ Ἀμαζονίδες τὸ*

ἄρσεν γένος τὸ ἐωντῶν αὐτίκα νήπιον ἰὸν ἐξαρθρέουσιν, αἱ μὲν κατὰ γούνατα, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἰσχία, ὡς δὴθεν χωλὰ γίνοιτο καὶ μὴ ἐπιβουλεύει τὸ ἄρσεν γένος τῷ θήλει χειρῶναξιν ἄρα τούτοιςι χρέονται, ὁκόσῃ ἢ σκυτίης ἔργα ἢ χαλκείης ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐδραῖον ἔργον· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀληθεῖα ταῦτα ἐστί, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα. (Now some relate the myth that the Amazons dislocate the male sex of their off spring while still quite young, some doing it at the knees, some at the hips, with the avowed object of laming them, and so the male sex does not rise in revolt against the female;

the limping of the men of the Amazons in consequence of the dislocation of the limbs is clearly declared to be an unauthenticated myth; for which reason *Gruner*¹ denied Hippocrates' authorship of this work in opposition to the general witness of Antiquity.

But really and truly we are as well without the passage; for if what he relates were the result of his own observation, how could the author write in connexion with his remark that the Scythians bled themselves behind the ears, *ταύτας τοίνυν μοι δοκέουσι τὰς φλέβας ἐπιτάμνειν* (now these are the veins, *as it seems to me*, that they cut)? Is the actual fact possibly, that all these attempted explanations flowed from the pen of some later, or of several later, writers? At any rate for ourselves, we have never yet been able to get rid of a suspicion to that effect. But be this as it may, so much at least is certain, as was stated above; viz. that the Author was unacquainted with the actual cause of attempts to explain it, probably from misunderstanding

then they employ them as handicraftsmen, for such tasks as shoe-making or brassworking or other sedentary occupations. *But whether this tale is true, I do not know*). *Gardeil* also in a work that is not often met with in Germany, his "Traduction des œuvres médicales d'Hippocrate, sur le texte grec, d'après l'édition de Foes". (Translation of the Medical Works of Hippocrates,—from the Greek text of Foesius' edition.), Vol. I. Toulouse 1801. large 8vo., p. 162., says: "On pourroit induire d'un endroit du traité des articles, à la fin du numéro 38 (27), que ce qu' Hippocrate rapporte ici concernant les

Scythes, et ce qu'il a dit ci-dessus, numéro 23, au sujet des Sarmates *ne lui étoit connu que par une tradition dont il n'étoit pas bien assuré*." (It might be inferred from a passage in the *Treatise on Joints*, at the end of no. 38 (27), that what Hippocrates relates here concerning the Scythians, and what he had said in a previous passage, no. 23, of the Sarmatians, *was known to him only by a tradition, the authenticity of which he was not well assured of*).

¹ "Censura Librorum Hippocraticorum", (Criticism of the Works of Hippocrates), p. 181.

the effemination of the Scythians, and that all of the words *ἀνανδρίες* and *εὐνουνκίαι* (unmanly, eunuchlike), aim at referring the loss of the generative power, i.e. *ἀνανδρία* in its strict sense, to some natural reason, while the effemination is looked upon merely as a secondary circumstance.

That Hippocrates was not, any more than the later Physicians of antiquity, fully and exactly acquainted with the consequences of the vice of the Pathic as affecting the body, we see from the following passage, appearing in an exceedingly corrupt form in the text of Foësius¹: *εὐνοῦχος ἐκ κυνηγεσίας καὶ διαδρομῆς ὑδραγωγὸς γίνεται ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ἐλεαλκίους κρήνην ὁ περὶ τὰ ἑξ ἔτεα ἱπποῦρὸν τε καὶ βουβῶνα καὶ ἱξιν καὶ κέδματα ὁ τὸν κενεῶνα φθινῆσας ἑβδομαίος ἀπέθανεν, προπιούντων ἄπεπτον, ἄλμυρά μετὰ μέλιτος πορνείῃ ἄχρωμος δυσεντερίης ἄκος.* (a eunuch by hunting or running becomes dropsical; he that is beside the fountain of Elealces; he that about six years [suffered from] „horse-tail” [a disease of the groin due to too much riding], swelling of the groin, *varicocele* and dilatations; he that was sick in the *flank* died the seventh day, when they were about to administer a raw drink, salt liquid with honey; inordinate fornication is a cure for dysentery.??) All editors of Hippocrates have been especially scandalized by the connection in which *πορνείῃ ἄχρωμος* (inordinate fornication) stands in this passage; only Foësius defended it, referring to other passages in *Ætius*² and *Paul of Aegina*³, in which coition is recommended in chronic

¹ Epidem., bk. VII. end, edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 705. Comp, Papst, Allg. med. Zeitung. Altenburg Jahrg. 1838. No. 60. pp. 950—952., where we have already at an earlier date developed our views on this passage.

² Bk. III. ch. 8., τὰς διάρροίας χρονίους ἔστιν ὅτε

ξηραίνει τὰ ἀφροδίσια, (On occasion indulgence in love dries up chronic diarrhoeas).

³ Bk. I. ch. 35., τῶν κεχρονισμένων διάρροϊαν τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐπιξηραίνουσι, (Indulgences in love dry up diarrhoea in the case of chronic sufferers).

diarrhoea as drying up the humours. This he might equally well have established from Hippocrates himself, for the latter says (Epidem. bk. VI. sect. 5. note 29.), *λαγνεία τῶν ἀπὸ φλέγματος τούτων ὠφέλιμον* (lasciviousness is advantageous in diseases that arise from phlegm) and (note 26.), *μίξις τὰ κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα σκληρύνει* (sexual intercourse hardens the contents of the belly¹). However this holds good only of the man who performs coition, inasmuch as the effusion of semen compels the body to supply what is lost, and this can only be done at the cost of other secretions, and so must stop the flow of any morbid secretions as well to a greater or less degree. But the question here is not of the coition the man performs, but of that which he suffers another to perform on him, in fact the vice of the Pathic, as the word (fornication) clearly shows; and that Pathics have habitually a pallid complexion has been already mentioned (p. 144).

To bring some sort of sense into the passage quoted above, *Mercurialis* would read *πόρνην ὡς ἄχρωμος* (like a shameless harlot), *Dacier* *πορνείᾳ ἄχρωμον ἄκος*, (fornication is a shameless remedy...) and *Richard Mead* *προῖφοῖ ἄχρωμος* (an inordinate effusion). But *Triller*² was the first to come to the conclusion that the words were in the wrong order, and emends the sentence thus: *ὁ τὸν αἰῶνα φθινύσας, πορνείᾳ ἄχρωμος, ἐβδομαίος ἀπέθανεν, προϊόντων ἀπέπτων. Ἀλμυρὰ μετὰ*

¹ In Epidem. bk. V. edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 574. it is related that the nasal catarrh of Timochares disappeared (ἀφροδισιάσαντι ἐξηράνθη)—was dried up after he had indulged in love) after coition (Paederastia? p. 209. Note 1.); and this is repeated again in bk. VII. p. 680.) Comp. *Palladius*, Schol. in Epidem.

bk. VI. edit. *Diez.*, Vol. II. pp. 143, 145. *Marsilius Cagnatus* in *Gruter's* Lampas, Vol. III. Pt. 2. p. 470.

² Progr. de sordidis et lascivis remediis antidysentericis vitandis, (Graduation Essay on Avoiding filthy and licentious Remedies as against Dysentery), pp. 10 sqq.

μέλιτος δυσεντερίης ἄκος, (he that destroyed his life and vigour, being inordinate in fornication, died on the seventh day, undigested matters coming from him. Salt drinks with honey are a remedy for dysentery). This certainly makes it more readable, particularly if **πορνείη ἄχρωμος** is put *before* **ὁ τὸν αἰῶνα**, inasmuch as the pallid complexion was undoubtedly a forerunner of phthisis. His reasons, which we beg the reader to peruse for himself in the author's work, are at any rate to us so convincing that we do not hesitate a moment to adopt his emendations. These have unfortunately hitherto gone entirely unnoticed; for *Grimm*, who appears to have taken no exception to the passage generally, has translated entirely in accordance with the old text, and not added any note at all. The same is the case with *Lilienhain*, who has more recently gone over the same ground again; though both have restored instead of **κενεῶνα** (belly) **αἰῶνα** (life) previously conjectured by *Foesius*.

Granted that by these means the last sentence is made intelligible, and justice done Hippocrates by no longer making him recommend coition as a remedy against dysentery, still the preceding sentence likewise stands in need of correction. For **ἰξιν** obviously **ἰξίαν** or **ἰξίας** (varicosities) must be read, which indeed was done by former translators, and long ago suggested by *Foesius*; but as to **ἰπποῦντιν**, no sufficient account has ever yet been given by any editor. The word appears to us to be corrupt, and to have got into the text owing to the fact that in the Manuscript, instead of **προποιούντων**,—which indeed no single Codex has, the majority reading **ὑποποιούντων**, there stood in the next line **ὑποπορῶντων**, **ὑπορῶνόντων** or **ὑπορῶνόντων**. *Cornarius* read, **περὶ ἕξ ἔτεα ἐξ ἰππασίης βουβῶνα, ἰξίας, κ. τ. λ.** (for about six years, in consequence of riding, inguinal swellings, varicosities, etc.), but without assigning his reasons; in all probability however he made this conjecture, which

does not commend itself at any rate to us, with the passage about the Scythians in his mind's eye.

But we can only arrive at a probable emendation on the condition that we correctly estimate the sequence of the sentences as a whole. If we are not greatly mistaken, it is as follows: First of all the question is of a Eunuch who became dropsical; then in connection with this, the *rest* is added applying to *another Eunuch*. In the Book *περὶ γονῆς* (Of the Seed), (Vol. I. p. 273. K.) we read: οἱ δὲ εὐνοῦχοι διὰ ταῦτα οὐ λαγνεύουσιν, ὅτι σφέων ἡ δίοδος ἀμαλδύνεται τῆς γονῆς — αὕτη δὲ ἡ δίοδος ὑπὸ τῆς τομῆς οὐλῆς γενομένης στερεῇ γέγονεν. (Now Eunuchs are not lascivious, because in them the passage of the seed is wasted away, ... and this passage has become hardened by the wound where they were cut getting *skinned over but festering within*). Now we might well be tempted to read in the text: ὁ περὶ τὰ ἕξ ἔτεα ὑπὸ τῆς τομῆς οὐλῆς καὶ βουβῶνα, that is to say, the man suffered for six years in consequence of the skinning over of the cut from swelling in the groin, etc. However this could hardly be justified, and we think it much better to join ὑπὸ and οὐλῆς, and either to read ὕπουλος, ὕπουλως or ὕπουλῃν περὶ τὰ βουβῶνα, that is, he had had for six years festering places in the inguinal region,—which idea possibly Calvus may have had in his mind, or else ὕπουλῃν τε καὶ βουβῶνας, he had had for six years festering places (fistulas), inguinal swellings, etc., or finally, what might seem the best of all, ὕπουλον βουβῶνα, a festering inguinal region ². In the *De morbis mulierum*,

¹ *Suidas* writes: ὕπουλος — ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν, τῶν ἐχόντων οὐλὰς ὑγιεῖς ἐπιπουλαίως, ἐνδοθεν δὲ σηπεδόνως παύει. — ὕπουλα γόνατα καὶ ὕπουλον πόδα καὶ ὕπουλον χεῖρα καὶ σῶμα· τὸ

φλεγμαῖνον διὰ τινος πληγῆς καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀρίστασθαι ὕν· Κρατῖνος· ὕπουλα ἑλκη· τὰ κρυπτά. — *Hesychius*: ὕπουλα δὲ λέγεται τὰ μὴ φανερά τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἑλκη. ὕπουλος — applied to wounds, those

(On the Diseases of Women), bk. I., edit. Kühn, Vol. II. 680. we read, *ὀδὸν ἔχει καὶ τὰς ἰξύας καὶ τοὺς κενεῶνας καὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας* (pain holds both the loins and belly and the inguinal regions),—so we might perhaps similarly read here, *ὑπουλον (ἔχει) καὶ βουβῶνα καὶ ἰξύα καὶ κενεῶνα καὶ κέδματα, πορνείῃ ἄχρωμος, ὠθινήσας κ. τ. λ.* (he has in a festering condition both inguinal region and loin and belly and also varicosities, being inordinate in fornication, in pain etc.), which would give *κέδματα* the meaning of *Varices* (varicosities), and the sense of the whole passage would then be as follows: “A Eunuch in consequence of hunting and running became dropsical; another at the fountain of Elealces, who for six years had had festering (fistulous) ulcers in the inguinal region, the loins and in the region of the *os sacrum*, as well as varicosities, had grown pallid and suffered wasting through indulgence in the vice of the pathic, died, after making involuntary evacuations, to counteract which he had taken salt with honey, a usual remedy against dysentery, on the seventh day.”

Be this as it may, at any rate it is shown very distinctly by the passage that its author was but very slightly acquainted with the consequences resulting from the vice of the Pathic, for he ascribes to it

that have healthy scars on the surface, but underneath offensive putrefactions,—said of the knees, or foot, or hand, or body; the part that is highly inflamed in consequence of blows and is near breaking. Cratinus gives: *ὑποβλά* wounds, i.e. hidden ones.—*Hesychius*: *ὑποβλά* is said of wounds that are not manifest to the eye.—The word *ὑπαφρον* (frothy beneath), which is found in Hippocrates, *De Arte*, Vol. I. p. 17.

K., instead of which the MSS. also have *ὑπόρροον* (liquid underneath), and *Schneider* in his *Lexicon* wished to read *ὑπόφρον* (bearing underneath), *Hesychius* explains as *τὸ μὴ φανερὸν κρύφιον καὶ ὑποβλον* (that which is not visible, concealed and festering underneath).—Ought we to read for *καὶ ἔειν* perhaps *κατ' ἔειν*? Comp. *Erotian*, *Glossary to Hippocrates*, edit. *Franz*, p. 322.

nothing but the pallidness of complexion, whereas the whole series of morbid symptoms might very well have been due to it (Comp. p. 180.). Certainly the Author is to be excused, for as a rule the bodily consequences resulting from the vice of the Pathic were in Greece very slight and of rare occurrence, neither did the vice in that country reach anything like such a height. Again among the pastoral Scythians, whose racial character in other respects was but little marked, the local bodily consequences fell rather into the background, while the assimilation of the whole person to the female type occurred the more readily; but at the same time stood out all the more glaringly conspicuous to the eyes of a foreign observer, as he had noted nothing to correspond at home. Thus it was easy for him to be misled in considering the marvellous phenomenon into forgetting its real origin, which no doubt was, in seeming, somewhat remote; and was apt to think of any other cause rather than the vice of the pathic, the consequences of which even distinguished Physicians of more modern times failed adequately to appreciate. Is it for us to throw a stone on these grounds at Hippocrates and his contemporaries?

In confirmation of our view as to the *ροῦσοῦ θήλεια* (feminine disease) we might further cite from more modern times the examples given by *Reineggs* and *J. von Potocki* in the case of the Mongolian race of the Nogay, and by the older Historians of America, particularly in connection with Florida and Mexico. Notoriously down to the present day Paederastia is in Asia one of the common vices, while as to America some reporters when speaking of the Men-women and Hermaphrodites of that Continent, expressly state that they indulged in the vice. But as the original Authorities are not accessible to us, we can only refer to *Heyne*, loco citato, p. 41. and *Stark*, loco citato, pp. 29 and 31., especially as without this the subject has already occupied overmuch space. Still we trust the less blame may

attach to us on this account from the fact that so distinguished a scholar as *Stark*, whose conclusions even professed Philologists have endorsed, may naturally claim of a younger enquirer in the same field who challenges his views, not mere general phrases, but the most complete and satisfactory reasons possible. This much merit we trust he cannot deny us!

Irrumation and Fellation.

(*Irrumare, Fellare*).

VERY much more abominable and repulsive still is the habit of Irrumation¹ (*penem in os arrigere est irrumare*—to erect the *penis* and insert it into the mouth of another person) and the practice of the

¹ *Festus*, p. 135., says: *Rumen* est pars colli, qua esca devoratur (The *rumen*, or gullet, is that part of the neck, where food is swallowed). *Nonius*, p. 18.: *rumen* dicitur locus in ventre, quo cibus sumitur et unde redditur (rumen was applied to the locality in the belly to which food is taken in and from which it is given back).—*Isidore*, Etymolog. bk. XII. 37., *Ruminatio* autem dicta est a *ruma*, eminente gutturis parte, per quam dimissus cibus a certis animalibus revocatur (Now rumination is so called from the *ruma*, or gullet, the upper portion of the throat,

by which food after being swallowed is brought up again by certain animals). It is true *Varro* gives another explanation: *ruminare* propter *rumam*, id est prisco vocabulo mammam (to ruminate so called on account of the *ruma*, that is in old Latin the breast); and so one might equally well understand by *irrumare* the custom of voluptuaries, one that is still practised, of employing the space between the bosoms as *vagina*. At any rate *Dr. Hacker* of Leipzig assured the author he had on several occasions observed cases where prostitutes had chancrous swellings between

*Fellator*¹ (*si quis vel labris vel lingua perfricandi atque exsugendi officium peni praestat*—one who with the lips or the tongue performs the office of rubbing and sucking another's *penis*). This the Greeks called *λεσβιάζειν* (to follow the Lesbian mode), because the vice was especially practised by the Lesbian women, though in common with all others of the sort it came originally from Asia. *Lucian* in his *Pseudologista*², in which he severely criticizes the the dissolute Timarchus, who had taken the expression *ἀποφράς* (unmentionable) in ill part, says: "By the gods, what should make you fly into a passion, since it is a matter of common report that you are a *Fellator* and a *Cunnilingus*³. Are you

the bosoms, as well as under the arm-pits,—for these also are employed with the same object.—Does *ruma* possibly stand for *rima* (a chink)? In any case we should compare what *Suidas* gives under the words *ῥῦμα*, *ῥῦμη* and *ῥῦματα*. Synonyms are *comprimere linguam*, *buccam offendere*, etc. (to compress the tongue, to hit against the cheek).

¹ The etymology of *fellare* is still obscure. *Vossius*, *Etymolog.*, derives it from the Æolic *φηλᾶν* for *θηλᾶν* and *θηλάζειν*, to suck the breasts. *Pliny*, *Hist. Nat.* bk. XI. 65., says of the tongue of cats: *imbricatae asperitatis ac limae similis, attenuansque lambendo cutem hominis* (of a ridged roughness of surface, like a file, capable of wearing through the human skin by licking). The meanings which *Suidas* gives under *φελλά*,

etc. would seem to point to an old stem *φέλλω*,—to roughen, to file.

² *Lucian*, *Works*, edit. Lehmann, Vol. VIII. pp. 56—84.

³ *πρὸς Θεῶν*, εἰπέ μοι, τί πάσχεις, ἐπειδὴν κάκεινα λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, λεσβιάζειν σε καὶ φοινικίζειν; (for translation see text above); as to *φοινικίζειν*, this will be discussed later on. The word *λεσβιάζειν* occurs in *Aristophanes*, *Frogs* 1335; and he also uses *λεσβιεῖν* in the same sense, *Wasps*, 1386., *μέλλουσαν ἤδη λεσβιεῖν τοὺς ξυμπότας* (a girl standing ready to *λεσβιεῖν*—love in the Lesbian mode,—the revellers). On this passage the Scholiast remarks: *ἵνα μὴ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦτο καὶ θρυλλούμενον δι' ἡμετέρων στομάτων εἴπω σόφισμα, ὃ φασι παῖδας λεσβίων εὐρεῖν*. (this ancient

as much in the dark as to the meaning of these words as you are about that of ἀποφράς (unmentionable)? and do you take them for titles of honour? Or is it that you are now accustomed to them, but not to

trick, a matter of common gossip to any in our mouths, which they say the children of the Lesbians invented).—*Suidas* s. v. Λεσβίαι· μολύναι τὸ στόμα. Λέσβιοι γὰρ δεβάλλοντο ἐπὶ αἰσχρότητι. (under the word Λεσβίαι—Lesbian women, to defile the mouth. For the Lesbians were reproached for foulness). *Hesychius*: λεσβιάζειν πρὸς ἄνδρα στόμα στύνειν. Λεσβιάδας γὰς τὰς λαιकाστρίας ἔλεγον. (to play the Lesbian; to use the mouth to a man for an obscene purpose. For they used to call wanton courtesans Lesbians). *Eustathius*, Comment. ad Homeri *Iliad*. p. 741., εἰσι βλασφημίαι καὶ ἀπὸ ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δήμων πολλαί, ῥήματι κὼς πεποιημέναι· ἔθνων μὲν, οἷον κιλικίζειν καὶ αἰγυπτιάζειν, τὸ πονηρεύεσθαι, καὶ κρητίζειν, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι· ἐκ πόλεων δὲ, οἷον λεσβιάζειν, τὸ αἰσχροποιεῖν· εἴτα παραγαγόντες Φερεκράτους χρῆσιν ἐν Ἰάμβῳ τὸ δώσει δέ σοι γυναικάς· ἐπὶ τὰ Λεσβιάς· ἐπάγουσιν ἄμοιβαῖον τί· καλοῦν γὰρ δῶρον ἐπὶ ἔχειν λαικαστρίας· ὥς τοιούτων οὐσῶν τῶν Λεσβίων γυναικῶν· ἐκ δήμων δὲ βλασφημία, τὸ αἰξωνεύεσ-

θαι, ἥγονν κακολογεῖν. Λίξωνεῖς γὰρ δημόταται Ἀττικοί, σκωπτόμενοι ὡς κακολόγοι, καθὰ καὶ οἱ Σφήττιοι ἐπὶ ἀγριότητι. (And there are many reproaches applying to nations, and cities, and demes, implied in the use of certain words; for instance in the case of nations, to play the Cilician, and to play the Egyptian, i. e. to be a rogue, and to play the Cretan, i. e. to be a liar; again, in the case of cities, to act the Lesbian, i. e. to act filthily; further we may bring forward a passage of Pherecrates in Iambic verse, viz. the line, "And he shall give thee seven Lesbian women," to which the answering verse is, "Verily! a noble gift, to get seven harlots," implying that such was the character of the Lesbian women. Lastly an example of such a reproach applying to demes, to play the Æxonian, in other words to be foul-mouthed. For the Æxonians were Attic demesmen, ridiculed as being evil-speakers in the same way as the Sphettians were on the ground of rusticity). The word σόφισμα (trick) in the passage of the Scholiast to Aristophanes explains the word "dogma" in Martial,

ἀποφράς, and so wish to erase it as something unknown to you from the list of your Titles? (ch. 28).—I am well aware what were your practices in Palestine, in Egypt, in Phoenicia and Syria, as well as in Hellas and Italy, and above all just now in Ephesus, where you set the crown on your extravagances. (ch. 11).—However you will never persuade your fellow-citizens that they ought not to regard you as the filthiest of all men, the very refuse of the whole city. Now it may be you rely on the belief of the generality in Syria, that you have never been accused (there) of any guilt or vice. But by Hercules! the city of Antioch looked on at the whole history, when you carried off the young man who came from Tarsus, and—but there, it would not become me to go over such ground again. All who were there know the facts and remember it all, that time when they saw you sitting at his knees (*καὶ σὲ μὲν ἐς γόνυ συγκαθήμενον ἰδόντες*), and doing you know very well what to him, that is if you have not utterly and entirely forgotten the whole matter. (ch. 20).—But when they caught you lying at the knees of the son of Oinopion the Cooper (*τυῦ μειρακίου.... ἐν γόνασι κείμενον*—lying at the knees of the stripling), what make you of that? Did they not surely take you for a man of the sort to be expected, when they saw you doing such a thing? (ch. 28).—How, by Zeus! after such a deed, have you the effrontery to give us the kiss of salutation?—Sooner kiss an adder or a viper? The danger and

bk. IX. 48., Dic mihi, percidi, Pannice, *dogma* quod est? (Tell me, Pannicus, what is the trick of the pæderast?). *Theopompus* in "Ulysses" says: *οἱ ἡμετέρων στομάτων εἰς τὴν πόρνην ὅ φασιν παῖδας Λεσβίων εὐρεῖν*. (a certain trick common in our mouths which they say children of the

Lesbians invented). *Strattis* in "Pytius": *τῷ στόματι δράσω ταῦθ' ἅπερ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ τάρτεται* [*ταῦθ' ἅπερ οἱ Λεσβιοὶ*]. (with my mouth I will do those things that are reckoned as obscene, —those things that the Lesbians do).

pain of the bite a Physician may yet remove, if called in. But after your kiss and with such poison on his lips who dare draw near to Temple or altar? What god would listen to the suppliant? how many vessels of holy water, how many lustrations, would be needful? (ch. 24).—In Syria you are known as *ροδοδάφνη* (rose-laurel) ¹; why, a man cannot explain for very shame, great Athené!—But in Palestine as *φραγμός* (the hedge) ², on account of the prickles of your beard, I suppose. In Egypt again as *συνάγχη* (sore throat),—and this is a well known business. It must have been a close thing with you not to be choked, that time you came across the sailor of a three-master, who fell upon you and stopped your mouth for you (*ὅς ἐμπεσὼν ἀπέφραξέ σοι τὸ στόμα*)."

This passage brings us next to a gloss of the *Pseudo-Galen* ³, on which *Naumann* ⁴, after laying

¹ *Haud scio an Rhododaphnes cognomine a Syris isti tradito tecte sugilletur cunnilingus, ita ut rosa lateat cunnus, in lauri folio lingua iungens, (I cannot say for certain whether by the surname of "Rhododaphne"—rose-laurel—given the man by the Syrians it is covertly suggested he was a cunnilingus, as much as to say that while a cunnus—female organ—is suggested by the rose, a licking tongue is the same in the laurel-leaf), says Forberg, loco citato p. 281. Suidas, s. v. ῥόδωνια· ἔστι μὲν ὁ τῶν ῥόδων λεῖψων· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ῥοδοδάφνην οὕτω φασὶ καλεῖσθαι (under the word ῥοδωρία—rose-garden: it is the meadow of roses; but others again say this is called*

ῥοδοδάφνη). *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. XVI. 33. *Hesychius*, s. v. ῥοδωνία says: *δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀνδρὸς ἀλδοῖον αὐτῇ*. (under the word ῥοδωνία — rose-garden: this signifies also *the human genitals*).

² The explanation of this is to be found in the *Priapeia Carmina*, 75.:

Barbatis non nisi summa petet.

(With bearded men will touch but the extremities).

³ *Pseudo-Galen*, Works, edit. Kühn, Vol. XIX. p. 142.

⁴ *Handbuch der Klinik* (Hand-book of Clinical Medicine), vol. VII. p. 88. Also at a yet earlier date in *Schmidt's Jahrbuch* 1837., Vol. XIII. p. 101.

down his view as to the *Morbus phoeniceus* (Purple Plague),—a subject to be discussed presently,—goes on to express himself thus: “However we must go yet farther. In the above cited work of the Pseudo-Galen is included an Index of words, *which with a high degree of probability we may conclude to refer to Venereal diseases, so far as known to the Ancients* (loco citato, under word *στρουμάργου*, p. 142). We read there that *Dioscorides* called *στρουμάργους* or *στομάργους* (evil-mouthed) men in whom the longing for sensual indulgence had risen to frenzy. Of similar meaning to this would seem to be the expressions *μυοχάνη* (*maxillarum hiatus insignis*—conspicuous for the wide opening of the arm-pits) or *μυσάχνη* (*meretrici*—prostitute), *μῦσος* (*facinus abominandum*—an abominable act), *σαράπους* (*crura ambulando divaricans*—straddling the legs in walking), and *γρυπαλώπηξ* (from *γρύπος curvus*—curved, hooked, probably denoting the erection of the *penis*; at any rate a dissolute man is called in Aristophanes *κυναλώπηξ* (fox-dog). But most notable is the added observation, to the effect that Erasistratus called such persons *ῥινοχολοῦροι* (*i.e. qui mutilati naribus sunt*—men who have been mutilated in their noses). Just at the time of the Greek occupation of Egypt, *Rhinocorura* or *Rhinocolura* was the name of a wretched sort of “Botany Bay” situated at the North-Eastern extremity of the country, lying in the desert on the shores of the Mediterranean between Gaza and Pelusium, and serving as a place of residence for lepers (*Pliny*, Hist., Nat., Bk. V. ch. 4. *Livy*, Hists. Bk. XXXV. ch. 11). Now if we bring together all the information given here, and especially if we consider the various shameful forms of indulgence of the sexual impulse and the mutilation of the nose that is connected with them, *there cannot be much doubt left that these ancient and fragmentary notices refer to Venereal evil, whether in conjunction with leprous affections or not.*”

But to test the correctness of these explanations

and conclusions, it will be necessary first of all to quote the gloss itself in full: *στρυμάργον. οἶδε καὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Λιόσκουρίδης, οὐ μόνον τὴν στομάργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς κύριον ὄνομα ἐξηγείται, ἀλλὰ τὸν μανικῶς ἐπτοημένον περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια δηλοῦσθαι φησιν· εἰρησθαι γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ἱπποκράτει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπίθεται, καθάπερ μυοχάνη, σαράπους, γρυπαλώπηξ· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἐρασιστράτῳ φησιν ὁ ῥινοκολοῦρος, that is to say:—στρυμάργον: Dioscorides knows this form also, not merely that of στομάργον, but this too he regards not as a proper name, but says that it signifies one who is madly set upon love-indulgences; for that in Hippocrates as well many other epithets of the same sort (which refer to the same sort of vice) are mentioned, e. g. μυοχάνη, σαράπους, γρυπαλώπηξ; also he says that in Erasistratus (the expression) ῥινοκολοῦρος is found.*

The reader sees in the first place that it is not merely expressions peculiar to Dioscorides that are here cited, as we might be led to suppose by Naumann's statement, but that they are every one of them found, as we shall presently prove more particularly, in *Hippocrates*, the ῥινοκολοῦρος of Erasistratus of course excepted. *Dioscorides* mentions them only in his commentary on the Second Book of the "Epidemia", when laying down the passages to be cited immediately, and declares them not to be proper names, but adjectives which all refer to insane indulgence in the pleasures of love; accordingly there can be no question here of *bodily disorders*, let the words in themselves signify what they will. Now if we examine into this more closely, we shall find first of all that we must obviously read *στρυμάργον* in place of *στρυμάργον*, for not only is this form given by the author of the gloss (under *στομάργον*¹), quoted on the preceding page, but

¹ Στομάργον, ἐν τῷ Λιόσκουρίδης οὕτως γράφει, δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐπιθημιῶν ὁ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι φησὶ τοῦ

the text also of Hippocrates¹ offers it in both passages; whereas *στνμάργου* gives no sort of sense.

The word *στνμάργος* in fact is derived either

λαλοῦντος μανικῶς: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι *στνμάργον* γράφουσι καὶ ὄτρομα κύριον ἀκούουσι. (*Στομάργον*: in the second Book of the Epidemia Dioscorides writes the word thus, and says it signifies such as talk insanelly; others however write *στνμάργον*, and understand it as a proper name).

¹ *Hippocrates*, Bk. II. sect. 2. edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 436., *Καὶ ἡ Στυμαργέω ἐν ταραχῇς ὀλιγημέρον πολλὰ στήσασα*, λ. τ. λ. (And the female slave of Stymargeos having after a few days' disturbance re-established much, etc.)—The same passage occurs in *Galen*, Comments on the Epid. bk. II. edit. Kühn, Vol. XVII. A. p. 324., with an explanation of the subject-matter, and also has *Στυμαργέω*.—*Ibidem*, p. 458., *ἡ Στυμαργέω οἰκέτις ἡ Ἰδουμαῖα ἐγένετο*, κ. τ. λ. (the female slave of Stymargeos, the Idumæan, was, etc.).—*Galen* cites the passage, *loco citato* p. 467., without comment, but he likewise reads *Στυμαργέω*. In two other passages, in which he comments on the statements last quoted from Hippocrates, the text is obviously corrupt. In "De tremore, palpitatione,

convulsione et rigore" (Of Trembling, Palpitation, Convulsion and Rigor), edit. Kühn, vol. III. p. 602, it reads: *Ἐστνμάργεω οἰκέτις, ἣ οὐδὲ αἷμα ἐγένετο, ὥς ἔτεκε θυγατέρα*, κ. τ. λ. (a female slave of Estymargeos, in whose case flowed no blood at all, when she gave birth to a daughter, etc.). Also *Assmann* in his Index to Kühn's Edition of Galen, pp. 232 and 307., represents it by *Estymergi ancilla* (a female slave of Estymergus). However there can be no doubt 'H *Στυμαργέω οἰκέτις* (The female slave of Stymargeos) ought to be read in Galen; on the other hand we see clearly from this passage that the text of Hippocrates is quite wrong in giving the Proper name *ἡ Ἰδουμαῖα* (the Idumæan), and this, as indeed the sense too requires, must be changed into *ἡ αἷμα οὐδὲ* (in whose case not even blood); and one is more especially convinced of this on reading the explanation given by *Galen*, *loco citato*. Besides this, following Galen's lead, we should read *δεῖ ἐλθεῖν* for *διελθεῖν* and *προφάσιως* for *προφάσιος*. Also he has *ἀφορμὴν* instead of *ἀχήν*.—The second passage of *Galen*

from *στῦμα*¹, the act of erecting the penis, and and *ἔργον* (work), so signifying anyone who performs the work of causing an erection of the penis,—or else from *στύω*², I erect the penis, and *μάργος*³,

occurs in the "De venae sectione" (On the opening of a Vein) adv. Erasistrat., ch. 5.: *ἐκεῖνο δὲ πῶς εἴρηται; ἐκ τοῦ μαργέω οἰκνέτιδος οὐδὲ αἷμα ἐγέ- νετο, ὡς ἔτεκε θυματέρα, ἀπέστραπτο τὸ στόμα πρὸς [τῆς μήτρας καὶ ἐς] ἰσχίον καὶ σκέλος ὁδύνῃ, παρασφυρὸν τμηθεῖσα ἐράϊσε [ἐξόρῃσε], καίτοι τρόμοι τὸ σῶμα περικατεῖχον [πάν κατεῖχον]· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρόφασιν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως τὴν τροφήν.* (Now how is this account given? from a female slave of Stymargeos not even blood flowed, when she gave birth to a daughter; the mouth was distorted from (the womb, and in) loin and leg there was pain; on being cut (bled) on the ankle, she found relief, though shudderings ran down the (whole) body; but we must go to the cause, and the origin of the cause). Here too it is evident, besides the emendations already pointed out as necessary, we must read ἐν *Στυμάργεω*, as the edition of Kühn, vol. XI. p. 161., does actually and rightly read. *Dioscorides* may be right so far, that the word, *strictly speaking*, is not a "Nomen proprium" (Proper

name), but in the passage named it stands for one, if only, as is likely enough, for a nickname, as it is called.

¹ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.*, bk. I. ch. 8., quotes from the "Phaon" of the Comic Poet Plato: *τριγλή—καὶ στῦ- ματα μισεῖ.* (a mullet,— and hates erections). *Comp.* bk. VII. ch. 126.

² The verb *στύω* (I erect the penis) occurs often in *Aristophanes*, e.g. "*Acharnians*" 1218., *στέσμαι* (I have an erection), "*Peace*", 727., *ἑστυκότες* (men with penes standing), "*Lysistr.*" 214., *ἑστυκῶς* (a man with penis standing), 598., *στῦσαι* (to make the penis stand), 869., *ἑστυκα γάρ* (for my penis was standing); always in the sense of to make, or have, an erection.

³ *Suidas* explains *μάργος* by *μαινόμενος* (being mad) and *Hesychius* also by *ὑβριστής* (recklessly insolent), a word we have already learned from repeated examples to recognize as signifying unnatural lust. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.*, bk. II. ch. 1. p. 146., says: *καὶ ἡ λαιμαργία, μανία περὶ τὸ λαιμόν, καὶ ἡ γαστριμαργία, ἀκρασία, περὶ τὴν τροφήν ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα περιέχει, μανία*

since only the most abandoned lust, lust that has really grown into a form of insanity, is capable of undertaking such obscenities, the interpretation of *Dioscorides* *μανικῶς ἐπτοημένον περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια* (one that is insanely, madly, set on the pleasures of love) is quite satisfactory, assuming a hesitation on the part of the author to set forth the actual fact more explicitly, especially as we have already proved under the head of *Paederastia*¹ how unnatural sexual desires were commonly regarded as a *Mania*

tongue, blaspheming such as other men hold to be gods). The *Etymologicum Magnum* s. v. *γλώσσαργον, στόμαργον ἢ ταχύγλωσσον*, (under the word idle-tongued, — *soul-mouthed* or loose-tongued). Whereas *Aristophanes* has the word *στοματουργός*, "Frogs" 848.,

ἐνθεν δὴ στοματουργὸς
ἐπῶν

βασινίστρια λίσπη
γλῶσσο'

(So thence a *phrase-making* word-sifting, smooth tongue...).

¹ Comp. p. 172 above.

Lucian, *Pseudolog.* ch. 31., calls it *παροινῶν* (acting drunkenly). *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* bk. XIII. ch. 80., *φιλόπαις δ' ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ βασιλεὺς*. (And he was a lover of boys, *to an insane degree*, was Alexander the King). *Dio Chrysostom*, *Tarsica* I. p. 409., says of the *Cinaedi*: *ἀλλ' ἐστὶ σημεῖον τῆς αἰσχράτης ὕβρεως καὶ ἀπονοίας* (but it is a sign of the most abandoned inso-

lence and *infatuation*), and again p. 412.: *ὥς ἤδη μανία τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔοικεν αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀπρέπει* (so now the resulting condition resembles madness, disgraceful and unseemly madness). *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedag.* bk. III. ch. 8., *περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ ἐκμανῶς ἐπτοημένοι* (men set upon enjoyments with boys *insanely*). But above all is the following passage from *Juvenal* (*Sat.* VI. 299) apposite in this connection:

. . . . Quid enim Venus ebria curat?
Inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit.

(For of what does drunken love take heed? What are the differences betwixt groin and head, she ignores). *Seneca*, *De ira* II.: *Raptus ad stupra et ne os quidem libidini exceptum*. (Carried away into obscenities and not even the mouth held secure from lust). *Lactantius*, VI. 23., *Quorum teterrima libido et execrabilis furor ne capiti quidem parcit*. (Whose most foul lust and abominable *frenzy* spares not even *the head*).

or form of insanity. Even if we were not in a position adequately to explain the rest of the words, yet the phrase that comes next to them *καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* (and many others of the same fashion) at once shows that they bear the same signification as *στυμάργος* and *στομάργος*, or at any rate that they must all alike refer to unnatural satisfaction of the sexual impulse, for *τρόπος* (fashion) is the very word particularly appropriated to imply such-like practices, as we see from the expressions *Κρητὰ τρόπον*, *Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον*¹, (Cretan fashion, Greek fashion) used to indicate paederastia.

In relation to the word *μυοχάνη* the readings differ greatly in the different MSS. of Galen. Franz in his edition of the Glossaries to Hippocrates gives *μιοχάνης* and *μυοχάνης*, while the Pseudo-Galen explains it under the word *μυοχάνη* as *ἐπίθετον χασκούσης· εἰ δὲ μυριοχαύνη γράφοιτο, ἡ ἐπὶ μυριοῖς ἂν εἴη χαννονμένη* (epithet applied to a woman who gapes; now if *μυριοχαύνη* were read, it would mean "the woman who gapes wide for ten thousand men"); besides, various readings are found here,—*μηοχάνη* for *μυοχάνη*, also *μιοιοχάνη*, and *μυιοχάνη* for *μυριοχαύνη*. Erotian says *μη-*

¹ *Xenophon*, *Cyropaed.* II. 2. 28. Hence too *Cicero*, *Tuscul.* V. 20., *Haberet etiam more Graeciae quosdam adolescentes amore coniunctos* (he would keep also, *after the fashion of Greece*, sundry young men bound to him in ties of affection); of course it is a question here of Paedophilia increly, but we have seen how readily this was confounded with Paederastia. *Aristophanes*, *Eccles.* 918., *ἦδη τὸν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τρόπον τάλαινα κνησιῶς*

δοκεῖς δέ μοι καὶ λάβδα κατὰ τοῦς Λεσβίους.

(Now, wretched woman, you itch after the fashion of Ionia; and you appear to me to long even for the *Lambda* (licking) of the Lesbian mode). Hence *motus Ionicos* (Ionic movements) in *Horace*, *Odes* III. 5. 24. and *Plautus*, *Stich.* V. 7. 1., *Quis Ionicus aut cinaedus qui hoc tale facere posset.* (What *Ionian* or *cinaedus* is there could show himself capable of such an act as this).

ριοχάνη ὄνομα γυναικὸς (Meriochané—a woman's name). In the text of Hippocrates¹ is found **Μυριοχαύνη**, and the same form is given by the editions of Galen². Inasmuch as **χάνω** and **χαύνω** both have the same meaning of gaping wide, that is with the mouth, it will practically make no difference which we choose as the end of the word; hence we have merely to consider the first part **μου-** or **μυριο-**, all the rest of the forms being obviously erroneous. If we read **μουχάνη**, we must suppose it compounded of **μύος** and **χάνη**; but inasmuch as **μύος** is merely a mistaken variant for **μῦσος**, the word must be read **μυσοχάνη**. **Μῦσος** in its turn we must derive either from **μύζω**, I suck,—so a woman who sucks with open mouth³, or from **μυσιάω**, I snort through the nose, particularly in the act of coition, and consequently read **μυσιοχάνη**, i. e. a woman who with mouth open snorts through the nose, precisely what the fellatrix undoubtedly does when at her work. This emendation certainly makes better sense, and is all the more likely from the fact that **μυιοχάνη** and **μυριοχάνη** are also found as *variae lectiones*. Naumann would seem desirous of reading **μυσάχνη** (**μυζάχνη**), in which case it must be formed from **μύζω**, I suck, and **ἄχνη** (froth), in fact the secretion that adheres to the surface (of the *glans penis*)⁴. This last reading

¹ *Hippocrates*, Epidem. bk. II. sect. 1. edit. Kühn, Vol. III. p. 435.

² Comment. in Hippocrat. Epidem., bk. II. edit. Kühn, Vol. XVII. A. p. 312.

³ *Martial*, bk. XII. 55., Nec clusis aditum neget labellis. (and refuse not access by shutting the lips).

⁴ *Μύζονσις* is cited by *Eustathius* on Homer, *Odyssey* XVII. p. 1821. 52. and XIV. p. 1921. end, as also

ἀπομύζουσις on *Iliad* XI. p. 867. 44., in the sense of *fellatrix*, *παρὰ τὸ μυζᾶν, ἡγουν θηλάζειν οὐράν*. (connected with *μυζᾶν*, to suck, that is to say to suck like an infant a man's member). *Suidas* says: *μυζει καὶ μύζει, θηλάζει λείχει μὴ, μύζει ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ παρῆκται τὸ μύζειν, πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως μύζειν δέ ἐστι τὸ τοῖς μυκτήρσιν ἡχον ἀποτελεῖν. Ἀριστοφάνης τί μύσεις,—(μυζει*

is all the more admissible, as according to Suidas¹ the word also occurs in Archilochus. Possibly however we must regard as aequally correct the form *μυριοχάνη*, and take it in the meaning given by

and *μύζει*, — sucks like an infant, licks with a *mooring* noise, *moos*; from this *mooring* noise is derived *μύζειν*, as is the case with other similar words; now *μύζειν* is to produce the noise made in the nostrils in the act of sucking. Aristophanes has *τί μύζεις*; (what is the mooring noise you make?) On this passage of Aristophanes (Thesmoph. 238.) the Scholiast observes: *τοῦτο δὲ φώνημα σημαίνει ἐκλυσίν τινα ἀφροδισιαστικὴν ὅθεν καὶ μύται ἐλέγοντο το παλαιὸν ἀφροδισιασταὶ καὶ γυναικομανεῖς*. (Now this sound proclaims a certain dissoluteness in lovemaking; whence of old voluptuaries and men mad after women were called also *μύται*). *Mūs*, the mouse, also comes from the same stem, from its picking and gnawing; so does *μύια*, the fly, and as *Aelian*, Hist. Anim. bk. XV. ch. 1., says of a fish, *ὀποχανὼν κατέπιε τὴν μύιαν* (it gaped its mouth and swallowed down the fly), we might perhaps read *μυιοχάνη* after flies, as if she wanted to catch flies, a fly-catcher, fly-trap, unless indeed we prefer to take *μυιοχάνη* as being a compound-word expressing a high degree of lecherousness. The lecherous

nature of the fly is well-known, as well as their habit of licking, which makes *Varro*, de Re Rust. III. ch. 15., say: *Non ut muscae liguriunt*. (They do not *lick*, like flies). *Liguri* (to lick) is used in the sense of *fellare* and *cunnilingere*. *Aelian*, Hist. Anim. bk. IV. ch. 5., mentions a fish, *χάνη*, which is particularly lustful: *χάνη δὲ ἰχθὺς λαγνίστατος* (Now the *χάνη* is a most lustful fish). Again *μυσαροχάνη* (*μυσαρός*, filthy) would be a significant word for a *fellatrix*.

¹ *Suidas*, s. v. *μυσάχνη*, ἢ πόρνη παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ ἐργάτις καὶ δῆμος καὶ παχεῖα. Ἰππῶναξ δὲ βορβορόπιν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ταύτην φησίν. ἀπὸ τοῦ βορβόρου καὶ ἀναστυρόμεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναστρέφειν. Ἀνακρέων δὲ πανδοσίαν καὶ λεωφόρον, καὶ μανιόκηπον κῆπος γὰρ τὸ μόριον. Εὐπολὶς ἐλλίποδα, ἐκ τῆς ἐλλήσεως τῶν ποδῶν τῆς κατὰ τὴν μίξιν. (under the word *μυσάχνη*; this means "the prostitute" in Archilochus; also in same sense *working-woman*, and *commonalty*, and *brawny wench*). Also Hipponax calls an unclean woman of the sort *filthy-eyed* (*βορβορόπις*) from *βύρβορος*, mire, and

the Gloss, viz. *in millibus hians*! (gaping in a thousand openings!), bearing in mind *Lampridius'* ¹ expression about Heliogabalus: *Quis enim ferre posset principem per cuncta cava corporis libidinem recipientem*! (For

town-exposer (ἀναστυρόπολις) from ἀνασύρσθαι, to pull up the clothes. Also Anacreon uses *all-giving* and *public thoroughfare* and *mad in the privates* (μανιόκηπος); for κῆπος (a garden) means a woman's private parts. Eupolis uses *walking with a rolling gait*, from the rolling of the legs, the result of sexual intercourse).

¹ *Lampridius*, Life of Heliogabalus ch. 5. *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedag. bk. III. p. 254. edit. Potter, ἀβροδίαιτος περιεργία πάντα ζητεῖ, πάντα ἐπιχειρεῖ, βιάζεται πάντα· συνέχει τὴν φύσιν· τὰ γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες πεπόνθασιν καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνδρίζονται παρὰ φύσιν· γαμούμεναι τε καὶ γαμοῦσαι γυναῖκες· πόρος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄβατος ἀκολασίας. (delicately-living idleness searches out all things, attempts all things, forces all things. It constrains Nature. Men have come to endure the treatment proper to women, while women act as men contrary to nature; women are both given in marriage and themselves take men in marriage, and *no way of impurity is left untrod*). Again of a similar significance are perhaps the words *μυριοστόμος* (ten-thousand-mouthed)

and ἀθυροστόμος, ἀθυροστομία, ἀθυροστομέω (unrestrained of mouth, unrestrainedness of mouth, to be unrestrained of mouth), and εὐρύστομος (wide-mouthed). *Epicrates* said of a lecherous girl, ἡδ' ἄρ' ἦν μυωνία (she was a regular mouse-hole, and *Philemon* called another μῦς λεύκος (white mouse), while *Aelian*, Hist. Anim. Bk. XII. ch. 10, gives yet another similar expression, μυωνίαν ὄλην ὀνομάσας (having named her a complete mouse-hole); she is a perfect mouse-hole, in other words she has as many entrances as a mouse-hole. Instead of *μυριοχάνη* we might also read *μυριομήχανος* (of ten-thousand devices), referring to the *fessus mille modis* (fatigued by a thousand modes of pleasure) in *Martial*, bk. IX. 58. and on the analogy of *Δωδεκαμήχανος* (of a dozen devices), a name borne by the "fille de joie" Cyrené, because she had contrived twelve different *postures of Love*. Comp. *Suidas*, under word *δωδεκαμήχανος*, and the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, "Frogs" 1356. Also *μιαροχάνη* (μιαρὸς, polluted) might be defended, on reference to *Aristophanes*, *Acharnians* 271—285.

who could endure a Prince *that welcomed lustful pleasure by every opening of the body!*)

The readings also vary as to *σαράπους* (turning out the feet); *Franz* gives *ἀγράπους* and *ἀράπους*; in the text of Hippocrates¹ on the other hand, as well in the Commentary of Galen it appears as *ἡ Σεραπίς*, the latter also giving it in the genitive—*τῆς Σεράπιδος*. But inasmuch as the name of the goddess occurs sometimes as *Σέραπις*, sometimes as *Σάραπις*, and as the genitive ending—*πιδος* easily admits of change into—*πόδος*, it may very likely be that after all *Σαράπους* stood originally in Hippocrates' text. The author of the Gloss (*loc. citato* p. 136.) explains the word by *ἡ διασεσηρότας καὶ διεστῶτας ἔχουσα τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν* that is, a woman who has the toes drawn apart and separated. But how are we to bring this explanation into agreement with the *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*, (after the same fashion), that is to say, with one of the modes of Love that are under discussion? Think of the *fellator* or *fellatrix*, we are told, cowering down (*ἐν γόνασι*,—on the knees) according to *Lucian's* picture (p. 229 above), and you will see the stress of the body's weight must always fall on the front part of the foot, and to widen the point of support he is instinctively compelled to spread the toes. Well! but who can fail to see how very forced such an explanation is? still we do not in the least know how we are to deal with it further. Of course we might leave the author of the Gloss his interpretation and proceed to look about for another of our own, though we have in many cases to confess the fact that our investigations undertaken with this end in view have not exactly led to any definite results. With the reading *Σεραπίς* we really do not know how to deal. Perhaps the common representation, or else some particular quality, of the

¹ *Hippocrates*, *Epidem.* bk. II. Vol. III. p. 436. *Galen*, vol. XVII. A. p. 322.

goddess so named gave occasion for a comparison which we now fail to understand, one that might possibly suggest an explanation of the *Harpocratem reddere* (to recall Harpocrates) of Catullus (69.) implying *irrumare*¹. Whether the reader will take

¹ Perhaps the word was *σαπερδής*, which in *Aristotle*, *Hist. Anim.* VIII. 30., signifies a certain fish, for in *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* p. 591., *σαπέρδιον* (the diminutive) is the nick-name of a *hetaera*, and when *Diogenes* (*Diogenes Laertius*, VI. 2. 6.) made a scholar wear a *σαπέρδης*, the latter threw it away (*ὅπ' αἰδοῦς ῥίψας*), (having cast it from him in disgust). Note at the same time that the word *Sarapis* also occurs in *Plautus* (*Paenulus* V. 5. 30 sqq.), where *Anthemonides* says:

Ligula, i in malam crucem
Tunc hic amator audes esse, hallex
viri?
Aut contractare, quod mares ho-
mines amant?
Deglupta maena, Sarapis se-
mentium,
Mastruga, αἰς ἀγορᾶς ἄμα;
tum autem plenior.
Allii ulpicique. quam Romani re-
miges.

(Thou mannikin, go to and be crucified! Dost dare to play the lover here, thou Tom Thumb of a man? or to meddle with what male men love? Skinned sprat, *Sarapis* of the corn-crops, sheepskin, common salt of the market; and yet reeking worse of garlic and leek than Roman bargees!). To restore this undoubtedly corrupt text is beyond our

powers, but this much at any rate results from the passage as a whole that *Sarapis* or *Sarrapis* here too signifies a vicious man. *Anthemonides* certainly takes *Hanno*, to whom this speech is addressed, for a *cinaedus*, for he says later on: "nam te cinaedum esse arbitror magis quam virum" (but I reckon you to be a *cinaedus* rather than a man), and he had previously said: "Quis hic homo est cum tunicis longis, quasi puer cauponius?" (Who is this fellow with the long tunics, like a waiter at a cookshop?) and "Sane genus hoc muliebrosus est tunicis demissitiis." (Surely this is a womanish sort, with his trailing tunics). Similarly *Turnebus*, *Adversar.* bk. X. ch. 24., mentions the fact that *Hesychius* explains *σάραπης* by *περσικὸς χιτὼν* (a Persian tunic). However he prefers to read, instead of *Sarrapis*, *arra pisa ementium*, (pledge of such as buy at the price of one pea) in reference to the vice of *Bacchus*, "obscoenum et mollem virum, qui pro arra dari possit vilis mercimonii." (a foul and deboshed man, fit only to be given as pledge at the value of any cheap commodity).

within his purview the *Σεραφίμ, ἔμρηστές, ἔμπυρα στόματα ἢ θερμαίνοντας* (Seraphim: kindlers; fiery mouths: or, making hot) of *Suidas'* Lexicon, we must leave to him; in that case *Martial's* (II. 28.) *calda Vetustinae nec tibi bucca placet* (nor does Vetustina's hot mouth please you) might afford an analogy. Proceeding to consider *σαράπους*, we find *Hesychius* has *σαραπίους*, which he explains by *μαινίδας* (mad-women), and *Dioscorides* is at one with him in regarding the vice as something done *μανικῶς* (madly). In *Diogenes Laertius* (I. 4.) we read Pittacus was called: *σαράποδα καὶ σάραπον διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τὸ πόδε*. (turning out the feet, because of his being flat-footed and trailing his two feet). It would be hardly credible to suppose that the author of the Gloss borrowed his explanation cited just above from *Diogenes Laertius* or *Suidas*, in whom the passage occurs as well. Further, the MSS. of *Diogenes* give also *συράπους*, a word found several times in the sense of "to stand with legs apart," and Naumann too must have understood this in our passage, for he gives as his rendering *crura ambulando divaricans* (straddling the legs in walking). Now leaving altogether out of the question the fact that the feminine form is found in *Hippocrates*, and assuming the word to be used of men, it might perfectly well signify the *irrumator*, who takes the *fellator* between his opened thighs¹, a posture that was generally

¹ Comp. the passage of *Lucian* quoted on p. 229 above. *Suetonius*, *Tiberius* ch. 44., "Majore adhuc et turpiore infamia flagravit, vox ut referri audirive, nedum credi, fas sit. Quasi pueros primae teneritudinis, quos pisciculos vocabat, institueret, ut natanti sibi *inter femina versarentur* ac lude, ent, lingua

et morsu sensim appetentes, atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini seu papillae admoveret; pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et natura et aetate. Quare *Parrhasii* quoque tabulam, in qua *Meleagro* *Atalanta* ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub conditione, ut si argumento offenderetur,

decies pro ea sestertium acciperet, non modo praetulit, sed et in cubiculo dedicavit." (He was guilty of a yet more flagrant and abominable villainy, so much so it hardly admits of being related or listened to, let alone believed, to this effect. He arranged that boys of tender years, whom he called his little fishes, should move about between his thighs, as he swam, and play there making darts at him with tongue and mouth and biting him softly; also infants of somewhat stronger growth, but still not yet weaned, he would put to his member as if to their mothers' teat, being indeed both by natural disposition and time of life more apt to this form of indulgence. So when a picture of Parrhasius, in which Atalanta is represented *gratifying* Meleager with her mouth, was willed to him with the stipulation that, if he objected to the subject, he should have a million sesterces instead, not only did he choose the painting, but actually enshrined it in his bed-chamber). *Theophrastus*, Charact. ch. 11., ὁ δὲ βδελυρὸς τοιοῦτος, οἷος ὑπαντήσας γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέrais ἀνασυράμενος δεῖξαι τὸ αἰδοῖον. (But he was such a filthy wretch, that on meeting free women he would *pull up his clothes* and show his private parts. — *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Excerpt. de Legat. ch. 9. says

of the Tarentine Philonis, ἀνασυράμενος τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ σχηματίζας ἑαυτὸν ὡς αἰσχιστον ὀφθῆναι, τὴν οὐ λέγεσθαι πρέπουσαν ἀκαθαρσίαν κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐσθῆτος τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατεσκέδασε. (*raising his mantle* and throwing himself into the most disgusting posture to be exposed in, he bespattered the Ambassador's sacred robe with the unspeakable filth).—*Galen*, Exhortat. ad artes ch. 6., ἀνασυράμενοι προσουροῦσι. (lifting up their clothes, they make water over it).—*Lucian*, Cataplus 13., καὶ σὺ δὲ ὦ Ἑρμῆ; σύρει' αὐτὸν εἰσω τοῦ ποδός. (You too, *Hermes*? drag ye him within your leg). *Clement of Alexandria*, Protrept. p. 13, mentions an Ἀφροδίτη περιβάσιή Aphrodité protectress,—or otherwise, Aphrodité that stretches the legs apart), known also to *Hesychius*, and explained by some Commentators as "stretching the legs apart". In *Suidas* σάιρειν is explained by *hiare* (to gape open); and the Lexicographers give σάραβος as meaning γυναικείον αἰδοῖον (a woman's privates) and the word is found in *Dio Chrysostom*, De regno IV. 75., as the name of a Tavern-keeper,—also if we are not mistaken, in Plato. σάρων too *Hesychius* explains by γυναικείον (woman's parts). He also has ἀρρενώπες (masculine-looking), which

regarded as obscene ¹. Indeed if we think of the *fellator* as sitting on the ground at his work, the word of course can be equally well used of a woman, or *fellatrix*.

As to *γρυπαλώπηξ* we read in *Hippocrates* (loco citato p. 629.) as follows: "Satyrus in Thasos bore the nick-name of *γρυπαλώπηξ*; when about twenty five he suffered from frequent nightly pollutions, and yet by day the same happened him even more constantly. When he was thirty years of age, he got consumption and died." From this we see at once the question is of a dissolute man, who in consequence of his vicious practises had brought on such a weakness of the genitals, that he suffered from continual evacuation of seed, the result being that eventually Phthisis was set up, to which he succumbed. As variations of reading we find noted in *Franz's Gloss* *ῥυπαλώπηξ* and *τρυπαλάπηξ*; Schneider in his *Lexicon* renders *γρυπαλώπηξ* by "griffin-fox", so he must evidently have derived it from *γρύψ* (a griffin) and *άλώπηξ* (a fox). The Ancients depict the fox as a cunning, crafty animal and assign several characteristics as marking his behaviour that must probably be taken into consideration in the present connection,—and particularly the way he seizes and kills the hedge-hog. According to *Aelian* ² he endeavours to throw the creature on

some interpret by Androgyne (man-woman) or *fellator*. The reading *ἀγρόπους* occurring, we might also read *γυρόπους* (crook-footed); *Suidas* under word *γραῦς* (old woman) cites: *ἡ γρηῦς, ἡ χερνῆτις, ἡ γυρή πόδας*. (the old woman, the spinster, the *crooked of feet*).

¹ *Catullus*, Carm. 35. 64.,

An continentes quod sedetis insulsi
Centum, aut ducenti, non putatis
ausurum

Me una ducentos *irrumere* ses-
sore? ²

(Think you, because you sit there side by side, a hundred fools, or two hundred, think you I shan't dare to *irrumate* two hundred *sitters* at once?).

² *Aelian*, Hist. Anim. bk. VI. ch. 24., *ἡ δὲ ἡσυχῶς καὶ πεφεισμένως τοῦ ἐαυτῆς στομάτος ἀνατρέπει αὐτούς*. (but the fox, quietly and so as to forbear biting with its mouth, turns them over). ch. 64., *ἥδε χανεῖν τε καὶ ἐν-δακτεῖν οὐ δυναμένη, κατὰ οὐρησεν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ στόμα*.

ita back, so that its mouth comes uppermost, and then discharges its urine into it. Now in order to signify the *irrumator*, the Ancients really could hardly have invented a better expression, when they, firmly convinced of course of the fact as stated, compared him to a fox. But what is a *γρυπαλώπηξ*? *Hesychius* under the word *γρυπός* (hooked, curved) explains it as τὰ ἔξω τοῦ στόματος καμπυλόρρις· ὁ ἐπικαμπῇ τὴν ῥίνα ἔχων. (hook-nosed outside the mouth; a man having his nose bent down). *Suidas* again says *γρυπός*, ὁ καμπυλόρριν (γρυπός;—a hook-nosed man); so a man with a nose bent down crooked over the mouth. Now this we might very well understand as applying to the *fellator*, inasmuch as his nose, when the *irrumator* presses down hard on him, as the sailor does to *Timarchus* (p. 230 above), is of necessity compressed and bent down towards the mouth; *γρυπαλώπηξ* would according to this be a man who, like *Timarchus* in *Lucian*, is at once an *irrumator* and a *fellator*. Of yet another word, *κυναλώπηξ* (fox-dog) cited by *Naumann*, we propose to speak under the head of the *Cunnilingue*, who as we shall see might likewise be signified by the expression.

Finally, as to *ῥινοχολούρος* (nose-docked), for which the MSS. also have *ῥινοχλοῦρος*, it is certainly the case that in Antiquity the man who practised vice with strange women (*Moechus*,—adulterer) had his nose cut off¹, and as *Moechus*

(but she—the fox—being unable to open her mouth and fix her teeth in, finally made water into its mouth).

¹ Virgil, *Aen.* VI. 494., says of *Deiphobus*, Helen's paramour:

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis

Auribus, et truncas in honesto
vulnere naris.

(And now *Deiphobus* he sees,
the glorious *Priam's* son;

But all his body mangled sore, his
face all evilly hacked,
His face and hands; yea, and his
head laid waste, the ear lobes
lacked,
And nostrils cropped unto the root
by wicked wound and grim.
WILLIAM MORRIS'S translation.)

equally signifies the *fellator*¹, the latter also may very well have been obliged to forfeit his nose. Following this iut, it would be quite legitimate to suppose the punishment to have been put for the vice, and a *fellator* called *ῥινοκολούρος* (nose-docked) on this ground; in the same way as the loss of the nose might be looked upon as a consequence of vice, and anyone seeing a man in this case would at once think of his dissolute past life, as indeed frequently happens at the present day amongst ourselves.

The town of Rhinocolurus,—and its history is more than problematical,—would seem to have nothing whatever to do with the question. The passages from *Pliny* and *Livy* which Naumann quotes give absolutely nothing beyond the name; and the mere

Martial, bk. III. Epigr. 85.,

Quis tibi persuasit nares ab-
scindere moecho?

Non hac peccatum est parte,
marite, tibi

Stulte, quid egisti? nihil hic tua
perdidit uxor,

Cum sit salva sui mentula
Deiphobi.

(Who persuaded you to crop the adulterer's nostrils? 'Twas not with this part the offence was done you, sir husband! Foolish man, what have you done? in this your wife has lost naught, so long as her Deiphobus' member is safe and sound). *Martial*, bk. II. Epigr. 83.,

Foedasti miserum, marite, moe-
chum;
Et se, qui fuerant prius, requirunt
Trunci naribus auribusque
vultus.

Credis te satis esse vindicatum?
Erras! Iste potest et irrumare!

(You have mutilated, husband,

the unhappy adulterer: and his face cropped of nose and ears asks itself what it was like before. Think you your revenge is complete? Nay! you are mistaken; the fellow can still *irrumate*!)—a passage that might very well be made to prove our point.

¹ *Martial*, bk. XI. Epigr. 61.,

Lingua maritus, moechus ore
Mancius.

(Mancius is a husband with his tongue, a debaucher with his mouth). Bk. III. Epigr. 84.,

Quid narrat tua moecha? non
puellam
Dixi, Tongilion. Quid ergo?
Linguam!

(What tale is it your harlot tells? Nay! I did not say *girl*, Tongilion. What then? Why, *tongue*!).

existence of the name *Diodorus*¹ certifies, in his story of how Actisanes proceeded against the Robbers in a way of his own: "He did not wish to put the guilty to death, nor yet to leave them unpunished. So he had the accused brought up out of the whole country and inquired into each case most scrupulously; such as were found to be guilty all had their noses cut off by his orders, and were banished to the most remote spot in the Desert. The town he founded for them there received in remembrance of the punishment inflicted on its inhabitants the name of Rhinocolura. It lies on the borders of Egypt and Syria, not far from the sea-shore that borders the desert in that region, and displays an almost complete absence of all requisites for comfortable habitation. For the surrounding district possesses a soil thoroughly saturated with salt, while inside the town very little water is to be found and that positively tainted and of quite a bitter taste." Diodorus relates further that these Colonists lived by catching quails; but of *Leprosy* there is no mention either here or in Strabo or Seneca, so that Naumann's statement to the effect that it served as a dwelling-place for Lepers lacks entirely, up to the present and at any rate so far as we know, any historical foundation, though the character of the place is not against such a hypothesis. Nor is any question raised in any author as to the vicious life of the inhabitants of Rhinocolura,—in fact in later times it was actually famous for the number of its *men of piety*².

¹ *Diodorus*, Bk. I. ch. 60. Same is related in *Strabo*, Geogr. bk. XVI. p. 759.—*Seneca*, De Ira bk. III. ch. 20.

² *Sozomen*, Hist. Eccles. bk. VI. ch. 30., Rhinocolura vero illo tempore viris piis non aliunde advocatis, sed indigenis floruit, quorum

optimos sapientiae sese studio hic dedisse intellexi. Novi Melanam, tunc ecclesiae episcopum et Dionysium, monasterium ad septentrionem urbis moderantem, ac Solonem, Melanis fratrem ac successorem in episcopatu. (But Rhinocolura at that time

Though the explanation of *ῥινοκολούρος* given just now might very well at a pinch be regarded as satisfactory, still we think it hardly answers sufficiently well to the *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* (after the same fashion), while the variant *ῥινοκλούρος* seems to point to *ῥιναύλουρος* or *ῥιναύλουρις* as the true reading. In *Tatian* (Orat. ad Graecos p. 83.) in fact we read: *ῥιναυλοῦσι τὰ αἰσχρὰ, κινουνται δὲ κινήσεις ἃς οὐκ ἔχρην, καὶ τοὺς ὕπως δεῖ μοιχεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς σοφιστεύοντας αἱ θυματέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παῖδες θεωροῦσι.* (They flute their obscenities through the nose, and make movements that in decency they should not make, while actors who teach on the stage the whole art of how to debauch a woman are the spectacle your daughters and your boys gaze at.) The Scholiast observes on this *ῥινοκτυποῦσιν, οἷον εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς ῥώδωσι, συνέλκοντες ποιὸν ἤχον ἐπὶ καταγέλωτι ἀποτελοῦσι*, (they make a noise with the nose, a sort of breathing with the nostrils; by drawing in these they produce a certain sound by way of mockery), and in *Lucian*, *Lexiphanes* ch. 19., we find *ἔοικα δὲ καὶ ῥιναυστῆσθαι*, (and I am like to go nose-playing), of which the Scholiast gives the following explanation: *ἀντὶ τοῦ ταῖς ῥίσι καταυλῆσαι, ἐποιοῦν γὰρ τοῦτο ῥιναυλοῦντες, ἥτοι διὰ τῶν ῥινῶν ψοφοῦντες ἐπὶ διασφυρῶ τινῶν καὶ χλεύῃ.* (put instead of *fluting with the nostrils*; for they used to do this when they nose-fluted, or in other words,

abounded in *men of piety*, not invited thither, but *natives*, the most eminent of whom I have been informed devoted themselves in that place to the study of Wisdom. I knew personally Melanas, then Bishop of the church there, and Dionysius, governing a monastery lying to the South of the City, and Solon, brother of Melanas and his successor

in the Bishopric.). The same is affirmed by *Nicephorus* as well, (Hist. Eccles. bk. XI. ch. 38. Within the last two years there has appeared a Tract or Occasional Paper, dealing with the Colony at Rhinocolura, but unfortunately we cannot put our hand on the more precise memorandum of its contents.

made a noise with the nostrils by way of mocking people and joking). Now if we take *ῥιναυλεῖν* (to nose-flute) in these passages,—and all this confirms what has been previously said (above p. 144.) on the word *ῥέγγχειν* (to snort) in the Speech of Dio Chrysostom,—for *fistulam canere per nares, to play the flute with the nose*, and at the same time remember that *Eustathius* (as was noted above, p. 236. Note 2.) derived *ἀπομύξουρις* and *μύξουρις* from *μυζᾶν-οὔραν* (*οὔρα*,—the tail, the penis), the Greeks would seem to have said *ῥιναυλεῖν-οὔραν, penem pro fistula canere*, (to play on the penis instead of a flute), and we should have the adjective or substantive *ῥιναύλουρις, qui penem pro fistula canit per nares*, one who plays on the penis instead of a flute with the nostrils), which admirably expresses not only the action of the *fellator*, but also the music he makes to accompany it, as he is compelled to snort, drawing his breath heavily through the nose.

Which explanation the reader will choose, we must really leave to him, for interpretations of words of this sort can never be brought to the absolute test of evidence, inasmuch as nick-names as a rule take their origin only too often in external circumstances. Still this much we think we may pronounce with certainty, that the words of the Gloss have to do simply *de rebus venereis*, with matters of love, and not with Venereal complaints, and thus Naumann's propositions ¹ at least are devoid of foundation. Perhaps it may be possible by means of a comparison of the licentious representations on old Vases, of which the late *Hofrath* Böttiger would seem to have possessed a choice collection, and some examples of which are preserved also at Berlin, in connection with one or other of the words given in the Gloss, as generally with the embodiments in Art of the *Venus ebria* (drunken Venus), to afford a

¹ As to his views on the *Morbus Phoeniceus* (Phoenician Disease), this will be discussed under the head of the vice of the *Cunnilingue*.

better explanation, one that may indeed be of no particular value to the student of Antiquity pure and simple, but nevertheless is indispensable to the Physician for the correct understanding of sundry diseases of the Ancients, or at any rate one sufficient to avoid incorrect assertions and false conclusions, and to refute such.

We are not in a position to give a systematic history of the spread of the vice of the *fellator* and *irrumator*; but at any rate this much is certain that in Imperial times the Vice was most widely indulged in, as the Epigrams of *Martial*, and what *Suetonius* relates in his Life of Tiberius (chs. 44, 45.) sufficiently bear witness.

Diseases of the Fellator.

§ 22.

Now to pass on to the medical point of view, no one presumably will deny that the mouth of the *fellator* must necessarily be exposed to various complaints as a consequence of his Vice. Nevertheless there prevails universally, so far as our studies up to the present have enabled us to judge, complete silence among the Physicians of Antiquity as to the practice of *λεσβιάζειν* (to Lesbianize, to practise *fellation*) as a cause occasioning morbid affections of the mouth and the contiguous parts. This is the more surprising, as we find that non-professional Writers are not entirely unacquainted with such effects, as we shall show directly. For our purpose this silence is doubly unfortunate, depriving us as it does of all means of submitting such affections of the mouth as are described by Physicians to any proper appreciation in regard to their ætiological relationships,—an appreciation that in any case must naturally have been in view of our knowledge of the vice of the *fellator* one of extreme difficulty. The difficulty is

this: *fellator* and *fellatrix*, equally with the *Cunnilingue*, the fornicater and fornicatrix, were liable to suffer from ulcers of the throat, for example, as a result of their peculiar vice, but in the former case these ulcers were primary, in the latter secondary,—now how is an inquirer to discover any diagnostic sign here, whereby to distinguish the one class from the other? Yet all the while, certainty on this point is of the very highest importance in view of the question as to the existence of Venereal disease in Antiquity, the chief argument always alleged against accepting the fact of such existence being the absence of secondary symptoms such as are nowadays commonly met with, especially about the throat¹.

It is remarkable that not one, so far as we know, of the authors who have studied the history of Venereal Disease makes any mention of this circumstance; neither do the Pathologists ever bring forward the vice of the *fellator* as an ætiological factor. *Clossius*² it is true speaks of *Irrumatio*, relying on *Perenotti di Cigliano* and *Fabre*; but these last are really speaking of the *Cunnilingue*, not of the *fellator*. Probably they are of Erasmus' opinion: *λείχάζειν* *ni fallor tale quiddam est Graecis, quale fellare Latinis. Nam vox etiamnum manet, tametsi rem iam olim e medio sublatam arbitror.* (*λείχάζειν*—to practise licking,—if I am not mistaken, is a similar practice with the Greeks to that of *fellation* with the Romans. The word indeed still remains, but the thing I believe to have long since entirely disappeared). On this however *Forberg* (loco citato p. 304.) very justly adds: *Vercor ut vere: certe audio, ne ab nunc hominum quidem moribus plane abhorrere id schematis, quid viderint ii, quibus magnas urbes adire licet.* (I fear this is not true: at any rate I am told

¹ *Bonorden*, "Die Syphilis" (Syphilis). Berlin 1834., p. 19.

² *Clossius*, "Ueber die Lustseuche" (On Venereal Disease). Tübingen 1797., p. 49. —

Perenotti di Cigliano, Of Venereal Disease, p. 92.
Fabre, Treatise on Venereal Disease, p. 5.

this sort of practice is not entirely repugnant to the habits of some men even of our own day, to judge by what those see who have the opportunity of visiting large cities). How many primary ulcers of the throat, especially in the case of common Prostitutes, may have been mistaken for secondary ones, and have been treated accordingly, in fact are treated so still, without the Physician having a suspicion of how they were actually incurred! But what the Physicians of our own times are ignorant of, though familiar enough to many of the Laity, this knowledge we cannot reasonably demand from the Physicians of Antiquity. Yet supposing they did actually possess this knowledge, it was very excusable if they looked at what lay nearest before their eyes and regarded all throat ulcers as being primary,—in just the same way as any Practitioner of to-day finds it excusable in a Colleague that he thinks only of secondary ulcers, inasmuch as what in Ancient times happened very commonly is practised at the present day at any rate much less frequently. Consequently the absence of mention on the part of the old Physicians of secondary ulcers of the throat in connection with complaints of the genital organs cannot be considered as any sort of proof of their non-existence.

Among the maladies to which the *fellator* was exposed, we have in the first place to reckon the *foul smell from the mouth*¹, which is mentioned as

¹ *Martial*, XI. Epigr. 30.,
Os male caudicis et dicis olere
poetis:

Sed fellatori, Zoile, peius olet.
(The mouth you say smells
ill with pleaders and poets;
but Zoilus, it smells worse
with the *fellator*). Hence the
expressions, os male olens,
anima foetida, gravis,
graveolens, graveolentia
oris spiritus ieiunio

macer, ieiuna anima, hircosum osculum, basia olidissima. (evil-smelling mouth, fetid breath, foul, ill-smelling, fetid smell of the breath from the mouth—hungry and lean, fasting breath, goaty kiss, most smelly embraces). Possibly too this was the origin of the Lemnian women's punishment. Comp. above p. 148.

especially prevalent among the Romans. The Physicians as a rule derived it, if no local symptoms, of ulcers, etc., were apparent, from some fault of the stomach¹,—an instance surely where the Laity were cleverer than the Profession! The sympathy between the mouth and the genitals and anus makes it evident why at the present day we notice, particularly in immoral women, an evil smell from the mouth, which they endeavour to conceal by chewing burned coffee and the like. No doubt this was the case in Antiquity² as well, so we are by no means justified in attributing every instance of foul breath in harlots and *cinaedi* to the practice of *fellatio*.

Yet another consequence of *fellatio* was *pain in the mouth* (στομαλγία, mouth-ache; only we must remember as to this that Pollux, Onomast. III. 7. 69., cites ἀλγεῖν,—to suffer pain, as a synonym of *to love*), *tongue-ache* (γλωσσομαλγία³) and *tooth-ache*⁴, and generally pains of the palate and

¹ Galen, Comment. on Hippocrates' De Humor. bk. II., edit. Kühn, Vol. XVI. p. 215. Different means of counteracting this evil are given by Galen, De parabilib. bk. II. ch. 7., Vol. XIV. p. 424. of Kühn's ed., where amongst other matter we read: διαμασῶνται δέ τινες καὶ τῆς πίτνης φύλλα, ὅταν ἐκπορεύωνται, καὶ ὕδατι διακλύζονται, (but others chew up even leaves of the pine, when they go abroad, and wash out the mouth with water), the Latin *lavare, aquam sumere* (to wash, to take water)?—as to which later.

² Martial, VI. 55.,

Quod semper cassiaque cinnaomque
Et nido niger alitis superbae
Fragras plumbea Nicerotiana,
Rides nos, Coracine, nil olentes,
Malo, quam bene olere, nil olere.

(Because forever scented with cassia and cinnamon and smeared with spices from the nest of the proud phoenix, you are fragrant of the leaden caskets of Niceros, you laugh at us that are unscented; I had rather even than smell sweet, not smell at all).

³ So Euripides, Medea 525., joins together στόμαργον γλωσσομαλγίαν (busy-mouthed tongue-tiresomeness, i.e. wearisome talkativeness).

⁴ Perhaps there is an allusion to this in Martial, bk. XI.

was not merely a *fellator*, but an *irrumator* as well, and this is the more probable as he no doubt acquired this nickname, because he, *bene vasatus* (well provided with a big member), frequently brought on sore throat, that is to say in those who served him as *fellators*!

Moreover this reveals to us the real meaning of a passage of *Aretaeus*, one that has often been quoted before as connected with Venereal disease. This occurs in the 9th Chapter of the Book ¹, which would certainly seem to admit only of a direct application; still we are convinced that much of the pathological description of sore throat (Ch. 7.) and many symptoms of the complaints of the uvula (Ch. 8.) owe their origin to *fellation*. Undoubtedly we have nowadays much fewer occasions to note affections of the uvula, which were of very common occurrence among the Ancients ², as is shown by their own accounts,—a circumstance hardly to be wondered at if we consider the particulars told us about Timarchus. *Aretaeus* in Ch. 9. makes a distinction between *κίων* (pillar, uvula) or columella (little pillar, uvula), when the whole uvula is inflamed and swollen, *σταφυλή* or uva (bunch of grapes), when only the lower part is affected, and *ἱμάντιον* (little strap), when the palatal membrane is attacked. "*Κίων*", he goes on, "occurs most frequently with old men, *σταφυλή* with young men and such as are in the prime of life, affection of the palatal membranes (*τὰ ὑμενώδεα*) in those who are at the age of puberty and in boys." The ninth Chapter runs as follows:

¹ *Aretaeus*, De causis et signis acutorum morborum, (Of the causes and symptoms of Acute Diseases). Comp. De Curatione acut. morb., (Of the treatment of Acute Diseases), Bk. I. ch. 9.

² *Martial*, bk. X. Epigr. 56.,
Non secatur et tollit stillantem
Fannius uvam.
(Fannius does not use the knife, yet removes the dripping uvula).

Of Ulcers of the Throat.

Ulcers arising in the throat of a benignant and harmless nature are common, the malignant and dangerous rare. Benignant ulcers of the sort are clean, of slight extent and superficial, neither inflamed nor painful. The malignant on the contrary are broad, hollow, lardaceous, with a white, livid, or black covering. These ulcers are known as *aphthae*. But if the covering is very tough, then the malady is an eschar, and is so called. At the edge of the eschar are set up an intense redness, inflammation and a congested state of the veins, as in *anthrax* (carbuncle, malignant pustule), while small, distinct and unconnected, elevations of the mucous membrane appear, which are continually uniting with fresh ones that successively follow, and so an extensive ulcer is established. If this extends from the outer mouth too far inwards, in fact once it has attacked the uvula and relaxed it, the disease spreads over the tongue, gums and lips, while the teeth become loose and blackened. Further the inflammation attacks the throat. Patients so affected die in a few days after the inflammation and fever are set up, of the evil odour and of hunger; the ulcer propagates itself by way of the wind-pipe to the chest, so that very likely suffocation supervenes the same day. For lungs and heart can tolerate neither so foul an odour nor the ulcers themselves nor the ichor (puriform, septic matter) coming from them, but cough and difficulty of breathing supervene. Origin of this affection of the throat is the swallowing of cold, pungent, hot, sour, or strongly astringent, substances. Now these parts serve the chest on behalf of the voice and the breathing, as also the abdomen for sifting the nutriment, and the stomach for swallowing food. But when these inward parts, viz. abdomen, stomach and chest, are attacked by a disease, the disease is in turn conveyed and carried to the

œsophagus, the tonsils and neighbouring regions.

Children up to the age of puberty suffer most in this way, for children have the very greatest and most marked desire for coolness, because with them the natural heat is at its greatest; the longing for foods of various sorts and cold beverages is boundless; while they shout loudly both in quarrel and at play. This is equally true of girls up to the commencement of menstruation.

With regard to locality, *Egypt* gives most numerous examples of the disease, for this country has at once a dry air to breathe, and many sorts of comestibles,—roots, herbs, garden vegetables, pungent seeds; while the drink is either thick, being Nile water, or artificially made pungent with barley or with grape-skins. In *Syria* the disease is also found, especially in Coelesyria. For this reason the ulcers in question are known as *Egyptian* or *Syrian* ulcers.

The mode and fashion in which death occurs in these cases is deplorable. The pain is a cutting and burning pain, as in anthrax (carbuncle, malignant pustule), the breath foul-smelling, the patient exhaling an intensely offensive breath, and re-inhaling into the chest another no less so. Patients are so loathsome to themselves they cannot tolerate their own smell; the face is pale or livid, the temperature excessively high, the thirst as distressing as in fever. Yet they reject drink when offered from dread of the pain of swallowing; for they undergo great agony both by the compression of the palate and by the return of the liquid through the nose. No sooner have they lain down than they spring up again; then finding they cannot bear an upright posture, no sooner have they sat down than they are forced by their agony to lie back once more. Most commonly they move about in an upright attitude. For as they are unable to sleep, they avoid all rest, as though they were fain to drive away one torture with another. Inhalation is deep, for they long for fresh air to cool themselves; exhalation on the

contrary short and hurried, for the ulcers already burning like fire are heated yet further by contact of the feverish breath as it streams out. Hoarseness comes on, and loss of voice, and this goes on continuously increasing, until suddenly coming to the end of their resistance they give up the ghost."

In the portion of the work devoted to Therapeutics (Bk. I. ch. 9.), which bears the title : *Θεραπεία τῶν κατὰ τὴν φάρυγγα λοιμικῶν παθῶν*, (Pestilential Affections of the Throat Regions, their Curative Treatment), caustics are especially recommended, as the actual cautery cannot be employed, and finally we read : "In some cases the uvula is destroyed right back to the bones of the palate, and the throat to the root of the tongue and the epiglottis, and in consequence of this destruction they can get down neither solid food nor liquid, for liquids return through the nose, and so the patient dies of hunger."

Now if we examine these statements more closely, we cannot first of all help wondering how the ætiological factors named by *Aretaeus* could possibly be regarded by him as sufficient to account for such dangerous ulcerations,—ulcerations which he himself even calls *λοιμώδεα* (of pestilential character), though of course they are perfectly adequate to explain simple ulcers of the throat. Indulgence in pungent comestibles and beverages is as little adequate to cause such symptoms as are the shouting and greediness of children, not to mention the fact that these are in no way peculiar to Egypt or Syria. The whole account shows us clearly that while *Aretaeus* was well acquainted with the forms the disease took, the ætiological factors were obscure to him and it was merely in a spirit of ill-timed speculation he subjoined them, proving once more how right *Appuleius* was when he exclaims : *Dii boni ! Quam facilis, licet non artificii medico, cuivis tamen docto Venereae cupidinis comprehensio.* (Great gods ! how

easy it is for any educated man, *always excepting a medical practitioner*, to understand the passion of love).

We have already more than once in the course of these investigations proved how Egypt and Syria must be regarded as the nursery of licentiousness in Antiquity, and the passage quoted from *Lucian* (above p. 229.) directly establishes the fact for us; again, a little further on (p. 240. Note I.) it was mentioned how boys particularly, (but also young girls), were used and specially trained as *fellators*. Hence *Martial*¹ wishes he had a boy,

Niliacis primum puer is nascatur in oris:
Nequitias tellus scit dare nulla magis.

(In the first place my boy must be born on the banks of Nile: no other land can produce more finished wickedness). From all this, as well as from a comparison of the passage in *Lucian*, we believe we are amply justified in concluding that Aretaeus' ulcers of the throat, these *Αιγυπτια καὶ Συριακά ἔλκεα* (Egyptian and Syrian sores) were not unfrequently a consequence of *fellation*². That this should be so is readily intelligible, when we consider the liability to corruption and the acrid quality of secretions from the *glans penis* in hot countries. Again the *βουβαστικά ἔλκεα* (Bubastic sores), which *Salmasius* cites from *Aëtius*³ as being identical with

¹ *Martial*, Bk. IV. Epigr. 42. Bk. XI. Epigr. 14.: *Urbis deliciae salesque Nili*. (Darling of the City, savour of the Nile).

² The fact that, according to *Prosper Alpin* (*De Medicina Aegypti*.—(Of Egyptian Medicine, Bk. I. ch. 14.). gangrenous sore-throat prevails all the year round among children in Egypt, need not prejudice our conclusion; in

fact it rather helps to explain how the sore-throat brought on by *fellation* was able so readily and quickly to assume the malignant type described.

³ *Aëtius*, *Tetrab. I. Serm. IV. ch. 21*. Perhaps the "Cancer oris" (cancer of the mouth) in boys, of which *Celsus*, VI. 15., makes mention, belongs to the same category.

the Egyptian and Syrian ulcers, find a satisfactory explanation on this hypothesis, for *Herodotus*¹ tells us in his time of the licentious worship of Bubastis, daughter of Isis, at Bubastos. In this expression (*βουβαστικά ἔλκεα*) the malady is named from one particular place, where it was probably specially prevalent, whereas in Aretaeus it is spoken of as general throughout the country.

In this connection we must not pass over the fact that Casaubon commenting on the passage of Persius (V. 187.) to be quoted directly is inclined to regard the *ἔλκεα Συριακά* (Syrian sores) as a punishment of the Dea Syra (Syrian goddess). In this he relies on a passage of *Plutarch*² that runs to this effect: "But of the Syrian goddess the superstitious believe that, if a man eat a sprat or anchovy, the goddess consumes his shin-bones, fills his body full of sores, melts down his liver." The legend must at any rate be of great antiquity, for we meet with it in *Menander*, in a fragment which *Porphyrus*³ has preserved,—

¹ *Herodotus*, Bk. II. ch. 60.

² *Plutarch*, De superstitione II. 170 D., *Τὴν δὲ Συρίαν θεὸν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες νομίζουσιν ἂν μαινίδας τις ἢ ἀψύας φάγῃ τὰ ἀντικνήμια διεσθίειν, ἔλκεσι τὸ σῶμα πιμπλάναι, συντήκειν τὸ ἥπαρ.* (for translation see text above). We may add that *μαινίδας* is the *maena* (sprat) of the Romans, for which *Hesychius* has *σαραπίους*, while *Plautus* uses *deglupta maena* (skinned sprat) as a contemptuous name for a vicious debauchee (above p. 238. Note 1.). By the Dea Syra some have understood the goddess Derceto, who was worshipped at Ascalon under the image of a maiden, whose

lower half ended in a fish. To her the fishes were sacred, and for this reason the Syrians were forbidden to eat fish. Comp. *Lucian*, De Dea Syra p. 672. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 4.
³ *Porphyrus*, De Abstinencia bk. IV. ch. 15.,

παράδειγμα τοὺς Σύρους λαβέ' Ὅταν φάγωσιν ἰχθὺν ἐκείνοι διὰ τινὰ Αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν, τοὺς πόδας καὶ γαστέρα Οἰδοῦσιν· εἴτα σαρκίον ἔλαβον· εἰς δ' ὁδὸν Ἐκάθισαν αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ κόπρου καὶ τὴν θεὸν Ἐξιλάσαντο τῷ ταπεινώσαι σφόδρα.

in which however swelling of the belly and the feet is in question. To this also would seem to refer what *Persius* (loco citato) says :

Hinc grandes Galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos,
Incussere Deos inflantes corpora, si non
Praedictum ter mane caput gustaveris alli.

(Then the tall Galli, and the one-eyed priestess with her sacred rattle, instil terror of *the gods that make men's bodies swell*, unless three times at dawn you have eaten the prescribed head of garlic). True we cannot from the passage of Plutarch directly conclude that ulcers of the throat also were ascribed to the anger of the Syrian goddess in consequence of indulgence in a fish diet; rather should we expect what is said to apply primarily to external skin-ulcers, occurring on other parts, as just on the shin-bone. Still we shall be quite justified in making the reference general, more particularly as liver-complaint is also ascribed to the goddess's interference, and we shall see that in Antiquity the cause of all ulcers was supposed to lie in some fault of the liver. Now as the fish had necessarily to be put into the mouth to be swallowed, and as it was always supposed the punishment of the goddess followed immediately on the offence, and affected the immediately active part, throat-ulcers might very naturally be taken to be a result of such punishment. This again only further confirms our explanation just above to the effect that ulcers of the throat were a consequence resulting from vicious indulgence. For the Temple-

(As an example take the Syrians: These people, when they have eaten fish, in consequence of some unwholesome quality in themselves, swell in feet and belly. Then they take quickly a wallet; and down they sit by the road-side on dung, and

so appease the goddess by their exceeding humbleness). At Athens *ἔλκη ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀντικνημίοις* (to have sores on the shin-bones) would seem to have been a usual thing, according to *Theophrastus*, Charact. XIX.

service of the Dea Syra was of course connected with every sort of licentious practice.

Taking into consideration this marked prevalence of *Corrosion of the Shin-bones*, we might argue with considerable probability that it pointed to the existence of a disease of the bones following as a result of vicious indulgence. On the other hand the observation that the precise time the body became covered with ulceration was after indulgence in fish-eating cannot help being of weight in connection with the doctrine of Leprosy; for to the present day we note as very frequent among peoples whose chief nutriment is fish various forms of Leprosy. And again, we may very likely see in this prohibition of a fish diet, which is also mentioned by *Athenaeus*¹, a sanitary regulation justified by experience as necessary in Syria, where skin-diseases and ulcerations were so common.

But not alone in Egypt and Syria did *fellation* lead to suchlike unhappy results; we find the same to have been the case at Rome, as is proved by the following passage of *Martial*², a passage that has hitherto been completely overlooked in this connection, but which is none the less of great importance :

¹ *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosoph.* bk. VIII. p. 346. d. Indeed it would seem that the Stoic *Antipater* of Tarsus related how a Syrian Queen Gatis was excessively fond of eating fish, and accordingly forbade anyone *ἄτερ Γάτιδος* (except Gatis) in the whole country to indulge in it, and from this circumstance came the name of *Atergatis*—the Syrian Venus!

² *Martial*, Bk. I. Epigr. 79. Possibly also the passage in *Hippocrates*, *Epidem.* bk.

VII., Vol. III. 691 of Kühn's ed., *ὁ τὸ καρκίνωμα τὸ ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι καυθεὶς ὑγιὲς ἐγένετο ὑφ' ἡμεῶν*, (The patient who was cauterized for cancer of the throat recovered under our treatment), which Jöhrens in a quotation to be given presently (below § 25.) refers to Venereal disease, as is also done by him in the case of the throat-ulcers mentioned in the Tract of *Hippocrates*, *De Dentitione* (On Teething), Vol. I. p. 484. of Kühn's ed.

Indignas premeret pestis cum tabida fauces
 Inque ipsos vultus serperet atra lues:
 Siccis ipse genis flentes hortatus amicos
 Decrevit Stygios Festus adire lacus.
 Nec tamen obscuro pia polluit ora veneno,
 Aut torsit lenta tristia fata fame:
 Sanctam Romana vitam sed morte peregit,
 Dimisitque animam nobiliore via.
 Hanc mortem fati magni præferre Catonis
 Fama potest: huius Caesar amicus erat.

(When corrupting disease began to sorely afflict his unworthy throat and black contagion was creeping to his very face, Festus, himself with dry cheeks, comforted his weeping friends, and determined to seek the pools of Styx. But still he never disgraced his dutiful lips with darkling poison, nor brought on a painful, miserable end by slow hunger; nay! rather by a Roman death he completed his holy life, and dismissed his soul the nobler way. Such a death fame may well exalt above great Cato's end; Caesar was his friend).

The words *indignae fauces* (unworthy throat) obviously point to the practice of *fellatio*, whereby he had brought on himself the *pestis tabida* and *atra lues*, (corrupting disease, black contagion), and so we have here a clear statement of the cause by one *doctus venerene cupidinis* (learned in the passion of love), which cause was quite unknown to the *artifex medicus* (medical practitioner). The *pia ora* (dutiful lips) are therefore to be taken merely ironically, as also the *sancta vita* (holy life). Even the Cinaedus, as well as the maidens who prostitute themselves in honour of Astarté, are invariably, as we have seen, described in the Old Testament as *sanctus* (holy), and we read e.g. in Job. Ch. XXXV. 14., of a good-for-nothing, how he will die like such a *sanctus*. It was precisely this signification of *sanctus* that led us to the idea of taking the throat affection for a secondary consequence of paederastia, especially if we understand a *double entendre* to underlie the last

words *huius Caesar amicus erat* (Caesar was his friend). The Commentators it is true take them merely as said by way of contrast with the death of Cato of Utica, who was forced by Caesar's enmity to take his own life, and as implying this was not the case with Festus, consequently that his suicide is so much the more remarkable¹. However it is

¹ A striking analogy to this suicide is to be found in the well-known passage of *Pliny* (Epist. bk. VI. epist. 24.), one of much importance in connection with affections of the genitals, which may therefore very well be quoted here by anticipation:

C. Plinius Macro Suo S. Quam multum interest, quid a quo fiat! Eadem enim facta claritate vel obscuritate facientium aut tolluntur altissime, aut humillime deprimuntur. Navigabam per Larium nostrum, quum senior amicus ostendit mihi villam, atque etiam cubiculum, quod in lacum prominet. Ex hoc, inquit, aliquando municeps nostra cum marito se praecipitavit. Causam requisivi. Maritus ex diutino morbo circa velanda corporis ulceribus putrescebat: uxor, ut inspiceret, exegit: neque enim quemquam fidelius indicaturam, possetne sanari. Vidit, desperavit: hortata est, ut moreretur, comesque ipsa mortis, dux immo et exemplum et necessitas fuit. Quod factum ne mihi quidem, qui municeps,

nisi proxime auditum est; non quia minus illa clarissimo Arriae facto, sed quia minor est ipsa. Vale. (Caius Pliny to his friend Macer, Greeting.—What a vast difference it makes, by whom a particular thing is done! For the very same actions in virtue of the fame or obscurity of the doers are raised to the topmost pinnacle or brought down to the lowest depth. I was sailing along our Lake of Larius, when my companion and elder pointed out a certain country house to me, nay, a particular bed-room, which projects into the Lake. From this chamber, he said, some time ago a fellow-countrywoman of ours threw herself, along with her husband. I asked the reason. *The husband, it seemed, in consequence of a disease of long standing was rotting with ulcers on the private parts of the body. The wife demanded a right to look; for she thought no one else likely to give a more conscientious opinion than herself as to whether he could be cured. She saw, and despaired of recovery; so she urged him to die, and herself was com-*

doubtful which Caesar is meant, whether the word is merely a Title or a proper name. In the second—and certainly this at first appeared to us to be the more likely,—view we were of course bound then to turn our attention to his character for dissoluteness. However as both *Catullus*¹ and *Suetonius*² represent him merely as a *Cinaedus* in regard to the male sex, if that is to say we subscribe to the accepted opinion, we afterwards came to the conclusion it was rather the *Emperor* generally that is spoken of here, and consequently that any other Emperor, e. g. Tiberius, or Nero, or another, might be intended. It is true that if *pathicus* (pathic) and *omnium virorum mulier* (wife of all men) are taken in a wider sense, there would be nothing to make the supposition impossible that Julius Caesar is pointed at. Only that perhaps another passage of *Martial* would seem to go against this, a passage where he seeks to excuse the several excesses and vices of a certain Gaurus by instancing an exalted personage as patronizing each of them, and says finally (Bk. II. 89.):

panion of his death, giving in fact at once incitement, example and compulsion to the deed. This achievement I had never, though a man of the country, heard of till that moment; not because it was a whit less glorious than Arria's renowned exploit, but solely because the doer was less famous. Farewell).

¹ *Catullus*, Carm. 57 :

Pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis
Mamurrae pathicoque, Caesarique.

(An excellent understanding exists between the vile *cinaedi*, the pathic Mamurra and Caesar).

² *Suetonius*, Vita Jul.

Caesaris chs. 49, 51, 52., where Curio, the Elder, calls him (Caesar) "*omnium mulierum virum, et omnium virorum mulierem*" (husband of all women, and wife of all men). The same indeed was said also of *Alcibiades*. In *Athenaeus*, Deipnos. bk. XII. p. 535., we read in a fragment of the Comic Poet *Pherecrates*:

Οὐκ ὦν ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιά-
δης, ὥς δοκεῖ,
ἀνὴρ ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν
ἐστὶ νῦν.

(For not being a man at all, Alcibiades, it seems, is now husband of all our women).

Quod fellas ; vitium dic mihi cuius habes ?

(But for your *fellatio* : tell me whose vice you follow in this ?) Still against the *cinaedus* view the words *indignae fauces* (unworthy throat) speak clearly. Probably in this connection the following passage of *Martial* should also come in,—where the Poet says of his servant (Bk. I. Epigr. 102.):

Destituit primos virides Demetrius annos :
 Quarta tribus lustris addita messis erat.
 Ne tamen ad Stygias famulus descenderet umbras,
 Ureret implicitum cum scelerata lues,
 Cavimus et domini ius omne remisimus aegro :
 Munere dignus erat convaluisse meo.
 Sensit deficiens sua praemia, meque patronum
 Dixit, ad infernas liber iturus aquas.

(Demetrius left us in the first years of his bloom ; the fourth summer was but just added to his three lustris. We took all means to save our faithful house-slave from descending to the shades of Styx, when he was consuming under a malignant contagion that had fastened upon him, and remitted all my master's rights for the sick lad,—who indeed well deserved to win recovery at my hands. On his death-bed he recognized what I had done for him, and called me his *master*, though so soon to go forth a free man to the streams of the neither world.)

Was this *famulus* (house-slave) the same person as the *puer* (boy, slave), who is mentioned by *Martial*, bk. XI. 95. ?

That not boys only, but girls too, had to suffer in this way among the Romans, and lost their lives from the complaint in question, is shown, we think, by the following Epigram of *Martial*, Bk. XI. Epigr. 91.):

Aeolidon Canace iacet hoc tumultata sepulchro,
 Ultima cui parvae septima venit hiems.
 Ah scelus, ah facinus ! properas quid flere viator ?
 Non licet hic vitae de brevitate queri.

Tristius est leto leti genus: horrida vultus
 Abstulit et tenero sedit in ore lues:
 Ipsaque crudeles ederunt oscula morbi;
 Nec data sunt nigris tota labella rogis.
 Si tam præcipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
 Debuerant alia fata venire via.

(Canacé of the Aeolians lies buried in this tomb, who died a child,—her seventh winter was her last. Oh! the shame and horror of it! haste, a tear, thou that passest by. Here is no occasion to lament the short span of human life. Sadder than death is the way of her death; a dread contagion ate away her face, and settled in the tender little mouth. Cruel disease infected her very kisses; and her lips were half gone when they were consigned to the grim pyre. If death must needs have come to her with a flight so swift, at least he should have taken another way. Death so hastened to close the issue of her persuasive voice, that her tongue might not have time to bend the cruel goddesses to mercy).

Besides the passages quoted, there are several others to be found in *Martial*, that must be taken as referring to the *fellator*; but since the maladies that occur are equally prevalent in the case of the *Cunnilingue*, it will be more convenient to adduce them under that head. Further, we only require to mention the fact that *pale lips* seem to have been regarded as a mark of the *fellator*¹.

¹ *Catullus*, Carm. 80.:

Quid dicam, Gelli, quare rosea
 ista labella
 Hiberna fiant candidi-
 ora nive.
 Mane domo cum exis, et cum te
 octava quiete
 E molli longo suscitât hora die.
 Nescio quid certe est. An vere
 fama susurrat,
 Grandia te mediî tenta
 vorare viri?
 Sic certe clamant Virronis rupta
 miselli
 Ilia, et emulso labra no-
 tata sero.

(Would you have me tell, Gellius, why those rosy lips grow whiter than the winter's snow, when you sally out from home in the morning, and when the eighth hour of the long summer day wakes you from gentle sleep? Nay! I know not what it is for sure. Does report say true, that whispers you mouth the swollen member of a man's middle? So at any rate declare the deboshed

THE PLAGUE OF LUST.

The Cunnilingue.

§ 23.

But the vice of the *fellator* is far surpassed in baseness by that of the *Cunnilingue* (*qui opus peragit linguam arrigendo in cunnum, eumque lambit*,—one who works by putting his tongue up into the female organ, and licking it). The Greeks called this practice *σκύλαξ* (a puppy), because it is a habit of dogs¹, and Hesychius explains it by *σχῆμα ἀφρο-*

vigour of poor feeble Virro,
and *your own lips marked*
by the humour you draw out).
Martial, Bk. VII. Epigr. 94.:

Bruma est, et riget horridus Dec-
cember,
Audes tu tamen osculo nivali
Omnis obvius hinc et hinc tenere.
Et totam, Line, basiare Romam.
Quid possis graviusque saeviusque
Percussus facere atque verberatus?
Hoc me frigore basiet nec uxor.
Blandis filia nec rudis labellis.
Sed tu dulcior, elegantiorque,
Cuius livida naribus caninis,
Dependet glacies, rigetque barba,
Qualem forficibus metit supinis
Tonsor Cinyphio Cilix marito.
Centum occurrere malo cunni-
lingis,
Et Gallum timeo minus recentem.
Quare si tibi sensus est pudorque,
Hibernas, Line, basiationes,
In mensem, rogo, differas Aprilem.

('Tis winter time, and the shuddering chill of December is upon us. None the less, Linus, you dare to greet with your frosty salute all men you meet here and there, and to kiss all Rome. What more disagreeable or more cruel could you do, if you had been struck or thrashed? With an

embrace so chilling may no wife kiss me, or unripe maid with wheedling lips. But you,—you think yourself more attractive and more pleasing, you from whose dog-like nose a blue icicle hangs, whose beard is frozen stiff, such a beard as the Cilician shearer crops with his upward-pointing clippers from the chin of a Cinyphian he-goat. I had rather meet a hundred *cunnilingues*; I am less afraid of a Gaul new come to town. Wherefore, if you possess any sense or any shame, I do beseech you, Linus, defer your wintry salutes till April is come). Now *Linus* is designated by *Martial*, bk. VII. Epigr. 9, as a *fellator*, and bk. XI. Epigr. 26., as a *cunnilingue*.

¹ Whence also the proverbial saying in *Suidas*: *κύνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην τὸ τοῦ Φερεκράτους σχῆμα δέ ἐστι ἀκόλαστον εἰς τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ, ἄλλο πασχόντων ἀνδρὶς ἐφ' οἷς πεπόνθασιν ἢ παροιμία.* (to

δισιακόν, ὡς τὸ τῶν φοινικίζοντων (a method of love, resembling that of those who phoenicize). We have already, in the passage of *Lucian* quoted a little above, found **φοινικίζειν** and **λεσβιάζειν** put

skin the skinned bitch; expression of Pherecrates; is an abominable practice in connection with the private parts; the proverb is spoken of such as suffer something a second time over, after having suffered it once already). Similarly *Plautus*, *Trinum.* II. 4. 27., *Edepol mutuum mecum facit* (By my faith, he plays give and take with me). Again **κυνάμνεια** (shameless fly) is found in *Suidas*, which he explains by **ἀναιδεστάτη παρεσχημάτικε τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ κυνὸς καὶ τῆς μνίας**; ὁ μὲν γὰρ κύων ἀναιδής, ἡ δὲ μνία θρασεία, (a most shameless woman: name borrowed figuratively from the dog and the fly; for the dog is shameless, and the fly audacious)—probably with a reference to *Homer*, II. XXI. 394., where **κυνόμνεια** is found, and the Scholiast observes: **ἀναιδής ὡς μνία, ἐκ δύο ἀναιδῶν τελείων, τοῦ τε κυνὸς καὶ τῆς μνίας, διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἀναιδείας**. (shameless as a fly; from two completely shameless creatures, the dog and the fly; on account of the excessive degree of their shamelessness). Further there is in this connection the word **κυνάλωπηξ** (fox-dog), which was a nick-name of *Philo-*

stratus, as we see from *Aristophanes*, *Knights* 1078., on which passage the Scholiast observes: **λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πορνοβοσκὸν καὶ καλλωπιστήν** (now he calls him both brothel-keeper and dandy). If we derive the word from **τὸν κύνα** (frenulum praeputii,—ligament of the prepuce,—*Paulus Aegineta*, VI. 54.) **ἀλωπίζειν**, it would designate the *fellator*, as **ἀλωπός**, **ἀλωπίζειν**, **ἀλωπηαῖζω** is formed from a privative (negative) and **λῶπος**, **λώπη** (the covering, skin, wool; and **ἀλωπηκία** is to be explained in the same way,—but not from the scab or mange of the fox, nor yet as the *Etymologicum Magnum* would have it, because the places where the fox discharges his urine die, the grass e.g. dries up and withers. Hence **ἀλώπηξ** might be taken as *bald-headed*, and then the further meaning of licentious dissoluteness given to it, for in Antiquity baldness was very usually looked upon as a consequence of sexual excesses, and as every one knows, *Caesar* was called by his soldiers *moechus calvus* (the bald-headed adulterer). But old men, who in particular are bald-headed, especially practised, owing to their lack of the power of erecting the

side by side; *Galen* moreover¹ does the same in the following passage, a noteworthy one for our

penis, the vice of *irrumation* and of the *cunnilingue*, which makes *Martial* say (IV. 50.) *Nemo est, Thai, senex ad irrumandum* (No one, Thais, is too old a man for irrumation). *κυνάλων* would then be a *bald-headed cunnilingue*. Possibly however this idea was also partly due to a reminiscence of the fox's habit, when desirous of following up a scent, of sticking his head to the ground (*Aelian*, Hist. Anim. VI. ch. 24.),—a manoeuvre he also adopts, as is generally known, when dying. In evidence of this view may be quoted what *Cicero*, Orat. pro Domo ch. 18., says to Sextus Clodius: *ligurris* (you are a lick), and ch. 31. *Quaere hoc ex Sexto Clodio, iube adesse, latitat omnino; sed si requiri iusseris, invenient hominem apud sororem tuam* (Publii Clodii) *occultantem se capite demisso* (Require this of Sextus Clodius, bid him appear; he lurks entirely out of sight. But if once you order him to be sought out, they will find the man at your sister's house (Publius Clodius's) *hiding himself with head held down*. Comp. *Catullus*, 87. In *Martial*, Bk. IV. Epigr. 53., *canis* is used in same sense as *κύων* in Greek,—apparently? Perhaps the women of Antiquity made use of dogs as well to serve as

cunnilingues. According to *Brockhusius* on Tibullus I. 7. 32., II. 4. 32. they were usual companions of "ladies of pleasure" at Rome, whence too *suburanae canes* (bitches of the Subura) in *Horace*, Epod. V. 58. and *Subura vigilax* (the watchful Subura) in *Propertius*, IV. 7. 15. During the Middle Ages at any rate such an employment of dogs was nothing unusual. This is stated by *Panormita*, Hermaph. Epigr. XXX., Epitaphium Nichinae Flandrensis, Scorti egregii:—

Pelvis erat cellae in medio, quae
saepè lavabar,
Lambeat madidum blanda catella
femur.

(Epitaph on Nichette the Fleming, a famous Harlot:— There stood a basin in middle of the chamber, in which I would many a time wash myself, the while my fawning bitch-pup licked her mistress's dripping thigh). and Epigr. XXXVII.,

Te viset Jannecta, sua comitante
catella,
Blanda canis dominae est, est hera
blanda viris.

(Jeannette shall visit you, her bitch-pup accompanying her; complacent is the hound to its mistress, the lady complacent to men).

¹ *Galen*, De simplic. medicament. temperamentis ac facultat. Bk. X. ch. 1., edit. Kühn Vol. XII. p. 249.

purpose on several accounts: "The drinking of sweat, urine and the menstrual blood of women is vicious and shameful, and not less so when a person, as Xenocrates proposes to do, smears the regions of the mouth and throat with excrement, and swallows it down. He speaks also of taking the wax of the ears. For my part I could never bring myself to take this, even though by that means I were never to be ill again. But excrement I consider yet more disgusting, and it is for a man of any decency far more shameful to be called an Excrement-Eater¹ than an *αλοχρουγγός* (worker of obscenities) or a *cinaedus*. But of *αλοχρουγγολί*² (workers of obscenities),

¹ *κοπροφάγος* (Excrement-Eater). To this *Martial*, bk. III. Epigr. 77., seems to allude, when he says:

Nescio quod stomachi vitium secretius esse
Suspitor, ut quid enim, Baeticus,
saprofagis?

(I suspect there exists some secret vitiation of the stomach; else why, Baeticus, do you eat putrid meat?)

² It is evident from this that *Meier* in his above mentioned Article on Paederastia is wrong in citing the expression *αλοχρουγγός* (worker of obscenities) as being used for the direct equivalent of *cinaedus*. Incidentally we would take this opportunity of further observing that the word *παιδοκόραξ* (boy-raven, i.e. a person ravenous after boys), which is also mentioned in the same Article as synonymous with *cinaedus*, is wrongly referred to paederastia, for it really, like the Latin *corvus* (raven), signifies

a *fellator*. Its true explanation is given in *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. bk. X. ch. 15., *Corvi pariant cum plurimum quinos. Ore eos parere aut coire vulgus arbitratur.* (Ravens produce at most a brood of five each pair. *The vulgar believe these birds produce or copulate with the mouth.*)—*Aristoteles* (*De gen anim.* Bk. III. ch. 6.) negat, — sed illam exosculatorem, quae saepe cernitur, qualem in columbis, esse. (*Aristotle denies this,—but adds that there is the same billing, which is often noticed, as with doves.*) Hence also *Martial*, bk. XIV. Epigr. 74.,
Corve salutator, quare fellator
haberis?
In caput intravit mentula nullatum.

(You raven that salute your mate, why are you thought to be a *fellator*? No member ever penetrated into your head). Greek Anthology, bk. II. Tit. 9. 13., *λευκὸν ἰδεῖν κόρακα* (a white crow to all appearance).

we abominate Phoenicians more than the Lesbians, and it seems to me the man does something of the same sort as the former who drinks menstrual blood (μᾶλλον βδελλυττόμεθα τοὺς φοινικίζοντας τῶν λεσβιαζόντων, ὥ¹ φαίνεται μοι παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχειν ὁ καὶ καταμηνίου πίνων.) *A sensible man will neither seek to collect experiences on the point, nor yet on a practice, which it is true involves less, but still is sufficiently shameful, that of smearing a part of the body with excrement, because he has some hurt at that spot,—or with human seed. Xenocrates calls this latter commonly γόνος (seed, semen), and distinguishes with minute care between cases where simple seed rubbed in by itself is of benefit, and cases where the female has the same effect after combination with the male, as it is discharged from the woman's womb."*

This explanation of Galen's to the effect that the φοινικίζων (one who phoenicizes) resembles the man who drinks menstrual blood, shows clearly that φοινικίζειν is *not*, as all the Lexicons give it, and *Forbiger* (loco citato) also assumes, identical with λεσβιάζειν. It is true *Forbiger* (p. 329. Note v.) gives the meaning *cunnilingere* as well, although the explanation is undoubtedly unsatisfactory which he offers *à propos* of an Epigram,²—one certainly apposite in this connection, to the effect that the reason

¹ Instead of ὥ φαίνεται *Rost* has proposed to read ὧν φαίνεται. (*Forbiger*, on the *Hermaphrod.* of *Panormita*, p. 281. Note b.)

² *Brunck*, *Analecta* Vol. III. p. 334.

Καὶ συζῆς ἡμῖν. ἐν Φοινικῇ δὲ καθεύδεις, κοῦκ ὧν ἐκ Σεμέλης μηροτρύφης γεγόνας.

(*Demonax*, be not for ever looking downwards, and be not complacent with your tongue; that organ — the *pudenda muliebria* — has a sharp thorn. And indeed you live with us, *but you sleep in Phoenicia*, and though no child of *Semelé*, are thigh-bred).

Δημόναξ, μὴ πάντα κάτω βλέπε, μηδὲ χαρίζου τῇ γλώσση· δεινὴν χοῖρος ἄκανθαν ἔχει.

for this signification is, *quod cunnilingos a natando in mari quodam Phoenice coloris (mari rubro) dixissent*, (that they had called them *cunnilingues* from their swimming as it were in a sea of Phoenician purple colour—a red sea); for the words in the Epigram, *ἐν φοινίκῃ δὲ καθεύδεις* (but you sleep in Phoenicia) cannot stand for anything else but simply *φοινικίζειν*, as indeed the passage from *Aloisia Sigaea*, which is quoted by Forbiger himself, proves conclusively¹: *Cum vellet mediam lambere, se velle dicebat in Liguriam*, (When he wanted to lick my middle, he used to say he would fain be into *Liguria*—that is, would fain lick, *ligurire*). Accordingly just as *λεσβιάζειν* came into use as the distinctive name for the vice of the *fellator*, because it was practised to a distinctive degree in Lesbos, so too to be a *cunnilingue* was called *φοινικίζειν*,

¹ In particular it is the following Epigram in *Brunck's Analecta* that has given occasion to this explanation:

Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα φεῦγε· φιλεῖ
κόλπους Ἀρεθοῦσης.
πρηνῆς ἐμπύπτων ἄλ-
μυρον ἐς πέλαγος.

(Fly the Alpheus' mouth; he loves the bosom of Arethusa, *falling headlong into the salt sea*). Forbiger might have further cited the following passage from *Aristophanes*, *Knights* 1086, 87.,

ΑΛ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ γῆς καὶ
τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς γε θαλάσσης
χῶτι γ' ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δικά-
σεις, λείχων ἐπίπαστα.

(Verily for me you shall be judge over earth and the Red Sea to boot and all the realm of Ecbatana, *licking up* comfit-

cakes,—? pickles). Here *ἐπίπαστα* is, as probably also in v. 103., the *Salgama* (pickles in brine) of *Ausonius*, *Epigr.* 125.; which moreover affords at any rate a partial explanation of the passage in *Pollux*, *Onomast.* bk. VI. ch. 9. p. 61., bk. X. ch. 24. p. 96. Still, even if according to this *Phoenicia* were used in the sense of the genital organs of women at time of menstruation, it by no means follows that *φοινικίζειν* meant *only* to have dealings with women in menstruation, any more than it does that it is identical with *καταμηνίου πίνων* (drinking of menstrual blood), as it has been shown just above not to be. In fact *Galen* says explicitly: *φαίνεται μοι παραπλήσιον*, (it appears to me to be something *similar*!)

because the habit was at home among the Phoenicians. Undoubtedly men's shamelessness was carried so far that they actually used women and girls at their period of menstruation for this purpose,—a fact of the highest interest for us, as we shall show directly. *Seneca*¹ expresses himself plainly enough on the subject: "Quid tu, cum Mamercum Scaurum consulem "faceres, ignorabas, ancillarum suarum menstruum ore illum hiantem exceptare? num "quid enim ipse dissimulabat? num quid purus "videri volebat? (How came it you were ignorant, when making Mamercus Scaurus consul, *that he was in the habit of catching in his open mouth the menstrual discharge of his maidservants?* Did he make any concealment of it himself? did he pose as a pure-minded man? nay! not he). Again in another place²:

"Nuper Natalis tam improbae linguae quam impurae, in cuius ore feminae purgabantur. (Quite lately Natalis showed himself as malignant of tongue as he is unchaste, *into whose mouth women were used to purge themselves*).

Now if first of all we bear steadfastly in mind that this *φοινικίζειν* was a vice, which prevailed primarily and especially among the Phoenicians and was later on disseminated abroad by them, and then consider how the Greeks designated every vice, and particularly excesses in love, as νόσος (disease), in the same way precisely as the Romans used *morbus* (disease),—comp. § 17—we *must* see that *φοινικίζειν* is the same thing as νόσος *φοινικίη* (Phoenician disease), and shall be in a position to form an opinion on the Gloss³ falsely ascribed to *Galen*, which reads: *φοινικίη νόσος ἡ κατὰ Φοινίκην καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνατολικά μέρη πλεονάζονσα. δηλοῦσθαι δὲ πάνταῦθα δοκεῖ ἡ ἐλεφαντιάσις.* (*Phoenician disease: a disease prevalent in Phoenicia*

¹ *Seneca*, De beneficiis bk. IV. ch. 31.

² *Galen*, Works. edit. Kühn, Vol. XIX. p. 153.

³ *Seneca*, Epist. 87.

and about the Eastern parts. Elephantiasis *appears* to be signified by this).

Even granting the first part of this Gloss to have been really written by *Galen*, the last sentence at any rate is obviously an extraneous and later addition. This is at once indicated by the use of the word *δοκεῖ* (it appears), which comes in curiously, standing as it does next-door to the *definite* statement that this νόσος (disease) was common in Phoenicia; for surely anyone who knew this, must also have known what the disease was. Again if he had wished to describe it by some such phrase as the English "a sort of Elephantiasis", he could hardly have failed to express himself in a different way to what he has. But as a matter of fact, *Galen* knew perfectly well, as we have already seen, what φοινιξίζειν was, and consequently what the φοινικίνη νόσος (Phoenician disease) was, and it could not by any possibility have occurred to him to suppose it any form of Elephantiasis. Unfortunately *Prof. Naumann*¹ has allowed himself to be misled by this extraneous addition; he writes: "In the Work of a Pseudo-Galen is given a short explanation of the φοινικίνη νόσος (Phoenician disease), or rather to speak strictly, the *conjecture* is made,² that this malady, a common one in Phoenicia and the East, may have been Elephantiasis. True indeed the word might *with equal likelihood* express a disease characterized by redness of the skin φοινίσις s. φοινίσις i. q. puniceus, purpureus, cruentus; φοινιγμός irritatio cutis per vesicantia—φοινίσις or φοινίσις =

¹ *Naumann*, Handb. der Klinik (Text-book of Clinical Medicine), Vol. 7. p. 88.

² The author at any rate is more cautious than *Sprengel*, who (*Th. Batemann*), Prakt. Darstellung der Hautkrankheiten (Practical Exposition of Diseases of the Skin), Halle

1815., p. 427. Note) writes: "Hippocrates appears to mention it (Elephantiasis) under the name φοινικίνη νόσος (Phoenician disease), which *Galen* (Explan. voc. Hipp.) distinctly and definitely explains as Elephantiasis.

Phoenician purple, purple, blood-red; *φοινιγμὸς* = irritation of the skin by rubefacients). Or should we suppose *some leprous-venerical malady* endemic and aboriginal among the trading Phoenicians to be signified, which was called the *Morbus Phoeniceus* (Phoenician disease) in the same way as in more modern times people spoke of the *Morbus Gallicus* (French disease,—Syphilis)? In any case it is remarkable that *Themison* (who also noted incidentally that Satyriasis at times attacks a population epidemically,—speaks of the special frequency of Satyriasis in Crete (*Caelius Aurelianus*, *Acut. Morb.* bk. III. ch. 18). As is well known, Phoenician and Hellenic Colonies had converged here; and the island remained in uninterrupted and active commercial intercourse with the maritime cities of Phoenicia.

According to the general supposition the Gloss of the Pseudo-Galen has reference to a passage of *Hippocrates* occurring in the Second book of the *Prorrhetica*,¹ where we read as follows: "But *λειχήνες*,—tettors, as also *λέπραι* and *λεῦκαι*,—scaly leprosies and white leprosies, where any of these occur in the young or mere children, or after appearing on a small scale shall then increase but slowly, in these cases it is not right to call the exanthema or eruption an apostasis, (transitional state), but a *νόσημα*,—condition of disease. On the other hand where any of these affections occurs on

¹ *Hippocrates*, edit. Kühn Vol. I. pp. 223, 233. *Λειχήνες* δὲ καὶ λέπραι καὶ λεῦκαι, οἷσι μὲν νέοιςιν ἢ παισὶν ἐοῦσιν ἐγένετό τι τούτων, ἢ κατὰ μικρὸν φανέν αὖξεται ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ, τούτοιςιν μὲν οὐ χρὴ ἀπόστασιν νομίζειν τὸ ἐξάνθημα, ἀλλὰ νόσημα· οἷσι δὲ ἐγένετο τούτων τι πολὺ τε καὶ ἐξάπινης, τοῦτο ἂν εἴη ἀπόσθησις· γίνονται δὲ λεῦκαι μὲν ἐκ

τῶν θάνατωδεσμάτων νοσημάτων, οἷον καὶ ἡ νοῦσος ἡ φθινικὴ καλεομένη. αἱ δὲ λέπραι καὶ οἱ λειχήνες ἐκ τῶν μελαγχολικῶν ἰησθαι δὲ τούτων εὐπετέστερά ἐστιν ὅσα νεωτάτοιςιν τε γίνεται καὶ νεώτατά ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τοῖςιν μαλθακωτάτοιςιν καὶ σαρκωδεστάτοιςιν φύεται. (for translation see text above).

a large scale and suddenly, it would then be an apostasis. But whereas *λεῦκαι* arise out of *the most deadly diseases*, as e. g. the *νοῦσος ἡ φθινική*,—wasting disease, as it is called, *λέπραι* and *λειχήνες* do so from the melancholic, or diseases proceeding from black bile. And of such the easier to cure are those that occur in the youngest patients and are of the latest origin, and arise in the softest and most fleshy parts of the body." *Foesius* observes on the passage: "Nemini autem dubium est, quin hac parte "mendosi sint codices omnes, cum ἡ νοῦσος "ἡ φθινική καλουμένη scribitur. Nam φοινικίη "νόσος ex Galeni exegesi procul omni dubio repotendum. (Now no one can doubt that *all the MSS. are deceptive* here, reading as they do ἡ νοῦσος ἡ φθινική. For φοινικίη νόσος must undoubtedly be restored from the Exegesis of Galen). *J. W. Wedel*¹ on the contrary writes: "Legunt quidam pro φοινικίη "—φθινική, et vertunt tabem seu morbum tabidum, "sed contra fidem codicum correctionum, quibus Galenus ipse assentitur, et rei ipsius, de qua textus agit, evidentiam. (Some read φθινική for φοινικίη, and render it *wasting* or *wasting disease*,—but against the authority of the better class of MSS., with which Galen himself agrees, and against the evidence of the context of the matter treated of). In the latter of these two statements Wedel, in spite of his mistaken view of the matter generally, is perfectly right; whether he is so in the former as well, we are not in a position to say, for alas! we lack the critical apparatus absolutely indispensable for

¹ *J. W. Wedel*, Progr. de Morbo phoeniceo Hippocratis, (Graduation Exercise on the Phœnician disease of Hippocrates), Jena 1702. 4to., reprinted in *E. G. Baldinger*, Selecta doctorum virorum opuscula in quibus Hippocrates explicatur, denuo edita, (Select

Tracts of Learned Men dealing with the Interpretation of Hippocrates, — Second ed.), Göttingen 1782., pp. 215—222. The Author does not seem to be really self-consistent; he wavers between Elephantiasis and Purpura.

such a decision, not so much as the Edition of *Mackius* being on the shelves of our University Library.

In the first place we ought to make quite sure what Hippocrates understood under the name *λεῦκαι*. A disease of the Skin no doubt; but of what particular nature it was, would seem not to be so easy to determine. According to *Coac. praenotio*n. (Vol. I. p. 321.) Hippocrates distinguished a *λεῦκη συγγενής* and a *λεῦκη μὴ συγγενής* (*λεῦκη* inborn, and not inborn), the latter attacking individuals only after puberty. *Hesychius* says *λεῦκη, ἄνθος τι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα γινόμενον, ἄλφος δὲ λευκή τις ἐν τῷ σῶματι*. (*λεῦκη*,—white leprosy, an eruption coming out on the exterior parts of the body, but *ἄλφος*,—dull-white leprosy, a form of *λεῦκη* in the body). *Galen*, *Definit. med.* (Vol. XIX. p. 140) *λευκή ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ λευκὸν χρῶμα τοῦ σώματος παρὰ φύσιν μεταβολή*. (*λεῦκη* is the change to an unnatural white colour of the body). According to this it would appear to be merely superficial discolorations of the skin that writers understood by *λεῦκαι*,—a view that *Rayer*,¹ seems to coincide with. *Pollux* on the other hand offers an explanation as follows: *ἄλφος μέλας, ἐπισδρομή σκιώδης, ἐπιπόλαιος, εὐάτος, ἄλφος λευκός, λευκότης ἐπιτρέχουσα τῇ ἐπιδερματίδι, ἀύχμηρά, δυσάτος· λεῦκη, ὅταν ἐπιτείνῃ ἡ*

¹ *Rayer*, *Maladies de la peau*. Bruxelles 1836. p. 385. Et quoique les termes de la description du *λεῦκη* se rapportent assez bien à la leucopathie partielle, la plupart des interprètes et des critiques, se fondant sur un passage d'Hippocrate (Prorrhēt. lib. II.) ont pensé, que sous ce nom les anciens avoient indiqué une maladie grave, l'éléphantiasis anesthétique ou la lèpre des juifs. (*Rayer*, Diseases of the

Skin. Brussels 1836., p. 385.. And although the terms in which this *λεῦκη* is described are pretty well consistent with the symptoms of partial leucopathy, still the majority of interpreters and critics, taking their stand on a passage of Hippocrates (Prorrhēt. bk. II.) have held that under this name the Ancients indicated a serious disease, viz. anaesthetic elephantiasis or the leprosy of Jews).

λευκότης, καὶ φύσῃ τρίχωσιν λευκὴν, εἰ δὲ κεν-
τήσειας, ὕφαιμος, δυσίατος, ἐστὶν ὅτε ὑπέρυθρος
ἐπανθεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ (?) τοῖς χεῖλεσιν, οἷον
ἀλὸς ἄχνη. (Black ἀλὸς, a dark-coloured spread-
ing eruption, superficial and easily curable; white
ἀλὸς, a whiteness running over the epidermis (of
the prepuce), dry harsh and difficult to cure; λεύκη,
when the whiteness extends, and produces a growth
of white hairs, and if you prick it, it is suffused with
blood, difficult to cure, also sometimes reddish in
hue. And the eruption comes out on the lips like
sea-foam). Here λεύκη is evidently a much more
deeply penetrating malady, as indeed it is described
by *Celsus*¹ and *Galen*.² It corresponds with the
white Leprosy of Moses. But the most curious thing
is the statement appended to the effect that the
affection broke out on the lips like sea-foam. This
is certainly to be referred to some other form of
λεύκη, unless indeed we are to take it in connection
with the succeeding words in the text, λειχὴν ἄγριος

¹ *Celsus*, Bk. V. ch. 27. 19.,
λεύκη habet quiddam simile
albo, sed magis albida est et
altius descendit: in eaque albi
pili sunt, et lanugini similes.
(λεύκη has some resemblance
to albus, but is more white
in colour, and penetrates
deeper; also in it there are
white hairs of a woolly ap-
pearance). In these last words
the interpreters have supposed
themselves to find the ἀλὸς
ἄχνη (sea-foam) of *Pollux*,
Onom. IV. 193., expressed!

² *Galen*, *Isag.*, edit. Kühn
Vol. XIV. p. 758.. — De
symptomat. differ. Vol. VII.
p. 63. — De symptomat. caus.
bk. II. *ibid.* pp. 225 sqq.,
where the λεύκη is described
as a consequence of *nutritio*

depravata (morbid nutrition),
whereby τὴν σάρκα γίνεσθαι
φλεγματικωτέραν (the flesh
becomes over phlegmatic).
Comp. *Actius*, *Tetrab.* IV. I.
ch. 133. *Paulus Aegineta*,
bk. IV. ch. 5. *Actuarius*,
Meth. med. II. 11. VI. 8.
Oribasius, *De morb. curat.*
III. 58. *Scip. Gentilis*, *Com-*
ment. in *Apuleii apologiam*,
note 524. — *Suidas* s. v.
λεῦκη παρὰ Ἡροδότου
πάθος τι περὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα,
(under word λεύκη: in *Hero-*
dotus, a complaint affecting
the whole surface of the body).
In *Alexander*, *Aphrodis.*
Problem. I. 146, λεῦκαι sig-
nify the white flecks on the
finger-nails.

(malignant tetter), in which case, as we have seen with regard to Mentagra (Tetter of the chin), the remark is based on a perfectly sound observation; and besides, the *αὐτὸ* gives absolutely no sense. On the other hand if Pollux' datum in reference to the seat of *λευκή* is correct, it must obviously afford much light for clearing up the meaning of the passage in Hippocrates, and in deference to it we shall be bound to read *φοινικίη* instead of *φθινικῇ*,¹—an

¹ *Pollux*, Onomast IV. ch. 25. p. 187., mentions among forms of wasting-diseases *φθίνης νόσος*, for which some editors, and quite rightly, prefer to read *φθίνας νόσος* (wasting disease). *Suidas* also says *φθίνας ἢ νόσος*, but without giving any further explanation; on the contrary in *Hesychius* we find: s. v. *φθινῶ[ς] ἢ ἐρυσίβη, καὶ εἶδος ἐλαίας* (under word *φθινῶ*; the red blight, also a species of olive). But by *ἐρυσίβη* is signified *mildew*, *blight*, *smut on grain*, the same thing therefore as the Romans called *rubigo* or *robigo*, on which *Servius*, on *Virg. Georg. I. 151.*, has the following observation: *Robigo genus est vitii, quo culmi pereunt, quod a rusticanis calamitas dicitur. Hoc autem genus vitii ex nebula nasci solet, cum nigrescunt et consumuntur frumenta. Inde Robigus deus et sacra eius septimo Kalendas Maias Robigalia appellantur. Sed haec abusive robigo dicitur; nam proprie robigo est, ut Varro dicit, vitium*

obscœnae libidinis quod ulcus vocatur: id autem abundantia et superfluitate humoris solet nasci, quae Graece σατυρίασις dicitur. (Robigo is a sort of blight, that kills the corn-stalks, which is spoken of as a disaster by the peasants. Now this kind of blight commonly springs from a mist or exhalation, the crops blackening and being burnt up. Hence the god Robigus, and his feast-day on the seventh day before the Kalends of May (April 24.), known as the Robigalia. But this is called robigo only by a misnomer; for properly speaking robigo is, as Varro says, a vitiation due to abominable licentiousness, and is called an ulcer, and it commonly springs from that abundance and over-copiousness of the humour, which in Greek is called Satyriasis). These words are for our purpose of the highest importance, teaching us as they do, that a distinctive form of ulceration, that the patient had brought on himself by sexual excesses, was not only familiar

emendation that presents no difficulty, since *φθινική* might very easily be read for *φθινική*, and indeed (as pointed out in the Note) was actually so read.

among the Romans but actually bore the special name of *robigo*. It must have displayed a distinctive redness, and have consumed the parts affected similarly to the smut or rust of grain, or the rust of iron. It is surely a sufficient indication to call the chancre-ulcer a blight, a burning: Comp. anthrax, carbo (malignant pustule, carbuncle). To this day in Germany it is vulgarly said of any one attacked by the primary forms of Venereal disease, "the man has burned himself". *Festus*, (edit. Dacier p. 451.) says: *Robum* rubro colore et quae rufo significare, at bovem quoque rustici appellant, manifestum est, unde et materia quae plurimas venas eius coloris habet dicta est rubor, (*Robus* clearly indicates things of a red or reddish colour,—now countrymen even speak of an ox as *robustus*; hence any substance having manifold veins of this colour is called *rubor*). Now such is habitually the case with the penis attacked by phimosis or paraphimosis and under the morbid condition of constant erection (Satyriasis) superinduced by these. Again this shows us the reason why Priapus is so frequently called "*ruber hortorum custos*" (the red keeper of gardens), —

Priapeia Praef. 5.; and why he is said, "*Ruber sedere cum rubente fascino*, (to sit, red with his ruddy verge), — *Horace*, Odes 84. Sat. I. 8. 5. Now as the blight in grain was regarded specially as a consequence of the dew (*mildew*), and *ros* (dew) again is used in the sense of the male semen, as well as for the moisture secreted in the female vagina during coition, we might draw yet another analogy from this, and at the same time a proof of the *verecundia loquentium* (shamefacedness in speech), — p. 43., of the old Romans. Thus it would seem the Greeks too indicated by their *φθινά* the same thing as the Romans by *robigo*. That it was a human disease, is clearly enough shown by the passage from Pollux, and besides we can see it was so from another in *Plutarch* in his Life of Galba (ch. 21.), where he says: *Τιγελλίνον μὲν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι βιώσεσθαι φάσκοντος χρόνον, ὑπὸ φθινάδος νόσου δαπανώμενον*, (For he said that Tigellinus would not live much longer, being exhausted by a wasting disease), — a quotation proving at the same time the deadliness of the malady. Once more, *Hesychius* has for *φθινά* also *φθινά*, saying, *φθινά*.

But one emendation leads on to another, and we shall find ourselves bound, on the analogy of the *θανυμαστόν πάθος* (wonderful complaint) in Dio

ἐρροσίβη (*φοινία*: red blight, and as the adjective corresponding would necessarily be *φοινικός* or *φοινίκινος*, it follows that *φοινική νόσος* and *φθινική νόσος*, — *φθινική* being the adjective from *φθινή* or *φθινάς*, (which however would more strictly speaking be *φθινανκή*), would mean exactly the same thing, viz. an "Ulcus rubrum et rodens ex coitu cum foeda muliere natum" (red eating ulcer, coming from coition with an unclean woman), the fatal event of which affection was a matter of common observation among the Ancients. Now if this interpretation is the right one in the passage of Hippocrates, it is clear that *λεῦχαι* were the consequences of this malady, and accordingly we should have a proof that in Antiquity, no less than in modern times, primary ulcers not only preceded secondary affections of the skin, but were actually *recognized as such*. However as the proofs for this *apertu* are still too fragmentary on the side of the ancient Physicians, we must suspend our immediate judgement on the point, and content ourselves for the present with saying, that *φοινική νόσος* stood originally in the text in the sense of *cunnilingere* (to be a *cunnilingue*), whereas a

later inquirer put *φθινική* into its place, inasmuch as in his time their meanings had become identical as that of a bodily ailment, and so *the consequence* of the vice instead of the vice itself found its way even into the text. For granted *φθινάς* has the meaning of *robigo* (blight), there is no doubt this only came to be the case as late as in the time of the Alexandrine critics. Besides this, *φοινικιστής* is also found in the *Etymologicum Magnum* for *Cunnilingus*; we read: *γλωττοκομείον, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἀτύλῃται ἀπετίθεσαν τὰς γλώττας· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοεῖον ὑπὸ Εὐβούλου φοινικιστὴν σκώπτοντος·* (*γλωττοκομείον*, tongue-hole, place in which fluteplayers insert their tongues; *the female privates* also called so by Eubulus, making a scoff at the *φοινικιστής*, — *cunnilingue*). The *Etymologicum Magnum* further has as synonyms for *cunnilingere*: *γλωττοστροφεῖν, περιλάλειν καὶ στομύλλεσθαι· γλωττοδεψεῖν, ἀσχρορρογεῖν* (to *ply the tongue*: to talk excessively, to babble; to *work or soften with the tongue*: to do obscenely), and for *cunnilingus*, *γλώσσα ῥον, στόμαρρον* (*tongue-busy*: mouth-busy).

Chrysostom, to read here also *θαυμασιωτάτων νοσημάτων* (of the most wonderful diseases) for *θανατωδεσιμάτων* v., and translate accordingly: "but *λευχαι* arise out of the most terrible aberrations of the mind," such for instance as the vice of the *cunnilingue* is. If we examine further, we shall see it is not *λευχαι* but *λευχαι* that stands in the text, so it cannot be a question of a skin-affection of the leprosy type at all, for *λευκός* (white) rather implies transparent and shiny, and *Martial* (XI. 99.) in a passage to be discussed more fully later on, says:

Non ulcus acre, pustulaeve lucentes,
Nec triste mentum, sordidique lichenes,

(No biting ulcer, or *shiny pustules*, nor yet disfigured chin, and foul scabs). Accordingly we have here nothing whatever to do with the leprous-like *λευκή*, but only with *pustulae lucentes* (shiny pustules), which as we shall show presently were a consequence of the practices of the *cunnilingue*. We have the more right to assume this, as the old Physicians ascribe *λευκή* to the *φλέγμα* (phlegmatic humour),—an explanation all the more likely to have been given, as directly afterwards follow the words, *αἱ δὲ λέπραι καὶ οἱ λειχῆνες ἐκ τῶν μελαγχολικῶν* (but leprosy and tetters arise out of the melancholic diseases). True this is in contradiction with another passage of Hippocrates,¹ for in this we read: *λεπρὴ καὶ κνησμὸς καὶ ψώρα καὶ λειχῆνες καὶ ἀλφὸς καὶ ἀλώπεκες ὑπὸ φλέγματος γίνονται.* (leprosy, and itch, and scab, and tetters, and dull-white leprosy, and manges, arise from *phlegm*). This much at any rate appears to us to result, viz. that the whole passage under discussion cannot possibly be by Hippocrates, but much more probably is due to some author of the

¹ *Hippocrates, περὶ παθῶν*,
edit. Kühn Vol. II. p. 409.
It is true this Work is reckoned

among the spurious ones, and
Galen (Vol. XI. p. 63.)
ascribes it to *Polybius*.

Alexandrine age, who enjoyed ample opportunities for studying the consequences of the unnatural excesses as so often observed since Pompey the Great's time.

To assume that Hippocrates was actually acquainted with these in any completeness would up to the present be premature; at any rate we are bound, so far as our study of his writings enables us to judge, to deny him any knowledge of the fact that sexual excesses were the cause of the different affections of the genital organs chronicled by him. Of course he may have supposed all this to be notorious and the knowledge of it common property, but a host of statements would be found to tell against any such supposition. Opportunities of making acquaintance with the vice of the *cunnilingue* could certainly not have been lacking, it being so familiar a thing in his time that *Aristophanes*¹ again and again derided it in his Comedies. Whatever conclusion we come to on this head, at least the passage of Hippocrates cannot justify anyone in maintaining

¹ *Aristophanes*, *Acharnians* 271.:

Πολλῷ γὰρ ἐσθ' ἡδιον, ὦ
Φαλῆς Φαλῆς
κλέπτουσιν εὐρόνθ' ὠρικὴν
ὕληφάρον,
τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θραῖτταν
ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως,
μέσσην λαβόντ' ἄρα ντα, κατα-
βάλοντα καταγιγαρτίσαι·

(For 'tis much pleasanter, Phales, Phales! when you have found a blooming wood-cutter girl filching wood, say Strymodorus' Thracian maid from Phelleus, to take her round the middle and lift her up and throw her down and take the kernel right away),—where perhaps we should read

Στρυμοδώρου for Στρυμοδώ-
ρου. *Knights* 1284.,

Τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλῶτταν αἰσχροῖς
ἡδοναῖς λυμαίνεται,
ἐν κασανυροῖσι λείχων
τὸν ἀπόπτυστον δρόσον,
καὶ μολύνων τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡγῆν, καὶ
κυκῶν τὰς ἐσχάρας.

(For he pollutes his own tongue with foul delights, in the stews licking up the abominable dew, defiling the hair on the upper lip, and tumbling the girls' *nymphææ*). *Peace* 885.,

Τὸν ζῶμον αὐτῆς προσ-
σπessών ἐκλάψεται.

(Falling upon her he will suck up her broth).

that the *φοινικίη νόσος*,—(Phœnician disease) was true Elephantiasis, even if, as may be, the preliminary proposition that elephantiasis was a *consequence* of debauchery be made good,—a point to which we propose later on to return. On the subject of Satyriasis in Crete, we have already expressed our views.

Just as the Phœnicians carried the seed of the vice to Greece and other lands, so at a later period was it disseminated from Syria to Italy; and so *Ausonius* says (Epigr. 128.):

Eunus Syriacus inguinum liguritor,
Opicus ¹ magister (sic eum ducet Phyllis)
Muliebri membrum quadriangulum cernit:
Triquetra coactu Δ literam ducit.
De valle femorum altrinsecus pares rugas,
Mediumque, fissi rima qua patet, callem
 ψ dicit esse: nam trifissilis forma est.
Cui ipse linguam quum dedit suam, Δ est:
Veramque in illis esse Φ notam sentit.
Quid imperite, *P* putas ibi scriptum
Ubi locari *I* convenit longum?
Miselle doctor, $\&$ tibi sit obsceno,
Tuumque nomen Θ sectilis signet.

(Eunus from Syria, glutton of the privy parts, Opican (clownish) master (Phyllis teaches him his letters) sees the woman's organ four-cornered: when compressed to a triangle he makes it out the letter Δ . From the valley between the thighs start two furrows, a pair one on either side, while between them is a line, where lies the opening, the crack of the fissure; this he declares is ψ ; for 'tis three-pronged in outline. Then when he puts in his own tongue to it, lo! it is Δ ; and he can feel there is a true Φ marked therein. What, dunce, think you a *P* is

¹ *Juvenal*, Satir. VI. 455.:

Nec curanda viris Opicæ castigat
amicæ
Verba Soloecismum liceat fecisse
marito.

(And rebukes the expressions of her clownish (Opican) friend, things not worth men's notice. Surely a husband should be allowed to make a solecism).

inscribed there, where a long *I* should by rights be placed? Miserable, contemptible scholar, may the 8 (a noose) reward your foulness, and the cleft 9 (letter of condemnation, being initial of *θάνατος*,—death) be set against your name!) The more detailed interpretation of these obscene hieroglyphics the reader may find in the commentators on the passage, as well as in *Forberg*, loco citato p. 335.

Diseases of the Cunnilingue.

§ 24.

Can anyone believe such a vice as this was practised without incurring punishment? Yet there prevails amongst the Physicians of Antiquity, even including Galen, who knew the facts, an unbroken silence. It is impossible to suppose that girls and women could have their genital organs purged in this mode altogether without evil results, more particularly as actual experience in more modern times has proved that as a consequence of the habit of *cunnilingere* inflammations of the external genitals have been set up in girls, as well as ulcerations in older women through the licking of these parts by dogs. Among Ancient writers we have found no vouchers for this; but on the other hand several such exist to show the mischief that results from the habit to the *cunnilingue* himself. Excluding from consideration the *pale complexion* ¹

¹ *Martial*, bk. I. Epigr. 78.,

Pulchre valet Charinus, et tamen
pallet.
Parce bibit Charinus, et tamen
pallet.
Bene concoquit Charinus, et tamen
pallet.
Sole utitur Charinus, et tamen
pallet.
Tingit cutem Charinus, et tamen
pallet.
Cunnum Charinus lingit
et tamen pallet.

(Charinus is in excellent health, and yet he is pale. Charinus drinks moderately, and yet he is pale. Charinus digests well, yet he is pale. Charinus takes the sun, yet he is pale. Charinus dyes his skin, yet he is pale. *Charinus licks a woman's organ, yet he is pale*).

and evil *smell from the mouth*, which were equally consequences of the other forms of vice already mentioned, we have *paralysis of the tongue* mentioned, at any rate in one passage ¹:

Sidere percussa est subito tibi, Zoile, lingua,
Dum lingis. Certe, Zoile, nunc futuis.

(Your tongue, Zoilus, has been stricken with a sudden doom, while in the act of licking. Why! surely, Zoilus, you copulate now). True this malady must be counted as one of very rare occurrence; but this is by no means the case with the ulcerations, which would seem not always to have confined their attacks to the tongue, but to have extended also, just as with the *fellator*, to the other parts of the mouth as well. This cannot but have had the effect of making it very difficult in diagnosis to distinguish between an affection of the sort due to *fellation* and one due to the vice of the *cunnilingue*.

Here again it is *Martial* to whom we are indebted for the proofs of our assertions. He leaves no room for doubt as to the way Manneius was punished for his debauchery in the following passage ²:

Lingua maritus, moechus ore Manneius,
Summoenianis inquinatio buccis:
Quem cum fenestra vidit a Suburrana
Obscoena nudum lena, fornicem claudit,
Mediumque mavult basiare, quam summum:
Modo qui per omnes viscerum tubos ibat,
Et voce certa consciaque dicebat:
Puer, an puella matris esset in ventre;
(Gaudete cunni, vestra namque res acta est!)
Arrigere linguam non potest fututricem
Nam, dum tumentis mersus haeret in vulva ³

¹ *Martial*, bk. XI. Epigr. 86. As to this Zoilus see *Martial*, bk. XI. Epigr. 61.

² *Martial*, Bk. III. Epigr. 61.

³ *Greek Anthology* bk. II. Tit. 13. Note 19.,

Τὴν φωνὴν ἐνοπήν σε λέγειν
ἐδίδαξεν Ὀμηρος,
Τὴν γλῶσσαν δ' ἐν ὀπῇ
τίς σ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔχειν.

(Homer taught you to utter
your voice and speak whole

Et vagientes intus audit infantes,
Partem gulosam solvit indecens morbus;
Nec purus esse nunc potest, nec impurus.

(*Manneius was a husband with his tongue, a fornicator with his mouth, a more polluted wretch than the big-cheeked wenches of the suburbs. When a vile bawd saw him naked from a window in the Suburra, she shuts her brothel up, and had rather kiss his middle than his head. The man who but now could penetrate every vessel of the inwards, and say with assured voice and certain knowledge whether it were a boy or a girl in the mother's belly,—rejoice, rejoice, organs of women, for your business is done for you,—the same cannot erect a fornicating tongue. For at the very moment he is plunged tight in the swollen vulva, and hears the babes whimpering within, lo! a shocking disease paralyses his greedy tongue. Now can he be neither clean, nor yet unclean.*)

The Commentators, in particular *Farnabius*, refer the complaint spoken of in the passage just quoted to paralysis of the tongue. *Farnabius* says in fact: "Paralysine ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφύδρου καὶ τῶν ἐμμηνιῶν, "quorum malefico humore marcescunt segetes, apes "moriuntur etc., *Plin. c. 15 Lib. V., an sideratio?*" (Is paralysis intended, *resulting from the menstruation and menstrual discharges*, the poisonous humour of which will wither up crops, kill bees, etc.—*Pliny ch. 15. Bk. V., or a sudden stroke?*) Even supposing us willing to admit the possibility of menstrual blood bringing on paralysis of the tongue, there can at any rate be no question of such a thing here, inasmuch as it was with a pregnant woman *Manneius* carried out his vicious practises, and women in pregnancy do not *usually* menstruate,—a fact about which the Philologist naturally enough was only imperfectly posted. Of course the possibility is always there,

words, but, pray! who taught you to have your tongue in a hole?) Here δπή (hole)

obviously stands for the female organ,—a meaning omitted in the Lexicons.

although the Poet says nothing about it; and the expression *vulva tumens* (swollen organ) evidently stands here, as is clearly shown by what follows, for *uterus gravidus* (pregnant womb) ¹. The *solvere* (to loose, destroy) points in any case to a destruction, a dwindling, of the part, brought about by the *indecent morbus* (shocking disease),—which disease might very likely find its explanation in the *scelerata lues* (noxious contagion) mentioned on page 258 above. As a result of this, naturally enough not only did *arrigere* (to erect—the tongue) become impossible, but the *impurus* (*Cunnilingus*) (unclean cunnilingue) grew generally incapable of practising his vice. Nor yet was he *purus* (clean) ² altogether, for was he not a *cunnilingue*?—and now he was even less *purus*, because he suffered from the *indecent morbus* (shocking disease), which even Farnabius has so far rightly understood, that he explains *nec purus* (nor yet clean) by *morbo illo contaminatus* (because contaminated by the said disease).

Rather more doubtful and difficult is the interpretation of the following passage of *Martial* ³, which would yet appear to be pertinent here:

¹ So too in the following Epigram of *Ausonius* (127.),

Eune, quod uxoris gravidæ putria
inguina lambis,
Festinas glossas non natistradere
natis.

(Eunus, you lick the flabby organs of your pregnant wife; is it you are in a hurry to give learned explanations to your babes unborn?) we should explain the *putria inguina* not so much as *rotten, ulcerous*, but rather as *laxata* or *laxa* (relaxed, flabby). Similarly *Horace*, Epod. VIII. 7., speaks of *mammæ putres* (the flabby dugs) of an old woman.

² *Martial*, IX. 63.,

Ad coenam invitant omnes te,
Phoebe, cinaedi:
Mentula quem pascit, non, puto,
purus homo est.

(All the *cinaedi*, Phoebeus, invite you to dinner: a man the penis feeds is not, I think, a *clean* man).

Petronius, Sat., Non taces, nocturne percussor, qui ne tum quidem, quum fortiter faceres, cum *pura muliere* pugnasti. (Silence, stabber by night, who not even when you were at your best, ever faced a *clean woman*).

³ *Martial*, Bk. IV. Epigr. 43.

Non dixi, Coracine, te cinaedum;
 Non sum tam temerarius, nec audax,
 Nec mendacia qui loquar libenter.
 Si dixi, Coracine, te cinaedum,
 Iratam mihi Pontiae lagenam,
 Iratum calicem mihi Metili.
 Iuro per Syrios tibi tumores,
 Iuro per Berecynthios furores.
 Quod dixi tamen, hoc leve et pusillum est.
 Quod notum est, quod et ipse non negabis:
 Dixi te, Coracine, cunnilingum.

(I never called you a *cinaedus*, Coracinus; I am not so rash or so reckless, not being one to speak lies willingly. If I called you a *cinaedus*, Coracinus, may Pontia's jar be my enemy, and Metilius' poisoned cup. *I take oath by your Syrian tumours, by your Berecynthian frenzies.* What I *did* say is a trivial, an insignificant thing, a thing well known, that you will not yourself deny,—*I said*, Coracinus. *you were a cunnilingue*).

What were these *Syrii tumores* (Syrian tumours) that afflicted the *cunnilingue* Coracinus? *Beroaldus*, Annotat. ch. 25., understands them as "tumores et vibices a cultris et flagris quibus sacerdotes Cybeles (quam deam Syriam esse volunt) se sauciabant." (the swellings and weals from the knives and scourges with which the priests of Cybelé,—whom they claim to be the Syrian goddess—used to wound themselves). *Farnabius* on the contrary thinks only *Berecynthios furores* (Berecynthian frenzies) to be intended in this explanation, and makes the *tumores Syrii* mean "*ulcera et morbos quibus credebatur irata Isis inflare peierantes*," (ulcers and maladies with which the angry Isis was supposed to afflict false swearers), appealing to the passage of Persius ¹, already brought forward a few pages back (p. 254.), which reads:

Hinc grandes Galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos,
 Incussere Deos inflantes corpora, si non
 Praedictum ter mane caput gustaveris alli.

¹ *Persius*, Satir. V. 186—188.

(Then the tall Galli, and the one-eyed priestess with her sacred rattle, instil terror of *the gods that make men's bodies swell*, unless three times at dawn you have eaten the prescribed head of garlic).

Whether this passage affords any direct proof would seem doubtful, inasmuch as the *inflare corpus* (to make the body swell) properly speaking only refers to the abdomen. To this also the eating of the allium (garlic), which no doubt first won its magic significance on account of its carminative properties, appears to point.

However another explanation is possible. Referring back to the passage of *Porphyrus* quoted above on p. 254., the *tumores* Coracinus had contracted in consequence of his general incontinence with women, which incontinence had at last brought him as a *senex*? (old man) to such a condition of weakness that nothing was left him but the vice of *cunnilingere* to satisfy his still unexhausted lubricity. A side light in this case may be thrown on the matter by Horace's description of the *Anus libidinosa* (The lecherous old woman) in Epodes VIII. 9. 19.:

Venter mollis et femur tumentibus
Exile suris additum. — Fascinum
Quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine
Ore allaborandum est tibi.

(Flabby belly and skinny thigh joined with swollen calves,—A tool, that requires you, in order to call it up from the supercilious groin, to work it with the mouth). *Casaubon* in his commentary on the passage of *Persius* is for connecting this, as well as the *Tumores Syrii*, with ἑλκεα Συριακά (Syrian sores), and—as quoted on p. 253 above—to regard them as a consequence of the wrath of the *Dea Syria* (Syrian goddess). No doubt as a matter of fact the *tumores* were a result of debauchery, one that was prevalent in Syria and was disseminated thence to Rome, for they attacked a *cunnilingue* no less than other debauchees; but this brings us no nearer to a

knowledge of their nature. We should perhaps be inclined to regard them as swellings of the tonsils or of the lymphatic glands of the throat, having the same significance as the inguinal buboes in affections of the genitals.

But what are the *Berecynthii furores* (Berecynthian frenzies)? Possibly nocturnal pains in the bones, that torment a patient to the pitch of frenzy? The metaphor, drawn from the nocturnal rites of Cybelé, must be admitted to be a happy one. Still, however acceptable conjectures of the sort may be to many, we cannot take them seriously. It appears to us most judicious to regard the *Syrii tumores* as being ulcerations that covered the body of Coracinus, and by their violent itching reduced him to a state of frenzy. Our view as stated is confirmed by Epigram 108. of *Ausonius*:

IN SCABIOSUM POLYGITONEM.

Thermarum in solio si quis Polygitona vedit
 Ulcera membrorum scabie putrefacta foventem,
 Praeposuit cunctis spectacula talia ludis.
 Principio tremulis gannitibus aëra pulsat,
 Verbaque lascivos meretricum imitantia coetus
 Vibrat et obscoenae numeros pruriginis implet.
 Brachia deinde rotat velut enthea daemone Maenas,
 Pectus, crura, latus, ventrem, femora, inguina, suras,
 Tergum, colla, humeros luteae Symplegadis antrum.
 Tam diversa locis vaga carnificina pererrat,
 Donec marcentem calidi fervore lavacri
 Blandus letali solvat dulcedine morbus.
 Desectos sic fama viros, ubi cassa libido
 Feminæos coetus et non sua bella lacessit,
 Irrita vexato consumere gaudia lecto:
 Titillata brevi quum iam sub fine voluptas
 Fervet et ingesto peragit ludibria morsu.
 Turpia non aliter Polygiton membra resolvit,
 Et quia debentur suprema piacula vitae,
 Ad Phlegthontæas sese iam præparat undas.

(*To the scabby Polygiton.*—If any man caught sight of Polygiton on the seat of the *Thermæ* bathing

the sores on his limbs all rotten with scab, he preferred so entertaining a spectacle to all the games. First he beats the air with twittering, whining noises, and utters broken sounds in imitation of the wanton embraces of harlots, and completes the symphony of his foul-minded lechery. *Then he twirls his arms about like a Maenad under the god's afflatus*; breast, legs, flank, belly, thighs, *groin, calves*, back, neck, shoulders, cave of the bemired Symplegades,—i.e. hollow between buttocks,—in so many different places does the shooting torture fly, until he droops and faints in the warmth of the hot bath and the disease is soothed and gives a fatal respite. So it is said castrated eunuchs, when barren desire tries hard for embraces with women and for contests they cannot properly engage in, are consumed with empty transports on the tossed and tumbled bed,—till eventually their lust, tickled and tickled, flames high for a last moment, and completes the wanton act by applying the mouth and biting. So with Polygiton a final spasm relaxes his disfigured limbs, and the last sin-offerings of his life being due, thus makes himself ready for the waves of Phlegethon).

True the connexion with the vice of *cunnilingere* is apparently lost here, but this also may be preserved without any great straining of the words, as we shall see presently; and accordingly the *Tumores Syrii* can be quite well regarded as a consequence of the vice of the *cunnilingus*.

Mentagra (Tetter of the Chin).

§ 25.

Ever since the so-called first appearance of Venereal Disease, most of the advocates of the antiquity of the complaint have made a point of bringing in

Mentagra ¹ within the purview of the quotations they adduce to prove their contention, although strictly speaking they were never likely to succeed in a direct demonstration that the disease was really and truly connected with sexual excesses. Accordingly, to the present day the majority of them see in it nothing more than a form of Leprosy, particularly as *Hensler* ² and *Spiengel* were among those who decided in favour of its leprous character. Instead of giving a useless list of names of the different authors, who in former days declared for the one view or the other, we think it more expedient to quote first of all the capital authority, a passage in Pliny ³, setting this down as it stands so as to be able afterwards to form a correct appreciation of its bearing:

Cap. I. "Sensit et facies hominum novos omnique aevo priore incognitos, non Italiae modo, verum etiam universae prope Europae morbos: tunc quoque non tota Italia, nec per Illyricum

¹ *Wendelinus Hock de Brackenau* entitled his Treatise on the Venereal Disease: *Mentagra*, sive Tractatus de causis, praeservatis, regimine et cura Morbi Gallici, vulgo Mala Francosz., etc., (*Mentagra*, or a Treatise on the Causes, Preventives, Treatment and Cure of the so called French Disease, etc.). Strasbourg 1514. 4to. *Sartorius Frid. praes. Conrad. Johrenio*, Diss. de mentagra ad loc. Plinii Secundi hist. nat. lib. XXVI. cap. 1. (Dissertation on mentagra in connexion with the passage of Pliny Secundus' Hist. Naturalis bk. XXVI. ch. 1.). Frankfurt-on-Oder N. D. 49 pp. 4to. Gives a sort of exegesis of the passage,

speaks in first place of new diseases in general, passes on to the Venereal Disease, the antiquity of which the author upholds, and finally discusses *Mentagra*, which he holds to be a leprous-syphilitic affection. The work is still quite worth reading, more especially as the author quotes some passages from the Chronicle of *Anhalt von Beckmann*, at that time still unprinted, and which we find mentioned hardly anywhere else.

² *Hensler*, „Vom abendländischen Aussatze im Mittelalter", (On Occidental Leprosy in the Middle Ages). Hamburg 1790. pp. 67, 206, 307.

³ *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. Bk. XXVI. chs. 1, 2, 3.

'Galliasve aut Hispanias magnopere vagatos, aut
'alibi, quam Romae circaque: sine dolore quidem
'illos ac sine pernicie vitae: sed tanta foeditate, ut
'quaecunque mors praeferenda esset.

Cap. II. "Gravissimum ex his lichenas appel-
'lavere Graeco nomine: Latine, quoniam a
'mento fere oriebatur, ioculari primum lasci-
'via, (ut est procax natura multorum in alienis
'miseriis) mox et usurpato vocabulo, mentagram:
'occupantem in multis totos utique vultus, oculis
'tantum immunibus, descendentem ¹ vero et in colla
'pectusque ac manus, foedo cutis furfure ².

¹ *Galen*, De comp. med. secundum locos, edit. Kühn Vol. XII. p. 841. προσχαρίζομενον τῇ ἐξωτερῇ γραμμῇ τοῦ λειχήνος μικρὸν τι τῶν ἀπαθῶν σωμάτων. (giving up to the external mark of the scab yet another small part of the bodies hitherto unaffected).

² *Galen*, (De comp. med. secundum locos bk. V., edit. Kühn Vol. XII. p. 830.) quotes from Criton the following description in further confirmation: Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν γενείων λειχήνας πάθος ἀηδέστατον, καὶ γὰρ κνησμοὺς ἐπιφέρει καὶ περιρίσασιν τῶν πεπονθούτων καὶ κίνδυνον οὐκ ὀλίγον, ἔρπει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε καθ' ὅλον τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἅπτεται, καὶ σχεδὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτω δυσμορφίας ἔστιν αἴτιον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρηστέον ἂν εἴη ἐπιμελέστερον τῇ θεραπείᾳ, ἐφορῶντα τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς καὶ τὰ

διαλείμματα καὶ συγκρίνοντα ἀπὸ τῶν κερωνισμένων τὰ νεοούσματα, ἐφ' ὧν ἀρμόσει χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξηραίνουσι φαρμάκοις· ὅταν δ' εἰς ψώραν ἢ λέπραν μεταπέσῃ πρὸς τοῖς ξηραίνουσι χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀύπουσιν. (But in the case of *lichenes*, scabs, on the chin the malady is most troublesome. Now it brings on itchings and a critical condition of the afflicted and no small danger; for it creeps sometimes over the whole face, and attacks the eyes, and generally is productive of the most utter disfigurement. Wherefore physicians should devote more than ordinary care to its treatment, watching the crises of the malady, and the intervals, and judging from the symptoms that have become chronic such as have but just broken out, on the appearance of which it will be expedient to exhibit siccativ medicines. On the other

Cap. III. "Non fuerat hæc lues apud maiores patresque nostros. Et primum Tiberii Claudii, Caesaris principatu medio irrepsit in Italiam, quodam Perusino equite Romano Quaestorio scriba, quum in Asia apparuisset inde contagionem eius importante. Nec sensere id malum feminae aut servitia, plebesque humilis, aut media: sed procures veloci transitu osculi maxime: foediore multorum qui perpeti medicinam toleraverant, citatrice, quam morbo. Causticis ¹ namque curabatur, ni usque in ossa corpus exustum esset, rebellante taedio. Advenerunt ex Aegypto, genitrice talium viti-
orum, medici, hanc solam operam afferentes, magna sua praeda. Siquidem certum est, Manilium Cornutum, e Praetoriis legatum Aquitanicae provinciae, H.S. CC. elocasse in eo morbo curandum sese."

(Ch. I. Moreover the human *face* experienced new diseases, and such as had been unknown in any former age not merely to Italy but to the whole of Europe very nearly, and these not widely diffused over Italy generally, or through Illyricum or the provinces of Gaul or of Spain, or indeed anywhere else but just in Rome and its neighbourhood. They were painless, it is true, and did not involve loss of life, but were of such a horrible nature that death in any form would have been preferable.

Ch. II. The most serious of these diseases they called *lichenes*,—scabs, a Greek name; in Latin, as the malady generally showed itself first on the chin, it was known as *mentagra*,—chin-bane, scab or tetter

hand when it has resolved itself into the itch or leprosy, exhibit cathartics in combination with the siccatives). The same is contributed also by *Aëtius*, Tetrab. II. serm. 4. ch. 16. Besides the discrepant statement to the effect that the eyes are attacked as well,

the most noteworthy points are the crises and intervals *Mentagra* went through, and its passing over into *Psora* and *Leprosy*).

¹ *Galen* and *Aëtius*, loco citato, give particulars of the composition of a number of these.

of the chin, at the first by way of jest and mockery—for it is the nature of the multitude to make merry at others' misfortunes,—but soon this became the recognized word. In many persons it covered absolutely the whole countenance, the eyes alone being left unaffected, with a horrible scurf of the skin, going down sometimes to the neck as well, and breast, and hands.

Ch. III. *This plague* had not existed among our ancestors or fathers. For the first time it crept into Italy in the middle of the reign of *Tiberius Claudius Caesar*, a certain Perusinius, a Roman knight and Quaestorian secretary, after a period of service in Asia, importing the contagion from there. But women did not suffer from the malady, or slaves, nor yet common folk of humble or middle-class station; but nobles, and this particularly by the rapid infection of an embrace. In many cases the scar, where patients had submitted to medical treatment, was more horrible than the disease itself. For indeed it was curable by caustics, except when the body had been consumed to the very bones, the slowness of the treatment defeating its own end. Physicians arrived from Egypt, *mother-land of such taints*, practising this cure exclusively, to their own great profit. If, that is, it is true that Manilius Cornutus, of the Praetorians and governor of the Province of Aquitania, offered 200,000 sesterces for his cure when attacked by this disease).

Here if ever, it particularly behoves us to begin with an elucidation of the meaning of the name given to the malady under discussion. *Gruner*¹ long ago called attention to the divergence of opinion as to the signification of *λειχῆνες* (scabs) among the writers of Antiquity, but without success in putting the actual facts in a clear light. We must try if we can be more fortunate. An old etymologist says: *λειχὴν παρὰ τὸ λείχω, καὶ γὰρ φάσιν ἐκ τοῦ*

¹ *Gruner*, *Morborum antiquitates* pp. 162—171.

λείχειν τὸ πάθος ἐπάίρεται ¹, (*λειχήν* comes from *λείχω*,—I lick, because they say the complaint is set up by licking). On this we may say.—there is no doubt *λειχήνες* and *λιχήνες* are derived from *λείχειν* or *λίχειν*, but the explanation *Kraus* gives of the reason in his Lexicon we cannot think conceivable, viz. “because Lichen, the same as a parasitic plant does, or a skin-disease in animals, always creeps round further and further (see *Herpes*,—creeping eruption), or as it were licks its way,” for *λείχειν* is not so much *lambere*, *λάπτειν*,—to lick over, lick along, as *lingere*, *ligurire* ²,—to lick up, lick up greedily. At the same time it is true the word (*lambere*) was used by the Romans in a somewhat similar sense, so perhaps we ought not to refer to *lambit flamma* (a flame licks), but rather to Plautus’ expression (*Pers. prolog. 5.*), “*quorum imagines lambunt hederæ sequaces*” (whose images creeping ivy-tendrils lick, i.e. entwine). Most probably there are two different stems underlying the word. Of these one is *λέγειν*,—to lay, etc., hence *λέγνη*, the edging, the border, *λίγνυς*, soot (depositing itself on the edge), together with the bye-forms *λέχω*, *λίχω*, with which in fact *λιχήν*, moss ³, so far as it forms on the edge, the surface, fringes it, would be connected. The other stem will be *λίγω*, or *λείγω* (comp. *λίβω* and *λείβω*), *λείχω* and *λείχην*. *λίγω*, *λίζω*, to which would have to be referred also *λίγνυς* and *λιγυρός*,—clear, shrill (*ligurire*, *lingere*,—to lick greedily, to lick), in

¹ *J. C. Dieterich*, *Iatreum Hippocraticum, continens Narthecium medicinae veteris et novae* (Hippocratic Remedies, containing a Treasury of Ancient and Modern Medicine), Ulm 1661. 4to., p. 692.

² Hence also *Diogenes Laertius*, VI. 2. 6., *ἄλλα λείχειν* (to lick up salt).

³ The explanation of *Galen*,

De simpl. medicam. temperam. et facult. bk. VII. ch. 11. 6. (edit. Kühn, XII. p. 57.): *λειχήν ὀνομάσθαι δ’ οὕτω δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ λειχήνας θεραπεύειν* (and it seems lichen,—moss, is so called because it cures lichenes,—scabs), is hardly likely to find any one else to subscribe to it.

all of which the underlying sense is of licking, and the noise connected with it.

It is plain that later on the derivatives of these stems suffered manifold variations and corruptions; but how much of all this is to be attributed to speakers and writers among the Greeks themselves, and how much to subsequent transcribers and editors of their work, it might be difficult to decide. But every day we have occasion to note a number of words, to which accident or other circumstances have given an ambiguous character. These, used quite unsuspectingly by the ignorant, make the better informed person blush, or else extort a smile from him that often enough causes the speaker no little embarrassment to know the reason. Undoubtedly it was the same with the Greeks and Romans, and so confusions between *λίχω* and *λείχω*, *λιχήν* and *λειχήν*, might have easily arisen, from which people were subsequently unable to extricate themselves. Originally perhaps *λείχω*, equally with *lingo* and *ligurio* (to lick), may have had the simple sense of licking, and only through later accretions to the meaning, have acquired an ambiguous character; soon however this got transferred to it to the exclusion of all others, and we find it used preferentially as the regular word for *cunnilingere*. The correctness of our conclusion would seem to follow above all from the passage of *Aristophanes*¹ given

¹ *Aristophanes*, *Knights* 1280—1283. In the *Wasps*, 1280—1283, *Aristophanes* says, speaking of the same Aripbrates :

Εἴτ' Ἀριφράδην πολὺ τι
 θυμοσοφικώτατον,
 ὃν τινά ποτ' ᾤμοσε μαθόντα
 παρὰ μηδενός,
 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοφῆς φύσεος αὐτό-
 μαιον ἐκμαθεῖν

γλωττοποιεῖν εἰς τὰ πορνεῖ'
 εἰσιόνθ' ἐκάστοτε

(Then Aripbrates, much more ingenious-clever, who he swore without ever having learnt the trick from any, but all out of his own wisdom, discovered how to work the tongue, going into the brothels everywhere).

below, where it is the additional words that narrow down the meaning of *λείχω* (I lick), and definitely bring out the special signification. The words are said of Ariphrades, who reminds us of the *ἀποφράς* (unmentionable), the name Lucian appropriates to Timarchus:

Οὐδὲ παμπόνηρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεύρηκέ τι
τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλῶτταν αἰσχροῖς ἡδοναῖς
μαίνεται,
ἐν κασανυρίοισι λείχων τὴν ἀπόπτυστον
δρόσον,
καὶ μολύνων τὴν ὑπὴν, καὶ κυκῶν τὰς ἐσχάρας.

(Nor yet utterly villainous is he, but he has discovered yet another device; for he polluted his own tongue with foul delights, *in the stews licking up the abominable dew*, defiling the hair on the upper lip, and tumbling the girls' *nymphæ*).

In the following Epigram ² of an unknown author

Also Peace 883—885.:

TP. τίς; OIK. ὅστις; Ἀρι-
φράδης,
ἄγειν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀντιβολῶν.
TP. Ἄλλ', ὦ μέλε,
τὸν ζωμὸν αὐτῆς προσπεσὼν
ἐκλάψεται.

(*Trygaeus*. Who? *Servant*. Who; why Ariphrades, begging to bring her to him *Trygaeus* But, dear man, he will fall on her, and lick up her broth).

² *Anthologia Graeca*, cum versione Latina *Hugonis Grotii*, edita ab H. de Bosch (*Greek Anthology*, with Latin version by *Hugo Grotius*, edit. H. de Bosch) Utrecht 1795. 4to., Vol. I. p. 38. bk. II. Tit. 5. Epigr. 9. *Brunck's*

Analecta, Vol. III. p. 165. Epigr. 76. Here too should be quoted the following Epigram (*Brunck's Analecta*, Vol. II. p. 386. *Anthology*, bk. II. Tit. 5. Epigr. 8.) of *Ammianus*, which at the same time speaks for the general meaning of *licking*:

Οὐχ ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον λείχεις,
διὰ τοῦτό σε μισῶ,
'Ἄλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖς καὶ
δίχα τοῦ καλάμου.

(Not because you lick the reed, not for this do I abominate you; but because you do so even without the reed). *Ausonius*, Epigr. 126., endeavours in another way, by initial letters, to indicate *λείχει* (he licks):

λείχω is found used absolutely, without any supplementary words:

Ααῖς, Ἔρωρς, et Ἴτυς, Χείρων
et Ἔρωρς, Ἴτυς alter
 Nomina scribis, prima elementa
 adime:
 Ut facias verbum, quod tu facis,
 Eune magister:
 Dicere me Latium non decet
 opprobrium.

(*Ααῖς, Ἔρωρς, and Ἴτυς, Χείρων and Ἔρωρς, Ἴτυς* repeated,—if you write these names, then take off the first letters, you make a verb with them that means what you do, learned Eunus; it does not become me to name the abomination in Latian speech). At the same time we see from this that in the IVth. Century, where *Ansonius* lived at Bordeaux, the vice of the *cunnilingue* was still constantly practised and that not even in secret. Should the words of *Clement of Alexandria*, *Paedagog.* II. ch. 8. p. 178., also be brought into connection with this: ἡ δὲ ἐπιτηδευσίς τῆς εὐωδίας, δειλάρ ἐστι ῥαθυμίας, πόρρωθεν εἰς λίχρον ἐπιθυμίων ἐπισπωμένης. (And the cultivation of sweet perfume is a bait of idleness, indirectly alluring to dainty voluptuousness)? The *male olere* (to have an evil smell) held good equally for the *cunnilingue*.

Diogenes Laertius, V. 65., quotes verses of *Crates*, where we read: οὐτε λίχνος, πόρνης ἐπαγγελλόμενος

παρῆσι (nor dainty desire, proclaimed on the cheeks of a harlot); the same occur also in *Clement of Alexandria*, loco citato ch. 10. Finally yet another quotation, from *Martial* (XI. 59.), should come in here; he says to a pathic: At tibi nil faciam: sed lota mentula
 laeva

λείχᾶζειν cupidæ dicet avaritiæ,
 (But to *you* I will do no harm; nay! rather shall my member, when your left hand has done its work and been washed, say to your grasping avarice,—now lick, fellate, me). This passage has been misunderstood by most of the commentators, because they chose to read *lana* (woollen cloth) for *laeva* (the left hand), or else thought to find here a reference to manustupration (masturbation with the hand). But really it means nothing more than that the poet declares he will resort to *irrumation*, after his mentula (member) has been washed with the left hand, [the Latin cannot mean this; *lota* is ablative case, and must be taken with *laevâ*. *Transl.*],—a usage to which we shall come back again subsequently; but which is at once clearly authenticated by a fragment of *Lucilius*, where we read:

Laeva lacrimas mutoni absterget

(With the left hand his mistress wipes the tears from his penis).

**Χείλων καὶ λείχων ἴσα γράμματα· ἐς τί δὲ
τοῦτο;**

Λείχει καὶ Χείλων, κᾶν ἴσα, κᾶν ἄνισα.

(**Χείλων**,—a proper name, also means *of the lips*,—and **λείχων**,—licking,—have the like letters; now what does this point to? Chilon licks lips, whether lips like his own, or whether unlike). In explanation of this Epigram *Forbiger* says (loco citato p. 326.): “Lusus in Chilonem cunnilingum. Hunc ait iure “quodam suo lingere, qui vel nomine iisdem literis “constante prae se fert lingentem et lingentem quidem tum labra oris, ut labris ligentis similia, tum “cunni, ut dissimilia.” (Pun on the name of Chilon, a *cunnilingue*. The poet says he (Chilon) licks by a sort of inherent right of his own, who even in his name, made up of the same letters, proclaims himself as licking, and licking now the lips of the mouth, which are like the lips of the lickers, now those of the female organ, which are unlike). **Χείλος** was in fact used also of the lips of a woman’s organ, the *nymphae*; the Scholiast on τὰς ἐσχάρας (the *nymphae*) in the passage from Aristophanes given a little above, interprets this word by τὰ χείλη τῶν γυναικείων αἰδοίων (the lips of the female privates). According to *Schneider* in his Lexicon **χείλων** (adj.) signifies *thick-lipped*. Perhaps it was this very Epigram that led *Lambert Bosius* to make the statement that **χείλων** arose by a mere transposition of the letters from **λείχων**.

Now if **λείχην**,—for we consider it should be thus accented,—is derived from **λείχω** (I lick), we cannot but regard it as meaning: something *produced by licking, a complaint brought on by licking*, and particularly *by the licking of the cunnilingue!* Surely the Greeks could hardly have expressed themselves more clearly. Then the fact that the name came from the mouth of the common people is the very best reason for its not having been understood by the educated. Yet all the while an entirely similar form

of expression has grown up in the mouth of the German common people, the real meaning of which very few have fathomed, but which most certainly arose in the same way as the Greek *λείχην*. No doubt many of my readers have again and again heard it said of some one with an eruption round the mouth, that is, someone suffering from *Herpes labialis* (Creeping eruption of the lips): "Well! you *have* been licking!"—for which educated people substitute the obviously insufficient, "You *have* been picking!" Very commonly again one may hear: "You *have* been licking *greben*, or picking *greben*;" and this word *greben* is understood as being identical with *grieben*,—*greaves* in English, i.e. the remnants of lard that has been cut up into pieces and fried, because the separate pustules of the *herpes labialis* resemble in appearance the *greaves*. So people sometimes also say still more explicitly, "You *have* been licking, or picking, *greaves*;" and one of them has been left sticking to your mouth, to prove your greediness!"

This explanation may seem a very likely one to many; nevertheless we incline to believe the word to be of later origin, and to have arisen from ignorance of the actual facts. We consider it more probable that *greben* owes its origin to some corruption of language growing out of *gremium*, the bosom. We have been led to this conjecture by a statement of *Adelung's* in his Dictionary, Article "Grieben", where he says: "In middle-Latin *grieben*, (*greaves*), were called, in accordance with a common interchange of the letters b. and m. *gremium*",—though indeed we cannot regard the word as solely and entirely mediæval Latin, for it is found occurring as early as *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. XII. 19.) and *Columella* (Res Rust. XII. 19. 3.), and is evidently connected with *cremare* (to burn). So just as in this case *cremium* and *gremium* may have been used interchangeably, has *grebe* grown out of *greme* in German, and the latter come to be used as a synonym of

griebe,—the latter words according to this having as little in common with one another as the former. However those better practised in the science of word formation must here decide!

Now as to the word *Mentagra* (Tetter, Scab). This was evidently a word first framed by the Romans, as is distinctly stated not alone by *Pliny*, but by *Galen* as well (De compos. medic. secundum locos Bk. V., edit. Kühn Vol. XII. p. 839.). The latter says: *Ἐκδόριον λειχήνων ταύτη Πάμφιλος χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πλεῖστον ἐπορίσατο ἐπικρατούσης ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς μεντάγρας λεγομένης*. (Blister for Lichenes (Scabs); in this way Pamphilus in his practise at Rome made most headway against the *Mentagra* as it was called, then prevalent in the city). It is usually considered to be formed on the analogy of *Podagra*, *Chiragra* (gout of the feet, gout of the hands) etc. from *mentum*, the chin, and *ἄγρα*, the act of catching, seizing hold of,—so a disease that attacks the chin. But more probably all these words are compounded not with *ἄγρα* at all, but with *ἄλγος* (suffering). That it to say just as *ἀλγαλέος*, by Attic interchange of letters, becomes *ἀργαλέος* (grievous), *κεφαλαλγία* becomes *κεφαλαργία* (head-ache), and *ληθαλγία*, *ληθαργία* (drowsiness, lethargy), so from *ποδαλγία* we get *ποδαργία*, and then by metathesis *ποδάγρα* (gout). (Comp. *Doederlein* "Lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien",—Latin Synonyms and Etymologies, Pt. 4. p. 424.). The remark *Pliny* adds however "*ioculari primum lascivia*" (at first by way of jesting mockery) evidently points to some ambiguity underlying the word. But whether this consists in the recognition of the likeness in sound between *mentum*, the chin, and *menta*, or *mentula*, the virile member, or is to be looked for in the *ἄγρα*, it might be difficult to determine. Still it seems probable, but without wishing to entirely exclude the former hypothesis, that the latter is the case, as will appear directly.

Galen ¹ distinguishes between *λειχήν ἀπλοῦς* and *λειχήν ἄγριος* (simple *lichen*, and malignant *lichen*) in his enumeration of Skin-diseases, and still more plainly in another place ² he says: "*λειχήν* is likewise a Skin-disease; there are two forms of it, *ὁ μὲν ἡμερος καὶ πραότερος*, *ὁ δὲ ἄγριος καὶ χαλεπώτερος* (the one benignant and milder, the other malignant and more serious). But in both of them minute scales are detached from the skin, and the part of the skin underneath the scales is reddened and almost ulcerated. The affection arises from a salt phlegmatic humour (*φλέγματος ἀλμυροῦ*) and yellow gall, hence the scales fall from the skin as in glazed pottery-ware (? *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλμῶν τῶν κεραμίων*). The affection is cured by internal phlegmagogues and external embrocations." We have already on p. 139. above, in the footnote on *ἄγριος* (wild, savage) and *χαλεπός* (hard, harsh), noted how these words are used with special reference to the vice of paederastia, but they are also applied generally to the vice, the different forms of which we have been examining here. This follows from *Plato* ³ and *Plutarch* ⁴, at any rate so far as *ἄγριος* is con-

¹ *Galen*, Isagoge ch. 18. (edit. Kühn Vol. XIV. 779).

² *Galen*, loco citato ch. 13. pp. 657, 758),

³ *Plato*, *Phaedo* p. 81 A., *οἱ ἀφικομένη ὑπάρχει αὐτῇ εὐδαιμόνι εἶναι, πλάνης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ φόβων καὶ ἀγρίων ἐρώτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλαγμένη*. (So having come there, the soul is in a state of assured happiness being free of error and ignorance and fear, and *fiere* passions and the other ills of mankind).

⁴ *Plutarch*, *De solert. anim.*

p. 972 D., *Ἐρωτες δὲ πολλῶν οἱ μὲν ἄγριοι καὶ περιμανεῖς γέγονασιν, οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον ὠραϊσμόν*. (But for the passions of many, some are naturally fierce and frantic, but there are others again that show no anti-social effeminacy). The *Etymologicum Magnum* says: *ἄγριοι οἱ παιδεράσται, ἥτοι ὅτι ἄγριόν ἐστι τὸ πάθος ἢ παιδεραστία*. (wild,—means the paederasts, that is, because the *passion* of *paederastia* is a wild one). Perhaps too the phrase of

cerned, which indeed we may conveniently render by *vicious*. The original meaning being overlooked, *λείχην* and *λιχὴν* had been taken as synonymous,—possibly the Latin *lichenos* first led to the mistake; then naturally enough an appropriate epithet was sought, to signify the *lichen* which was the result of licking in a vicious fashion. But this according to the already existing mode of speech could be nothing else than ἄγριος ¹ again,—*λείχην ἄγριος*, with which *λείχην ἀπλοῦς*, *lichen insons*, (simple, innocent *lichen*) was naturally contrasted.

Yet while *Criton*, as cited in *Aëtius*, simply and quite correctly interpreted *Mentagra* by ἄγριος *λείχην* (fierce, malignant lichen), *Galen* appears to have been still ignorant of the special meaning. This is shown by the words ἡμερος and πραότερος (gentle, benignant,—milder), which obviously are correct opposites of ἄγριος only if the latter is understood, as it is in *Celsus*, as equivalent to *ferus* (fierce, malignant), but in no way account for the ἀπλοῦς (simple, innocent), which *Galen* no doubt found already established as distinguishing epithet of *λιχὴν*. How little he fathomed the nature of the evil, is proved by his ætiology of it, which makes the complaint result from the φλέγμα ἀλμυρὸν (salt phlegmatic humour) and the χολὴ ξανθὴ (yellow gall). The unprofessional *Martial* had a better word to say on the subject when he wrote his *sordidique lichenes* (filthy, squalid-looking lichens). Similarly it would seem the *agra* in *Mentagra* should be taken as pointing to ἄγριος (fierce, malignant). Can it be perhaps that in this way the μολύνων τὴν ὑπὲρην (polluting the hair on the upper lip) of *Aristophanes*,

Theocritus is referable to the same: ἄγριον, ἄγριον ἔλκος ἔχει κατὰ μηρὸν Ἀδωνις (a savage, savage wound has Adonis in the thigh).

¹ In *Hesychius* occurs also the form ἀγριοψωρία (malig-

nant itch). Whether the latter is connected with our subject, technical investigations must inform us. The passing over of *Mentagra* into *Psora* (Itch) points that way.

the Latin *barbam inquinare* (to pollute the beard), have come to be used as synonyms for *cunnilingere*? *Martial* seems to imply it by his *triste mentum*, *mentum periculosum* (disfigured chin, perilous chin). Perhaps too the *Sycosis menti* (Sycosis,—fig-like eruption, of the chin) of *Celsus* and the later Greek medical writers should likewise be regarded as coming under this head. At a matter of fact, *Archigenes* says so in so many words, as cited in *Galen* (De comp. med. secundum locos, Bk. V. edit. Kühn Vol. XII. p. 847.), ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν συχωδῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου, λεγομένων δὲ μενταγρῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τινῶν λειχήνων ἀγρίων, ποιεῖ κ. τ. λ. (but in the case of the sycotic, or fig-like, eruptions on the chin, which are called mentagrae, and by others malignant lichens, he proceeds as follows, etc.), and calls the affection of the chin, as do other Physicians, generally ἐξανθήματα ἐν τοῖς γενείοις (efflorescences, eruptions on the chin),—p. 824.

If we have thus succeeded in establishing the meanings of *lichens* and *mentagra*, the rest of the passage of *Pliny* will admit of easy explanation. The disease in many cases it seems invaded the whole face, in the same way as the *atra lues* (black contagion) in the passages quoted above from *Martial* under *fellatio*. Perhaps all of these,—indeed *Pliny* also says *lues*,—are to be referred, as is actually done by *Farnabius* in his notes, to *mentagra*, seeing that the disease could perfectly well, though certainly much seldomer, arise equally from the practise of *fellatio*. The double entendre between *mentum* (the chin) and *menta* or *mentula* (the virile member) would so acquire all the more point.

The expression *foedo cutis fursure* (with a horrible scurf of the skin) appears to have led a number of authors to believe that this was the capital characteristic of the complaint, and that the distinction between *λεχὴν* and *λείχην* was merely one of degree. This view was advocated in particular by

*Willian*¹, who ascribes it also to *Paulus Aegineta*² as well as to *Oribasius*³ though both of these authors limit themselves to saying that the moderately siccative remedies are of no benefit in *λειχην ἄγριος* (malignant lichen), whereas the more violent ones aggravate it, and that for this reason it was called *ἄγριος*. Hence Willian's *Lichen agrius* (malignant lichen) has nothing in common with the *lichen* of the Greeks and Romans but the mere name, for it follows clearly from the words *foediorē cicatrice* (with a more horrible scar) that occur a little further down in *Pliny*, that a process of skinning over by ulceration was part of the disease, and did not owe its existence solely to the caustic remedies employed.

The *immunity of women*⁴ equally admits of easy

¹ Willian, "Die Hautkrankheiten" (Skin-Diseases). transl. by F. Friese, Breslau 1794. 4to., Vol. 1. pp. 29 and 32.

² *Paulus Aegineta*, De re Med. bk. IV. ch. 3., ἄγριους δὲ καλοῦσι λειχήνας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν μετρίως ξηραίνοντων οὐδὲν ὀνινάμενους. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σφοδρῶς παραξύνοντας. (now they call *malignant lichens* those which get no benefit from the milder siccatives, and are actually aggravated by the more violent).

³ *Oribasius*, De morb. curat., edit. Eunap. bk. III. ch. 59., in Steph. collect. p. 637., Ergo quibus nihil affertur auxilii ab iis medicamentis quae mediocriter siccant et exacerbantur ab iis quae siccant vehementer, eas *λειχήνας ἄγριους* vocant. (Accordingly such *lichens* as are in no way benefited by remedies that are moderate

siccatives, and are aggravated by those that are violent ones, these they call *λειχήνας ἄγριους* (malignant lichens).

⁴ *Jöhrens*, in his Dissertation already cited speaks thus on the subject (p. 47): "De feminis, cum suavia maritorum evitare nequiverint, quomodo ab ista infectione liberae evaserint, maius restat dubium: nos opinamur, cum viri barbam saepius radi soliti fuerint, ea propter patentibus a novacula poris virulentum illud fermentum aut incentivum toxicum facilis sese insinuare et characterem suum imprimere; imberbes contra feminas, glabritie cutis resistente porisque minus patulis, sospitari potuisse." (In the case of women, when they have been unable to avoid the caresses of husbands, it remains very doubtful how they have got off free from this infection.

explanation, for in the first place women were not likely to have readily conceived the idea of acting after the manner of a *cunnilingue*¹, and even if *fellatio* is admitted to be an occasionally concurrent cause of *mentagra*, still it would seem, as already stated, to supervene much less often as a consequence of the latter vice; while in cases where it does, it is of a milder form and it is rather the internal parts of the mouth that are imperilled. Besides, it is to be remembered that women generally speaking suffer less frequently from pustulous disorders of the cutaneous glands affecting the face than men do, as is well seen at the present day with Acne. In the parts neighbouring on the genitals this is exactly reversed. Still this immunity of women must not be insisted on too far, as those persons of the female sex who used to practise *fellatio*, the Summoenianae (women

Our own opinion is that as men have always been accustomed to have the beard shaved frequently, for this reason the pores being opened more widely by the action of the razor, that virulent ferment and active poison creeps in more easily and produces its characteristic effect. On the other hand women being beardless, the baldness of the skin offering an obstacle and the *pores being less open*, have been able to escape).

¹ However this did happen in isolated cases, as is shown by the the example of Philaenis, who indeed was a Tribad properly, in *Martial*, bk. VII. Epigr. 67.,

Post haec omnia cum libidinatur,
Non fellat, putat hoc parum virile.
Sed plane medias vorat puellas.
Di mentem tibi dent tuam, Philaeni,
Cunnum lingere quae putas virile.

(After all these indulgences when she still feels lustful, she does not *fellate*, this she deems unmanly; she just mouths girls' middles. The gods give you your desire, Philaenis, you who think it a *manly* vice to act the cunnilingue). Comp. bk. IV. Epigr. 41. But it was always a very exceptional thing to find this vice practised among women; in fact *Juvenal*, Sat. II. 47—49., denies it altogether:

Non erit ullum
Exemplum in nostro tam detestabile
sexu,
Taedia non lambit Cluviam, nec
Flora Catullam.

(No such detestable example is to be found in our sex,— Taedia does not lick Cluvia, nor Flora Catulla).

of the suburbs) lay too completely outside the range of *Pliny's* observation.

As to the *servi* (slaves) and *Plebs humilis* (Commons of humble station), these were surely unlikely, however little restraint they may have put on their sensual appetites, to have readily fallen into suchlike forms of vice,—forms which spring as a rule from the brain of unoccupied, rich idlers. We have only to appeal to modern experience to substantiate this. How many individuals of the lowest and middle classes have the records of forensic medicine to show as having been paederasts and so on? Wild aberrations in morals have at no period begun with the common man! So we see it was the Proceres (Nobles) who were in an especial degree attacked by the *mentagra*.

At the same time the most conspicuous cause of *mentagra*, the practice of *cunnilingere* was by no means the *only* way of getting it, for the malady, like *condylomata* on the genital organs, was evidently connected with a contagion,—a fact which is clearly enough brought out by the layman *Pliny*, whereas the Physicians say nothing about this. Accordingly the disorder was capable of being disseminated by *kissing* from one individual to another. But it was not the *velox transitus osculi* (swift transmission of a kiss) that was instrumental in spreading the disease, but rather the *basium* (wanton kiss),—which depended on some yet unidentified lascivious device ¹, sucking, playing with

¹ It is a surprising circumstance that the words *basium*, *basiare*, *basiator* (kiss, to kiss, kisser) appear only to have come into use by the Romans from the time of Catullus onwards, and are found almost exclusively in Martial, Juvenal and the still later Petronius, so coinciding with a period in which dissoluteness of morals had reached the highest pitch among the Romans. Some

would derive the word *basium* from *βάζω*, loqui, (to speak); so perhaps it may have been used in a similar way to *narrare* (to tell) in *Martial* (III. 84.) in the sense of *cunnilingere*. *Βάζω*, *βαίνω*, *βεινῶ* and *βινῶ* (to speak, to go, to have sexual intercourse) seem all to have one and the same stem. The second of the two Epigrams of *Martial* quoted in the text reminds us

the tongue or the like. Still we must remember that at the very time the *mentagra* was spreading with such terrible rapidity, a perfect *mania for kissing* had broken out at Rome. *Martial* describes this admirably in the two following Epigrams, which are of the very highest importance in connection with our subject :

Book XII. Epigram 59 :

DE IMPORTUNIS BASIATORIBUS.

Tantum dat tibi Roma basiorum
 Post annos modo quindecim reverso,
 Quantum Lesbia non dedit Catullo.
 Te vicinia tota, te pilosus
 Hircoso premit osculo colonus.
 Hinc instat tibi textor, inde fullo,
 Hinc sutor modo pelle basiata,
 Hinc menti dominus periculosi,
 Hinc defioculusque et inde lippus,
 Fellatorque recensque cunnilingus.
 Iam tanti tibi non fuit redire.

(*Of pestilent Kissers* : Rome bestows more kisses on you, on your return to her after fifteen years' absence, than ever Lesbia gave Catullus. The whole neighbourhood kisses you, and the hirsute countryman presses you in his goaty embrace. One side the weaver is upon you, the other the fuller, here the cobbler who but now kissed his leather; here comes *the owner of a perilous chin*, here the one-eyed man and here the blear, and the *fellator*, and the *cunnilingue*

almost involuntarily of the first Tarsica of Chrysostom. Apparently *basium* and *basiare* always imply a *vicious kiss*, to *kiss viciously*, in a general way. Hence *Martial*, XI. 62., Mediumque mavult basiare quam summum, (And she had rather kiss his middle than

his head). *Petronius*, Sat., Ultime cinaedus supervenit,—extortis nos clunibus cecidit, modo basiis olidissimis inquinavit. (Finally a *cinaedus* appeared,—he made at us with writhing buttocks, and anon besouled us with most evil-smelling kisses).

fresh from work. Now surely to return was not of such importance to you as all this.)

Book XI. Epigram 98 :

AD BASSUM.

Effugere non est, Basse, basiatores.
 Instant, morantur, persequuntur, occurrunt
 Et hinc et illinc, usquequaque, quacunque.
 Non ulcus acre pustulaeve lucentes,
 Nec triste mentum sordidique lichenes,
 Nec labra pingui delibuta ceroto,
 Nec congelati gutta proderit nasi.
 Et aestuantem basiant et algentem,
 Et nuptiale basium reservantem.
 Non te cucullis asseret caput tectum,
 Lectica nec te tuta pelle veloque,
 Nec vindicabit sella saepius clausa.
 Rimas per omnes basiator intrabit.
 Non consulatus ipse, non tribunatus,
 Saevique fasces, nec superba clamosi
 Lictoris abiget virga basiatorem.
 Sedcas in alto tu licet tribunali,
 Et e curuli iura gentibus reddas:
 Ascendet illa basiator atque illa:
 Febricitantem basiabit et flentem:
 Dabit oscitanti basium natantique,
 Dabit et cacanti. Remedium mali solum est
 Facias amicum, basiare quem nolis.

(*To Bassus :* Escape the kissers, no ! it is not to be done, Bassus. They set upon you, wait for you, pursue you, meet you, here, there, and everywhere, in every street, at every corner. *Neither acrid ulcer nor shiny pustules, neither disfigured chin* nor foul scabs, nor lips anointed with pink salve, nor the drop at the tip of a frozen nose will save you. They kiss a man sweating with heat and starving with cold, nay ! even a man keeping his lips pure for the nuptial kiss. A head muffled in hoods will not exempt you, nor a litter guarded with rug and curtain, nor the sedan kept closed most of the time get you off.

The kisser will in by every chink. Not the very consulship, not the tribuneship, not the stern fasces and threatening rod of the shouting lictor will keep away the kisser. Though you sit exalted on the high tribunal, or give laws to the people from the curule seat, both to one and the other the kisser will climb up. He will kiss a man shaking with fever, and drivelling with cold. He will give a kiss to a man gaping, to a man swimming, even to a man shitting! The one and only cure for the plague is to make a real friend, whom you will not need to kiss).

Now we shall be in a position to explain to our satisfaction what *Martial* meant by *basia lasciva* (wanton kisses,—XI. 24.—*basia maligna* (pestilent kisses),—XII. 55.—and *Petronius* (ch. 23.) by his *conspuere aliquem basio immundissimo* (to beslobber anyone with a most filthy kiss); and we shall be in no way surprised at the fact that *mentagra* not only attacked the Roman nobles as a virtual epidemic, but that the *velox transitus osculi* (the swift transmission of a kiss) was alleged by Pliny as a reason of its communication.

Finally as to the historical factor in connection with *mentagra*,—it is implied in the account Pliny gives that it was *only at Rome* it was regarded as a new disease. It must have been already known to the Greeks, for they possessed the name *Lichen* for it. The Greek physicians, of whom several of the ones quoted by *Galen* lived some considerable time before Claudius, know nothing about the disease being a new one, while *Galen* himself says simply, *ἐπικρατοῦσης ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς μεντάγρας λεγομένης*, (when the *mentagra* as it was called was prevalent in the city). *Plutarch* again, though he (*Symposiaca* bk. VIII. Quaest. 9.) wrote a special Chapter on new diseases, with particular reference to Elephantiasis, never mentions *mentagra* at all. He represents it as having been introduced into Rome from Asia, and it was from Egypt, the *Genetrix*

talium vitiorum (Mother-land of suchlike abominations), the Physicians¹ were imported who understood how to cure the disorder. We have more than once noted that Asia was the breeding place of sexual excesses, and described how vice spread from thence over different countries and how as a result of these practices the affections of the parts naturally concerned that arose first in Asia subsequently passed on to these same countries. For Rome this was in an especial degree the case with Egypt, where the undermining of morality had gone farthest; *Martial*² spoke justly when he said "*Æquitas tellus scit dare nulla magis*," (No other land knows better how to produce finished rascality). But the intercourse with Asia and Egypt arose mainly in the time of Pompey, and became from that period ever more active, while concurrently luxury was on the increase and the old *Virtus* (manly virtue) of the Romans disappearing more and more every day,—above all when Tiberius by his own example elevated every form of vice into a sort of fancy article demanded by fashion.

Not that the Emperor went unpunished, for he himself probably suffered from *mentagra*. *Julian*³

¹ *Galen*, loco citato, mentions in particular the physicians. *Crito* and *Pamphilus*, who lived in the reign of Domitian, and who accordingly were contemporaries of *Martial's*, as pre-eminently successful in the treatment of *mentagra*.

² Also *Hippocrates*, *De aere aq. et loc.* p. 549. Vol. I. ed. Kühn, says: ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν κρατέειν, διότι πολύμορφα γίνεται τὰ ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις· περὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Λιβύων οὕτως ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ. (But that love of pleasure gained

the mastery, inasmuch as the passions in beasts are of many forms; now with regard to the *Egyptians* and *Libyans* this seems to me to be the case).

³ *Julian*, *Caesares*, in "*Opera Omnia*" Paris 1630. 4to., Pt. II. p. 9., Ἐπιστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὤφθησαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίαί, καυτῆρες τινὲς καὶ ξέσματα, καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ καὶ μῶλωπες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας καὶ ὁμότητος, ψωραὶ τινες καὶ λειχήνες, οἷον ἐγκεκαυμένοι. (for translation see text).

says of him, that when Romulus had invited to the feast of the Saturnalia all gods and Caesars, Tiberius appeared with the rest, "but when he turned round to take his seat, on his back could be seen in thousands scars, marks of burnings and scrapings, indurated weals and callosities, results of his excesses and wild lusts, cankers and scabs as it were burnt in". Nay! according to *Suetonius*¹ his face itself bore *crebri et subtiles tumores* (a multitude of minute swellings); and *Tacitus*² says of him: *Praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies, ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta*, (Tall and of a most graceful, albeit bowed, figure; the head bald, the face covered with ulcers, and generally patched with medical plasters). When *Galen*³ mentions a *τροχίσκος πρὸς ἔρπητας ὁ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος* (a lozenge for creeping eruptions, Tiberius Caesar's), this does not in any way necessarily imply that this was prescribed as a remedy against eruptive symptoms on the face, for Tiberius, as we see from the passage quoted from *Julian*, suffered from eruptions on all the other parts of his body. Even if an affection of the face was intended, the expression *ἐρπηγ* (creeping eruption), in view of the marked tendency of the disease to spread to neighbouring parts, was not at all an unnatural one to be used; and we may say, speaking generally, that the view which holds the Greeks to have indicated by the word *ἐρπηγ* any one definite and distinct form of eruption is entirely mistaken. *Bertrandi*⁴ indeed endeavours to show that *mentagra* was a form of malignant tetter. That the application of plasters as a remedy in *mentagra* was frequently recommended and

¹ *Suetonius*, Vita Tiberii ch. 68.

² *Tacitus*, Annals bk. IV. ch. 57.

³ *Galen*, De composit. medicament. secundum genera

bk. V. ch. 12. edit. Kühn Vol. XIII. p. 836.

⁴ *Bertrandi*, "Abh. von den Geschwüren (Treatise on Ulcers) from the Italian. Erfurt 1790. 8vo. § 200.

employed is shown both by *Galen* and *Aëtius* ¹.

But in proportion as the exciting cause grew ever more and more common, the *cunnilingue* being now no longer contented with girls, but employing for the satisfaction of his shameful mania women and even pregnant women as well, and at last actually women during menstruation, the resulting consequences were bound to occur not only more frequently but also in a more dangerous form. At first it was merely single pustules, which appeared round the mouth and took possession of the chin, and which were confounded with *Sycosis menti* (*Sycosis*,—fig-like eruption of the chin), a complaint liable to arise from other causes as well and one long since familiar, without attracting particular attention as anything uncommon. Later on when neither morbid vaginal phlegm nor yet menstrual blood repelled the *cunnilingue* any longer, there was set up a diseased process in the cutaneous glands, the resulting secretion rapidly drying formed a white crust or scurf, and this was detached in flakes resembling bran. All this could not fail to arouse remark, and accordingly the Romans, little practised in medical diagnosis, saw in it a new disease, which in turn received a new name. Just as in more modern times the introduction of Venereal disease was attributed to a leprous Knight from the Holy Land, so now at Rome *Perusinus, eques Romanus, Quaestorius scriba* (*Perusinus*, a Roman knight, a secretary in the Quaestorian office) was held

¹ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. II. serm. 4. ch. 16., Quandoquidem vero plurimi sunt qui illitionum usum aversantur, maluntque adhibere emplastra, utpote quae neque per sudores obtortos defluant, neque rarefacta etiam cutem circumtendant, annectam et horum aliquot apparatus.

(However, inasmuch as there are many who are opposed to the use of salves, and prefer to apply plasters, on the ground that the latter are not liable to run through sweatings that are superinduced nor yet to liquify and spread on the skin, I will add some forms of these plasters).

responsible for bringing *mentagra* from Asia. As a matter of fact he probably got his *mentagra* in Asia in exactly the same manner in which it was acquired in Rome,—if indeed we are on general grounds to give any weight to this part of the story. At any rate modern times have given us many examples of how much credence mankind is ready to give to an account of the introduction of a disease by one definite individual. But the disease did not stop at the cutaneous glands, the hair-glands were also involved, the hair fell away, and ulcers formed, which spread around with destructive virulence, as was particularly the case in Martial's day. On the other hand it is true deep-seated ulceration never supervened, but the disease rather extended on the surface from the face onwards, spreading more or less over the whole of the rest of the body ¹, and thus assumed the form of Psora (Itch) or Lepra (Leprosy),—a phænomenon we shall have to return to once more later, its right appreciation being of the

¹ *Plinius Valerianus*, De re medica bk. II. 56., Græco nomine lichenēs appellatur, quod vulgo mentagram appellant, et est vitium, quod per totam faciem solet serpere, oculis tantum immunibus; descendit vero in collum et pectus ac manus, foedat cutem; eosque, qui sic vexantur, osculari non convenit, quoniam contactus eorum perniciosus fore perhibetur. (In Greek nomenclature the name *lichenēs* is given to what the common people call *mentagra*, and is a malady that as a rule creeps over the whole face, the eyes alone being unaffected. But it also goes down to the neck and breast and hands, disfiguring the skin. It is not right

for those so afflicted to kiss, for their contact is said to be injurious.—*Marcellus Empiricus*, De med. liber ch. 19., Ad lichenem sive mentagram, quod vitium neglectum solet per totam faciem et per totum corpus serpere et plures homines inquinare. Nam Soranus medicus quondam ducentis hominibus hoc morbo laborantibus curandis in Aquitania se locavit. (For *lichen* or *mentagra*, a malady which if neglected will creep over the whole face and the whole body, and disfigures many men. Indeed Soranus a Physician at one time sold his professional services in Aquitania to two hundred patients suffering from this disease).

utmost importance for the History of Venereal Disease.

Now, since on the one hand every *cunnilingue* is not attacked by *mentagra*, while on the other sometimes ulcers of the inner portion of the mouth, sometimes *mentagra*, and the latter sometimes local, sometimes of wide extent, are noted, the following question calls for an answer. What circumstances conditioned these phænomena and, generally, the special frequency of *mentagra* in Italy? Leaving out of account a variety of other considerations, we are bound in this place to call in along with other factors of our explanation some special and particular influence of the *Genius epidemicus* (the aggregate of epidemical conditions at large), which just at that time favoured the rise of skin complaints. However slight the material Antiquity affords us on this point, and especially so far as concerns the time a little before and after Our Lord's birth, still we *do* find a datum for Italy at any rate which we certainly ought not to leave unutilized. This is the statement of *Pliny* (ch. 5. and Bk. XX. ch. 52.) to the effect that it was in the time of Pompey the Great, or according to *Plutarch* (*loco citato*) in that of *Asclepiades*, that *elephantiasis* first showed itself in Italy. It follows that at that period favourable external circumstances also were in existence in connection with the conditions of disease at large,—as indeed the ready extension of *mentagra* from the chin onwards to the rest of the body proves even more clearly.

But it must not for a moment be supposed that therefore *mentagra* was of *epidemic origin*. Without at all wishing to embark on the consideration of the ætiological factors of *elephantiasis*, we may just mention the fact that according to *Pliny's* account this disease too, equally with *mentagra*, would seem to have always begun with the *face*¹. The conjecture

¹ *Marcellus Empiricus*, De medicam. liber ch. 19., Adversum Elephantiasin, quod malum plerumque

a facie auspicatur, primumque oritur quasi lenticulis variis et inaequalibus, cute alba-

is all but unavoidable, that very possibly in either case it was the practices of the *cunnilingue* that supplied the exciting cause for the misfortune; and this would also probably explain how it was *elephantiasis* came to be connected in men's minds with the *Morbus phoeniceus* (Phoenician disease). Still, as already explained, this would only be equivalent to making it responsible in *individual* cases,—cases that tend inevitably to render the proper under-

alibi tenui, plerisque locis dura et quasi scabida et ad postremum sic increscit ut ossibus, caro adstricta, tumescitibus primum digitis atque articulis indurescat. Hic morbus peculiariter Aegyptiorum populis notus est nec solum in vulgus extremum, sed etiam reges ipsos frequenter irrepsit, unde adversus hoc malum solia ipsis in balneo repleta humano sanguine parabantur. Mustelae igitur exustae cinis et eiusdem belluae, id est elephantis sanguis immixtus et inlitus, huiusmodi corporibus medetur. (*Against elephantiasis, which malady is generally seen in the face, beginning first with a sort of scales of various shape and different size, the skin being white, in some parts thick, in others thin, in most places hard and with a sort of scab over it; eventually the malady increases to such a degree that the flesh is as it were drawn tight over the bones, the fingers and joints swelling first, and becomes indurated.* This disease was

particularly familiar among the peoples of Egypt, and not merely did it affect the lowest vulgar, but even frequently crept in amongst kings themselves, whence it came that, to combat the evil, baths filled with human blood were prepared for them in the bath-house. The ashes therefore of a burned weasel and the blood of the corresponding beast, that is to say the elephant, were mixed together and used as an ointment in the remedial treatment of bodies so afflicted. — *Actuarius*, Meth. med. bk. VI. ch. 6. On diseases of the *Face*, reads: *Ad affectus eminentes, faciei que pruritus ac principum elephantiae*, (For the principal affections, *itchings of the face and the beginnings of elephantiasis*). Again *Arctaeus*; De sign. chron. bk. II. ch. 13. edit. Kühn p. 179., says: τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὁκως καὶ ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς τοῦ προσώπου ἀρχόμενον τηλεφανὲς πῦρ κακόν, (Most oftentimes resembling a far-seen bale-fire beginning from the watch-tower, as it were, of the face).

standing of the action of *elephantiasis*, as well as of its history, considerably more difficult. May it not also be to some extent the case that under the general name of *elephantiasis* forms of disease of very different sorts have been confounded? The views held by the Ancients on this and on the other skin diseases still remain in too much obscurity for anyone to be able to give a decisive judgement on the point. For the rest most probably the *atra lues* and *scelerata lues* (black contagion, abominable contagion), spoken of above, likewise come under the category of *mentagra*. This we have felt ourselves constrained to ascribe not solely to the practise of the vice of the *cunnilingue* as a cause, but to *fellatio* also,—only that in the latter case, as we have pointed out, it is rather the inner, in the former rather the external parts, that became affected.

Morbus Campanus.

(Campanian Disease).

§ 26.

Several of the commentators on *Horace*, and particularly *Lævinus Torrentius*¹ have referred the much-discussed *Morbus Campanus*² to the head of *mentagra*;

¹ Commentar. in Horatium. Antwerp 1608. Vol. II. p. 469.

² *Zachar. Platner*, De Morbo Commano ad verba Horatii bk. I. Sat. V. v. LXII. prolusio (Dissertation on the Campanian Disease as mentioned by Horace). Leipzig 1732. 4to., also reprinted in

his Opuscula, Leipzig 1794. 4to. Vol. II. pp. 21—28. The author holds the disease to have been a sort of warts, having a resemblance with those observed in Syphilitic patients.—*Nebel*, E. L. W., De morbis veterum obscuris (On some Obscure Diseases

accordingly this will be no inappropriate place at any rate to mention it, though without aiming at a complete explanation. *Horace* represents two buffoons, *Messius* and *Sarmentus*, as rallying each other for the amusement of the company:

— — *Messi clarum genus Osci,
Sarmenti domina extat, ab his maioribus orti
Ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: Equi te
Esse feri similem 'dico. Ridemus: et ipse
Messius: Accipio; caput et movet. O, tua cornu
Ni foret exsecto frons, inquit, quid faceres, cum
Sic mutilus miniteris? At illi foeda cicatrix
Setosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus
Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa, rogabat;
Nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicirrus ad haec.*

(*Messius* was sprung of the renowned race of the *Oscans*, *Sarmentus*' mistress is yet living; from these ancestors derived, they came to the fray. First begins *Sarmentus*: "I declare you are just like an unbroken horse." At this sally we laugh, and *Messius* himself says: "I accept the likeness," and tosses his head. "Oh! if your horn had not been amputated from your brow," says he then, "what *would* you do, since you threaten us so fiercely, mutilated as you are?" Now an ugly scar disfigured the left side of his shaggy brow. After making a number of jibes at his *Campanian disease*, and his face, he asked him to dance the shepherd Cyclops; saying there needed no mask and tragic buskins. Many jests *Cicirrus* added as well).

Messius who is chiefly spoken of in the above passage, is in the first place represented as an *Oscan* by birth. Now the whole race of the *Oscans* was,

of the Ancients), Sect. I.,
Giessen 1794. 8vo. pp. 18—25.
The author believes the *Morbus*
Campanus to have been iden-

tical with *Sycosis* or *θήμιον*
(large wart), but to have had
no connection with the *Lues*
Veneræ (Venereal Contagion).

as *Festus* informs us, notorious for its unnatural excesses in matters of Love; we read in him, p. 191: "Obscum duas diversas et contrarias significationes habet. Nam Cloatius putat eo vocabulo significari sacrum, quo etiam leges sacrae Oscae dicuntur, et in omnibus fere antiquis commentariis scribitur Opicum pro Obsco, ut in Titini fabula quinta: Qui Obsce et Volsce fabulantur, nam Latine nesciunt. A quo etiam verba impudentia, et elata appellantur obscena, quia frequentissimus fuit usus Oscis libidinum spurcarum. (*Obscum* has two different and contrary meanings. For Cloatius considers *sacred* to be signified by the word, in which sense sacred laws are spoken of as leges Oscae (*Oscan* laws), and in almost all the old commentaries *Opicum* is written for *Obscum*, as in the fifth Fable of Titinius: "Who converse in *Obscan* and *Volscian*, because they know not how in Latin." Whence also indecent words, and swelling ones, are called *obscene*, because the practice of unclean lusts was most frequent among the *Oscans* ¹.

Again on p. 194., "Oscos, quos dicimus, ait Verrius Opiscos ante dictos, teste Ennio, cum dicat: De muris res gerit Opiscus. Adiicit etiam, quod stupra inconcessae libidinis obscena dicantur, ab eius gentis consuetudine inducta. Quod verum esse non satis adducor, cum apud antiquos omnes fere obscena dicta sint, quae mali ominis habebantur. (The *Oscans*, as we call them,

¹ Noteworthy is the explanation of *Isidore*, Etymol. bk. IV. ch. 9. 17., *Oscedo* est, qua infantum ora exulcerantur, dicta a languore oscitantium. (*Oscedo* is a complaint whereby children's mouths become ulcerated, so called from the languor of those gaping); the latter part is unintelligible. Were these *oscitantes* (gapers) pos-

sibly *fellators*? *Lucian*, Pseudolog. ch. 27. says of Timarchus, ἀναπετάσας τὸ στόμα, καὶ ὡς ἐνι πλατύτατον κελύμενος, ἡνείχον τυφλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γνάθον. (having spread open your mouth, and with a gape as wide as is possible to make, you were borne away, your jaw blocked by him).

Verrius says were formerly called *Opseans*, on the evidence of Ennius, for he says: "The Opsean directs his attack upon the walls." He adds further that *debaucheries of lawless love are called "obscene", as taking this name from the habits of the nation in question.* But I am not sufficiently convinced of the truth of this, inasmuch as in nearly all the ancient writers things are called *obscene* that were held to be of evil omen). However what the *spurca libido* (unclean lust) consisted in may be readily conjectured from the following explanations of *Festus*: *Oscines aves* Appius Claudius esse ait, quae ore canentes faciant auspicium, ut *corvus* ¹, cornix, noctua, (Divinatory birds—*Oscines aves*—are, says Appius Claudius, such as give an augury by *singing with the mouth*, as the raven, the crow, the owl); if only we remember how the *fellator*, as was shown on a previous page, was nicknamed *corvus* (raven). Again in an Epigram of *Ausonius* already quoted a *cunnilingue* is called *Opicus magister*; so that we cannot doubt the question is here of that vice which is practised with the mouth.

In another Epigram of *Ausonius* quoted and explained above, where the different forms of the *obscœna Venus* (obscene Love) are specified, Crispa there mentioned practises,

Et quam Nolanis capitalis luxus mussit,

(That vice too which headlong wantonness branded on the men of Nola), and this *capitalis luxus* ² of

¹ *Horace*, Odes III. 27. 11.
Ausonius, Idyll. XI. 15.

² *Luxus* in the sense of sexual excess occurs not unfrequently in ancient writers, e.g. in *Tacitus*, Hist. IV. 14., *Suetonius*, Nero 29. *Capua luxurians* is well known from the history of Hannibal. It is worth noting that *Paracelsus* gives the name *luxus* to Vene-

real disease; he says, *De causis et origine luis Gallicae*, (Of the Causes and Origin of the French Contagion), bk. I. ch. 5.: *Luxus autem nomen quod attinet, illud ab influentia, id est, efficiente causa desumptum esse intelligendum est. Est autem luxus irritatio quaedam ac titillatus spermatis, ad perficiendum actum venereum, a*

the men of Nola, as the general sense of the whole passage clearly shows, is nothing else but *fellatio*. But the town of Nola was in Campania, and the inhabitants of Campania again consisted for the most part of Oscans; so whatever is true of the latter, must needs also apply to the Campanians. The Nolans and Oscans or Opicans being *fellatores* and *cunnilingues*, the Campanians must be so too; and as a matter of fact *Plautus* (*Trinum.* II. 4. 144.) tells us: *Campas genus multo Syrorum antidit patientia*, (The Campanian race far outdoes that of the Syrians in *passivity*).

Now *Messius* being represented as an Oscan, and this by way of mockery, as all expounders admit, the point of the jest must evidently refer to this *luxus capitalis*, and *Messius* accordingly be regarded as a *fellator*. Now let us look if this view finds any confirmation in what follows². First of all *Sarmentus* says *Messius* is *equi feri similis* (like an unbroken horse). Wherein precisely the satire of this consists

morbis in corpore latentibus causata, itaque Veneris impressione a morbo in actu ipso facta, tum ex vulgari luxu fit luxus morbi seu morbidus. Proinde luxus hic non naturalis sed Satyricus dicendus erit. (But *luxus* the name that is applied to it, this name must be understood as being taken from the influencing circumstance or efficient cause. Now *luxus* is a certain irritation or tickling of the seed, leading to the performance of the Venereal act and caused by diseases latent in the body, and so a strong motion of love being made in consequence of the disease in the act itself, then from the common ex-

pression *luxus*, is formed *luxus* of the disease, or morbid *luxus*. It follows this *luxus* will have to be called not natural, but *Satyric luxus*).

¹ Possibly a *double entendre* lurks even in the *ad pugnam venire* (they came to the fight). *Festus*, under the word, says: *Osculana pugna in proverbio, quo significabatur victos vincere.* (An Osculan—otherwise Asculan,—fight a proverbial saying that signified the vanquished being victorious). The Roman general *Jævinus* was beaten by King *Pyrrhus* at *Asculum*, soon after at the same place the King was himself beaten by *Sulpicius*.

is indeed somewhat doubtful, the commentators maintaining an obstinate silence on the point; but there *must* be some allusion of some sort intended. We can scarcely suppose this to be to the *Hectoreus equus* (the Hectorean stallion) of Ovid ¹ or the *equus supinus* (the stallion lying supine) of Horace,—Sat. II. 7. 50. ². The unbroken horse is noticeable as galloping with head down between the fore-feet, a position taken, as we have already pointed out, by the *cunnilingue*, but which in accordance with the passage of Lucian quoted above can equally well be that of the *fellator* ³. Messius must have understood the allusion, for he says, "*Accipio*",—*caput et movet*, ("I accept",—and moves his head). Sarmenius takes the movement as a threat, for he in his turn understands the *equus ferus* (wild horse) in yet another sense as *aries* (a ram) ⁴, and adds:

¹ Ovid, *De arte amandi* bk. III. v. 778., *Nunquam Thebals Hectoreo nupta resedit equo*, (Never did his Theban bride—Andromaché,—sit on the Hectorean stallion). Comp. *Martial*, bk. XI. Epigr. 105.

² It is worthy of note that *Rhazes*, *Elchavi seu Continens*, Brescia 1486. fol., p. 276., mentions certain ulcers on the verge, that come from *ascensio mulieris supra virum* (the woman getting on the man)!

³ *Seneca*, *Nat. Quaest.* bk. I. ch. 16., also says of Hostius, who had contrived magnifying mirrors for his use, in order to see himself in all positions: *Et quia non tam diligenter intueri poterat, cum compressus erat et caput merserat, in-guinibusque alienis obhaeserat, opus sibi suum per imagines offerebat*, (But as he

could not so accurately see, when he was shut in and had plunged down his head, and was fast to another's private parts, under those circumstances he had his doings represented to him by pictures).—*Catullus*, LXXXIII. 7.,

*Nam nihil est quidquam sceleris quo prodeat ultra,
Non si demisso se ipse voret capite.*

(For there exists no further form of wickedness that he can resort to,—not even if he devour himself *with down-pressed head*). *Propertius*, bk. II. 15. 22., *Mecum habuit positum lenta puella caput*, (A limber girl held her head down-pressed along with me).

⁴ *Equum*, qui nunc *aries* appellatur, in muralibus machinis, *Epeum ad Troiam* (sc. invenisse), (The horse, which

If only your horn had not been amputated! What should make you threaten to butt, *mutilus* (mutilated) ¹ as you are?

Now in explanation of what it was led Sarmentus to indulge in this jest, Horace goes on to say that Messius carried on the left side of his brow a hideous scar. At this Sarmentus directs his wit, making allusion to the *Campanus morbus* (Campanian disease) and Messius' disfigured face, finishing up by asking the latter *pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa* (to dance the shepherd Cyclops), adding that for this he would need neither mask nor tragic buskins. But the *Campanus morbus* ² is indeed nothing else but the

now is called the ram, among engines for attacking walls, Epeus invented at Troy), says Pliny, Hist. Nat. bk. VII. ch. 57. (edit. Franz, Vol. III. p. 287.); similarly Pausanias, bk. I. ch. 23., ἵππος δούρειος μηχανήμα εἰς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους (a horse of wood an engine for the destruction of the wall). Further ἵππος (horse) is used as a nickname for a lewd man. The Scholiast on Oribasius, Collect. Med. bk. XXIV. ch. 8. in A. Mai, Auct. Class. e vatican. codd. edit. Vol. IV. p. 30. mentions ἵππος πύργος (horse tower), but in what sense we have not been able to decide.

¹ *Mutilus*, κολοβός, κόλος, the special expression for beasts that have lost one or both horns. Thus *mutilus aries* (a mutilated, hornless, ram) Columella de R.R. VII. 3., *capella mutila* (mutilated she-goat) VII. 6., *bos mutilus* (mutilated ox) Varro, De ling.

Lat. VIII. ch. 26. (Heindorf).

² The Scholiast *Acro* even in his time says on this passage: Campanum in morbum. Aut oris foeditatem aut arrogantiam. Dicuntur enim Campani foedi osse, arrogantes. Sic foeda accipiamus. Aliter, Campani, qui et Osci dicebantur ore immundi. Unde etiam Oscenos dicimus. (As to the Campanian disease, this is either foulness of mouth, or arrogance. For the Campanians are said to be foul, arrogant. So let us take it as foul. In another sense, the Campanians, who were also called Oscans are filthy of mouth. For which reason we say *Osceni*—obscene). *Lambinus* expresses himself yet more distinctly: Campani, qui antea Osci dicebantur, habiti sunt ore impuro atque incesto; τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ στόματι ἀσχοποιοῦντες καὶ λεσβιάζοντες, morbum igitur animi intellige, ut Od. I. 37. (The Campanians, who were previ-

capitalis luxus (headlong wantonness) of the Nolans, the peculiar vice of the Oscans, *fellatio* in fact, which Messius practised, and to which he owed his *foeda cicatrix* (hideous scar), his disfigured face; and on both these points Sarmentus proceeds to rally him at great length (*permulta iocatus*,—indulging in very many jests), without Horace however recording his wit any further. In the *pastorem Cyclopa saltare* (to dance the shepherd Cyclops) again is contained an allusion that has hitherto been quite misunderstood, one which *Lucian* in his *Pseudologistae* (ch. 27.) will best explain for us. He says to Timarchus: "But in Italy, great gods! you acquired the heroic nickname of ὁ Κύκλωψ (the Cyclops), because at one time you wanted to practise your vice in imitation of the old legend, as it is found in *Homer*, and actually, as you lay there drunk, held the *κισσύβιον* (wassail-bowl) in your hand like a wanton Polyphemus; and the young man hired for the purpose with outstretched *hasta* (spear), that was well sharpened, threw himself upon you like another *Odysseus*, to thrust out your eye ¹.

Yet did he miss his aim, and the spear turned slantwise
 beside you;
 So that its point sped past, the edge of your chin merely
 grazing.

ously called Oscans, were considered of impure and abominable mouth; that is to say as acting uncleanly with the mouth or *Lesbianizing*; understand therefore a mental disease, as in *Od.* I. 37.). The Latin *Morbus* is frequently so used.

¹ *Homer*, *Iliad* XI. 233.

(κῆκείνου)
 Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἄμαρτε, παρὰ
 δὲ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἔγχος
 αἰχμὴ δ' ἐξεσύθη παρὰ
 νείατον ἀνδρεῶνα.

(Now him *Atreides* missed, and his spear was turned aside past him, and the point sped rushing past the very edge of his chin). Similarly *Diogenes* according to *Diogenes Laertius*' (VI. 53.) report parodied the Homeric verse (*Iliad* X. 282): "No sleeper must drive a spear through your back," as he woke a handsome youth, who lay incautiously asleep.

Thus it is by no means unreasonable to speak of you as using "cold-mouthed phrases" (*Ψυχρολογεῖν*). But you, Cyclops, opening you mouth, and gaping as wide as mortal man can, had your cheeks plugged by him, or better you longed, as Charybdis with the ships was fain to swallow down helm and sail and all, you longed to absorb the whole *Οὐτις* (No-man)."

Finally the nickname Messius bears, *Cicirrus* or *Cicerrus*, would seem to embody a jesting allusion, as it was no doubt given him on account of his throaty, croaking voice. It signifies the same thing as *περκίδες* (hawks) in Dio Chrysostom, and like that word is to be derived from *κέρχω* (to croak) ¹.

The *Morbus Phoeniceus* (Phoenician disease) was not, as we have seen, elephantiasis at all, and neither was the *Morbus Campanus* (Campanian disease) mentagra. But just as elephantiasis might supervene as a consequence of *Morbus Phoeniceus*, so the *foeda cicatrix* (hideous scar), a mark left behind it by a previous malady, was a consequence of the *Morbus Campanus*. Now what was the nature of this malady that the mark it left behind showed as a *foeda cicatrix*, is precisely what we would wish to determine. The Commentators all take the *cornu exsectum* (a horn amputated) as giving the explanation, though this is by no means absolutely necessary according to the general drift of the passage as explained; and Sarmentus might perfectly well under these circumstances, arguing from the presence of a scar, assume or at any rate profess to assume as the cause from which this had originated, the previous existence of a horny excrescence, without the latter as an actual matter of fact having ever had any previous existence. To us at any rate the *cornu exsectum* appears to stand in only a remote connection with

¹ In *Festus*, under the word bigenera (hybrids), we read; *Cicursus* ex apro et scropha domestica, (*Cicursus* from the

wildboar and the domestic sow). Comp. *Varro*, De L. L. bk. VII. p. 368. edit. Sp.

the *foeda cicatrix*, which was no doubt later on made the subject of manifold further witticisms; only Horace has given us no more details about the matter, either because they had entirely escaped his memory, or possibly because he had not perfectly grasped the point of these jokes. Certainly the conspicuously placed *at* (but) seems to point to a distinction of what follows from what precedes—unless indeed it is so placed merely to mark the transition from the *oratio directa* to the *oratio indirecta*.

However, granted there actually was an excrescence previously existing, which had been removed by the knife, of what nature was the said excrescence? It is scarcely possible, with Heindorf, to suppose the Satyriasis of Aristotle¹ to be intended here; with much greater probability *Schneider* in his Greek Dictionary, under the word *διονυσιακός* (Dionysiac, connected with Dionysus) drew attention to the definition of *Galen* (edit. Kühn XIX. p. 443.): *διονυσίσκοι εἰσὶν ὁστώδεις ὑπεροχαὶ ἐγγὺς προτάφων γιγνόμεναι. λέγονται δὲ κέρατα ἀπὸ τῶν κερασφορούντων ζώων κεκλημένα.* (*διονυσίσκοι* are bony excrescences growing near the temples, and they are called horns, so named from the animals that carry horns). A passage of *Heliodorus* (*Cocchi Ant., Graecorum chirurgici libri, e collect. Nicetae Florent.* 1754. fol., p. 125.) which *Oribasius, De fracturis*, has preserved, gives a slightly different account; it reads: *Ὅστώδης ἐπίφυσις ἐν παντὶ μὲν γίγνεται μέρει τοῦ σώματος, πλεοναζόντως δὲ ἐν*

¹ *Aristotle, De Generatione Animalium*, bk. IV. ch. 3., *Παραπλήσιον τούτῳ καὶ τὸ νόσημα τὸ καλούμενον σατυρίασις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ διὰ φεύματος ἢ πνεύματος ἀπέκτου πλήθος εἰς τὰ μόρια τοῦ προσώπου παρεμπεσόντος ἄλλου ζώου καὶ σατύρου φαίνεται τὸ πρόσω-*

πον. (Akin to this also is the disease known as Satyriasis; for in this complaint, in consequence of the superabundance of rheum or crude humour that has become segregated to the regions of the face, the latter seems that of a strange animal or a Satyr).

τῇ κεφαλῇ, μάλιστα δὲ πλησίον τῶν κροτάφων. Όταν δὲ δύο ἐπιφύσεις γένωνται πλησιάζουσαι τοῖς κροτάφοις, κέρατα ταῦτα τινες εἰωθασιν ὀνομάζειν, ἔνιοι δὲ διονυσιακοὺς τοὺς οὕτω πεπονθότας ἀνθρώπους προσηγόρευσαν. (Bony outgrowth may occur in every part of the body, but pre-eminently on the head, and particularly near the temples. But when there are two such growths in the neighbourhood of the temples, some are wont to call them *horns*, but others name the patients so afflicted *διονυσιακοὶ*). Then follows the description of the outgrowth, and the method of its removal by excision. On this passage *Cocchi* found an old marginal gloss from the hand of Nicotas(?), κέρατα μὲν λέγεται ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κεράτων ἐκφύσεως, τῶν γιγνομένων τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις. Διονυσιακοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐμφερείας ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς χειροουργουμένοις,—(they are called horns from the growth of the horns that appear on the lower animals. And they name them *διονυσιακοὶ* from the likeness to the god Dionysus, as he says himself, in the carved figures),—which on the whole confirms the statement of *Heliodorus*, though he (*Cocchi*) prefers, following this indication, to emend the passage of *Galen* also so as to read, *διονυσιακοί, οἷς ὁστώδεις ὑπεροχαὶ ἐγγὺς κροτάφων γίγνονται*, (*Dionysiaci*, so they are called, i.e. those in whom bony excrescences grow near the temples). This much, that we should read *διονυσιακοὶ* for *διονυσίσκοι*, is evident, but whether the rest of the emendations are to be accepted may well be open to doubt, as the second clause of the sentence, “and they are called κέρατα (*horns*), so named from the animals that carry horns”, obviously implies that the term *διονυσιακοὶ* is used in reference not to the individual, but to the outgrowth. *Schneider* indeed agrees with the emendation of *Cocchi*, but has in error put *Sarmentus* in the place of *Messius*.

Now supposing the latter has actually had an earlier bony outgrowth, it is not exactly evident why after its skilful removal a *foeda cicatrix* (hideous scar) should have remained,—if indeed we do not prefer to regard the *foedus* (hideous, foul) as perhaps pointing to the *cause* that had occasioned the outgrowth in question. In that case it would certainly be interesting to see thus referred to the vice of the *fellator* affections of the bones carrying the same meaning as our own *tophi* (concretions on the bone in gouty affections). But in all probability it was merely cutaneous tubercles that had been removed by surgical means, the actual cautery or the knife, and these, as is invariably their nature to do, had left behind an ugly scar. Thus Messius would seem to have resembled Calvus *tuberossimae frontis* (with brow most thickly covered with tubercles) in Petronius (ch. 15.) and the face represented on a gem, of which a delineation is said to be found in *Corius'* *Museum Etruriæ* Plate II. fig. 3.,—a work we have been unable to procure. But enough of the *Morbus Campanus* ¹!

¹ Besides Acro, *Florus Christianus* also, in his notes on Aristophanes' *Wasps* v. 1337., referred the *morbus Campanus* to *fellation*, saying, *Hac detestanda libidine iuxta Lesbios usi sunt etiam Campani sive Nolani, ut ex Ausonio et Horatio patet, quorum testimonia non arcesam, quia hoc occupatum ab eruditioribus. Hoc tantum dicam, ænigma illud, quod in Clodii Metelli uxorem iactum putant: In triclinio Coa, in cubiculo Nola, respicere ad hanc Lesbiam et Campanam foeditatem.* (This hateful form of lust was practised by the

Campanians or *Nolans*, as well as by the *Lesbians*, as is manifest from what *Ausonius* and *Horace* say,—whose evidence however I will not quote, this ground being already pre-occupied by more learned writers. This much only will I add, viz. the riddle that was directed against the wife of *Metellus Clodius*: "On the banquet-couch a *Coan*, in the bed-chamber a *Nolan*," and which is thought to allude to this *Lesbian* and *Campanian* abomination). The riddle is found in *Quintilian*, *Instit. Orat.* VIII. 6.; but is differently explained by *Forberg*,

Sodomy, or Bestiality.

§ 27.

In the various forms of vice hitherto considered we have seen mankind approximating more and more closely to the animal and putting himself to a greater or less degree on the same footing; now we behold him in *Sodomy*¹ sinking finally far *below* the level of the animal, renouncing not merely the human but even the animal nature, in virtue of which he has been able so far to call himself at lowest a member of the species. So it is with complete justice that *Plutarch*² says: "At gallus si gallum conscendat
"absente gallina, vivus comburitur, aruspice aliquo
"pronuntiante grave atroxque id esse ostentum. Ita
"ipsi homines hoc confessi sunt, castitate a brutis
"se superari, eaque naturae vim non facere voluptatum
"percipiendarum causa. Vestras libidines natura,
"quamquam legis auxilio fulta, tamen intra suos non
"potest coercere fines: quin eae instar fluvii exundan-
"tes atrocem foeditatem, tumultum confusionemque
"naturae gignant in re venerea. Nam et capras,
"porcas, equas iniverunt viri, et feminae insano
"masculorum bestiarum amore exarserunt. Ex huius-
"modi enim coitibus vobis sunt Minotuari, Silvani
"seu Aegipanes atque (ut mea fert sententia) etiam

loco citato p. 283. He says: *Coam* dici, quod voluerit in triclinio coire, *Nolan*, quod noluerit in cubiculo, (that she was called a *Coan*, because willing to have intercourse on the banquet-couch, a *Nolan*, because unwilling to do so in the bed-chamber), that is to say, Clodia would satisfy her lust only publicly, not in private.

¹ *Hier. Magius*, Bk. V. De sodomitica immanitate ad Leg. cum vir nubet. 31. C. ad leg. Jul. De adulter.—*Wolfart*, Diss. de sodomia vera et spuria in hermaphrod. Erfurt 1743.—*Bechmann*, De coitu damnato. Pt. II, ch. 1.—*Schurig*, Gynaecology, § 2. ch. 7.

² *Plutarch*, Bruta animalia ratione uti, (That brutes employ reason), ch. 15.

"Sphinges et Centauri nati ¹. Enimvero fame coactus
 "canis aut avis aliquando cadavere humano vescitur;
 "ad coitum nullus unquam est homo a bestia sol-
 "licitatus, bestias vero cum ad hanc, tum ad alias
 "voluptates vos vi trahitis ac contra jus usurpatis."

(But if the cock tread the cock in the absence of the hen, he is burned alive, any augur pronouncing this to be a serious and sinister prodigy. Thus men have themselves admitted that they are surpassed by brutes in chastity, and that the latter do not do violence to nature with a view to the gratification of their desires. Whereas your lusts nature cannot, though seconded by the aid of law, restrain within their due bounds, or stay them from overflowing like a river in flood and producing horrid abominations, a wild cataclysm and confusion of nature in matters of love. For men have had intercourse with she-goats and sows and mares, while women have been inflamed with mad love of male beasts. Indeed it is from such unions that your Minotaurs have been engendered, and Silvani or Aegipans, and—as I suppose,—the Sphinxes too and Centaurs ¹. True under compulsion of hunger, dog and bird sometimes feed on a human corpse; but no man has ever been invited to coition by any beast, though you constrain beasts by force to this as well as to other shameful pleasures, and use them contrary to all right).

Like all other forms of vicious lust, Sodomy too was an outcome of Asiatic ² and Egyptian luxury,

¹ Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, bk. V. 888.,

Ne forte ex homine et veterino
 semine equorum
 Conferi credas Centauros posse,
 nec esse.

(Never suppose that the Centaurs *could* be framed from man and the bestial seed of

horses, and *were* not so framed). *Clement of Alexandria*, *Coh.* p. 51. Aristonymus the Ephesian begat with a she-ass, Fulvius Stella with a mare, the former a girl, the latter a boy. *Plutarch*, *Parall.* ch. 26.

² Leviticus, Ch. XX., 15-19., "And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put

and already in quite early times familiar in those regions,—in fact, as is the case with sexual excesses generally, this vice appears to have developed from the religious cult of the countries named. Among the Egyptians³ at any rate we meet with Mendes, the sacred Goat or Pan, worshipped by means of Sodomy on the part of his female devotees, who were shut up along with him.

to death: and ye shall slay the beast. And if a woman approach unto any beast, and lie down thereto, thou shalt kill the woman, and the beast: they shall surely be put to death." Comp. *Philo*, De specialibus legibus,—Works, edit. Mangey, Vol. II. p. 307.

³ *Plutarch*, Bruta animalia ratione uti, (That brutes employ Reason), ch. X., ὁ Μενδήσιος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τράγος λέγεται πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς συνειργυνμένους γυναιξὶν οὐκ εἶναι μίγνυσθαι πρόθυμος; ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς αἰγας ἐπτόχεται μᾶλλον. (The Mendesian Goat in Egypt is said, though shut up with many beautiful women, not to be eager to have intercourse with them; but rather is he inflamed towards the she-goats). Yet this did sometimes happen; *Herodotus*, Hist. bk. II. ch. 46., Καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τὸ τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης· ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας. γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίχτετο ἀναφανδόν· τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο. (Now the goat and Pan are called in Egyptian

Mendes; and there occurred in this district in my time the following marvel,—a he-goat had intercourse with a woman openly; and this came to be an example among men). *Strabo*. XVII. p. 802., Μένδης, ὅπου τὸν Πᾶνα τιμῶσι, καὶ ζῶν τράγον· οἱ τράγοι ἐνταῦθα γυναιξὶ μίγνυνται. (Mendes, where they honour Pan, and a live goat; the he-goats there have intercourse with women). In a fragment (from Pindar) there given, we read:

ἔσχατον Νεῖλον κέρας αἰγι-
βάται
ᾧθι τράγοι γυναιξὶ μίγ-
νυνται.

(The furthest mouth of the Nile, where bucking he-goats conjoin with women). The Museum Herculaneense actually preserves representations of the thing on Monuments. *Plutarch*, De solertia animalium (Of the Intelligence of Animals), ch. 49., relates a similar case even with crocodiles, which was said to have happened at Antaeopolis.

*Boettiger*¹ goes so far as to conjecture that the tame snakes in the temple of Aesculapius, which were also kept in private houses² as a plaything of the women, were trained and employed by them for purposes of Sodomy. In confirmation a passage is brought forward in this connection by *Forberg*, loco citato, p. 368, from *Suetonius*³, in which the mother of Augustus, Atia, is spoken of: "In Asclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογουμένων libris lego, Atiam cum ad sollempne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam paulloque post egressum: illamque expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam, velut depicti draconis, nec potuisse unquam eximi, adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinuierit"⁴. (In the books of the

¹ *Boettiger*, "Sabina oder Morgenscenen in Putzzimmer einer Römerin, (Sabina, or Morning Scenes at the Toilette of a Roman Lady), Bk. II. p. 454.

² *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. Bk. XXXIX. ch. 4., Anguis Aesculapius Epidauro Romam advectus est, vulgoque pascitur et in domibus. (The snake of Aesculapius was introduced from Epidauros to Rome, and is very commonly kept there, even in houses). *Martial*, bk. VII. Epigr. 86., Si gelidum collo nectit Gracilla draconem. (If Gracilla twines a clammy snake round her neck). Comp. *Lucian*, Alexander, Works, Vol. IV. p. 259. *Philostratus*, Heroic. Bk. VIII. ch. 1.

³ *Suetonius*, Vita Augusti, ch. 94.

⁴ This last statement acquires no little additional interest from the fact that according to more modern observations on the part of *J. Carver* (*Voyage dans l'Amérique Sept.*, etc. trad. de l'Anglais,—Travels in North America, etc., transl. from the English, Yverdun 1784., pp. 355 sqq.) and *Crève-Cœur* (*Lettres du Cultivateur Américain*,—Letters from an American Farmer, Vol. III. p. 48), the bite of the rattle-snake would appear to call up on the skin of the person bitten, each recurrent year, marks resembling the hue of the snake. Comp. *C. W. Stark*, "Allgem. Pathologie" (General Pathology), Leipzig 1838. p. 364. Perhaps too the expression *κλυαδός* belongs in this connection, of

Theologoumena (sacred writings) of the Asclepiad Mendes I read how Atia, who had come to the wonted festival of Apollo at midnight, when her litter had been set down in the Temple, and the other matrons were sleeping, herself fell asleep; how a snake suddenly crept in to her, and presently emerged again; and how on waking she *purified herself as after intercourse with her husband*, and immediately there appeared a mark on her body, representing the likeness of a snake, which could never be got rid of, so much so that soon she left off ever after frequenting the public baths).

However the Roman women seem to have especially made use of the ass¹ for the satisfaction of their *nymphomania*, an animal that was famed in Antiquity for its salaciousness.

That under such circumstances the women's genitals, and the men's no less, were exposed to many sorts of injury, may be readily supposed; though we have

which the Scholiast on Aristophanes. Clouds 447., says, *εἰδός τι θηρίον. — κακοῦργος οὖν, φησὶν, ὡς ἀλώπηξ, τινὲς δὲ κίναδος ζῶον μικρὸν τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰς ὧσ' οὖν καὶ ἐξ ὧσ' οὖν.* (a kind of beast,—mischievous, they say. as a fox, but others say *κίναδος* means a little animal that *forces its way in and out of the privates*). Suidas brings forward the same statement. under the word *κίναδος*. From the connection in which *Democritus* mentions it in Stobaeus' Sermon. 42., *περὶ κίναδέων τε καὶ ἐρπετέων* (Of *κίναδοι* and Creeping Things), *Schneider* in his Lexicon supposes it to signify *snakes* particularly. Again

Schmieder, Arrian's Indica p. 50., interprets it by *ὄφις* (a snake). The close resemblance with *κίναδος* (Cinaedus) is striking.

¹ *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 332, 33.

Hic si
Quæritur, et desunt homines: more
nulla per iusam,
Quominus imposito clunem sum-
mittat a sello.

(If he is sought in vain, and men are not to be found; *she* makes no delay, but straightway submits her rear to the *donkey* that is made to mount her). Comp. *Appuleius*, *Metamorphos.* Bk. X. 226. *Pasiphaë's* bull is familiar to all. Comp. *Suetonius*, Nero II. *Martial*, Spectac. VI.

sought in vain so far for any direct evidence of the fact. So we may perhaps be allowed to quote here an observation originating with *Abu Oseibah*, *De vitis medicorum illustrium*, (On the Lives of Famous Physicians), according to *Reiske*¹. This properly speaking belongs to a later period chronologically, but it is pertinent in the present connection. *Reiske* says: "Caput XIII. habet observationem—2. de "ingenti penis inflammatione, quae nata "fuerat ex impuro cum bestia concubitu, cum coruncula urethram obstruente, "sanata modo prorsum empirico atque crudeli. Impositum glabro lapidi penem medicus subito praeter "aegri expectationem, qua poterat vi percutiebat "manu in pugnum coacta, ut obturaculum et ulcus "dissiliret. Sapit hic casus lue venereae; "et posset inservire illis pro argumento, qui morbum "hunc etiam veteribus cognitum fuisse contendunt. "Cadit autem is casus circa annum Christi 940. (Chapter XIII contains the following observation,— 2. Of an violent *inflammation of the penis, which had originated in unclean intercourse with a beast, with a coruncle, or knot, constricting the urethra, cured in a manner to the last degree empirical and cruel. The penis being laid on a rough stone, the Physician suddenly when the patient was not expecting it, struck it as heavily as ever he could with his doubled fist, so that the stoppage and ulcer might burst. This case has a smack of the Venereal disease about it; and might serve as an argument for those who hold that this disease was known to the Ancients as well. But the case falls about the year of Our Lord 940.)*

¹ *Jo. Jac. Reiske and Jo. Ern. Fabri*, *Opuscula medica ex monumentis Arabum et Ebraeorum*, (Minor Medical Treatises derived from the

Monuments of the Arabs and Jews), Revised edition by *Ch. G. Gruner*, Halle 1776. 8vo., p. 61.

Climate.

§ 28.

Now that we have made ourselves acquainted with the various use to which the Ancients put the genital organs, we are confronted inevitably with the question,—how were the genitals themselves affected by it all? Impossible to suppose they can have preserved their integrity absolutely intact, while at the same time such parts as were substituted in use for the one or the other form of them, were exposed,—as is abundantly proved by the different diseases described, diseases affecting the *pathic*, the *fellator* and the *cunnilingue* respectively,—to manifold complaints, and very often had to pay severely for the misuse to which they were put. Granting that the unnatural use of the mouth and the rectum must necessarily have endangered those parts specifically more than the penis, an organ particularly adapted and intended for friction, still this will by no means imply the entire immunity of the latter from ill effects. Indeed the fact of such immunity is sufficiently disproved by the passages quoted specifically under *paederastia*, without taking into account at all the large number of actual maladies of the genitals that are mentioned by professional and non-professional writers of Antiquity. With some of these we have already made acquaintance,—maladies which no one would for a moment think of ascribing *exclusively* to the practice of the vice of *paederastia*.

Accordingly we must look for other factors, which being in part unconnected with the use of the genitals, are not like this to be regarded as an immediately efficient cause, but rather as predisposing circumstances, exercising from the first an independent influence on the normal condition of those organs. For mere use or misuse cannot possibly be taken as in itself a sufficient reason to account for disease, even though the Ancients may have looked upon

complaints of the genitals partly as a direct consequence of *illicita Venus* (unlawful Love), or in other words as it were a result of the vengeance of outraged Nature. The genitals, like all organs of the human body, exhibit over and above their functional activity on behalf of the general organism and its reproduction, evidences also of an independent activity directed towards the maintenance of their own integrity and individual existence,—and these are bound to differ more or less according to difference of locality and difference of time, as indeed may be predicated of the organism as a whole, if we trust the indications it gives.

Now this differentiation according to locality is conditioned above all else by climate; hence the question we have now first of all to answer is this: *what influence did climate manifest in Ancient times on the activity of the genital organs in general and in particular?* and, *to what extent may a factor favourable to the rise of affections of the genitals be deduced from it?* True, direct information on the point has so far reached us only sparingly, still such as we have is enough to justify a general view on the whole question, especially if we reinforce it with the results of more recent observation,—always provided this be done with proper precaution, for we sometimes find the Ancients commending the climate of a particular country as being exceedingly healthy, whereas in more modern times exactly the opposite is noted. As the evidence extant and available extends only to Asia, and in particular Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, to Egypt, Greece and Italy, there can for the present be no question except as to the climate of these countries.

Next as to *the influence of sexual activity in general*, Hippocrates¹ himself tells us, after discussing the climate of Asia: "But *ἡδονή* (pleasure) must necessarily predominate (among them), and this is why

¹ Hippocrates, De aere aq. et loc., edit. Kühn Vol. I. p. 549.

among animals so many varieties are found ; and I suppose this to be equally true in the case of the Egyptians and Lydians also." Of course *ἡδονή* in this passage signifies concupiscence in particular ;—no special proof is needed of this. As a matter of fact we observe at the present day how in hot climates, where the whole vegetative life presents a luxuriant character, and all Nature appears to feel the procreative impulse unceasingly, man too falls in with the universal stress and strain of each species to maintain its foothold. Yet as this must inevitably be done at the expense of the individual life, we see the effort very frequently resulting in the production of barren or sexless blossoms, and not fruit at all. The son of the South is like a tree growing in rich, rank soil ; he ripens betimes to the sexual life, but equally early is constrained to abandon it again. The youthful imagination springs up in its fresh quick activity, while the body withers concurrently, and stung by lust,—lust that is yet further exaggerated by the misuse of *aphrodisiacs*, at last has nothing left but to drag out an invalid existence, finding a morbid gratification in the artificial ways and means whereby imagination, sickened and debauched by its own extravagances, seeks to supply from extraneous sources the failing titillation of desire the organ craves. No better confirmation of all this can be found than what is supplied already in our investigations as so far conducted.

We saw how in Asia lust and its abominable brood arose and extended thence over neighbouring lands, and how the rhythmic rites of the *Venus ebria* (drunken Venus) could indeed refine, but hardly increase their excesses. Babylon, Syria and Egypt were the nurseries of licentiousness, finding only at Rome a really self-taught and competent rival. The clear sky of Greece could cover only inhabitants of corresponding character in body and mind, and none but a Greek was capable of setting up the ideal, and verifying it in practice, of a fair soul in

a fair body. Deep as the Greek may have sunk in degradation after the fall of national liberty and under foreign influence, and though unbridled lust may have often mastered individuals, it never dominated the nation as a whole, it was artificially brought into existence and was never dependent on climate. Even at Rome, colossal as was the scale on which vice manifested itself, it ever remained but a foreign importation, for which foreign wantons had first paved the way at a period when the climate of Asia exerted a more immediate influence there than that of Greece.

Like licentiousness in general, Polygamy also, in part owing its existence to it as it does, was a consequence of the Asiatic climate; but how far it may be fairly held to have influenced the rise of Venereal disease, we do not as yet venture to decide; we feel constrained to keep this point over for later investigations. The same applies to Polyandry,—in its strict sense, when we regard it as a form of marriage; though of course over and above this it comes into connection with vice, inasmuch as every prostitute lives in a state of Polyandry, as does every amateur of the sex in one of Polygamy. Under these circumstances affections of the genitals cannot but arise among persons otherwise healthy, as every Physician of large practice can verify by examples, and as experiments on animals have sufficiently demonstrated to be the case¹. Nevertheless these hints, for we cannot and ought not to look upon them as anything more than hints, as any more complete discussion would carry us too far a-field for our present purpose,—may very well suffice to

¹ Comp. *Simon Zeller von Zellenberg*, Abhandl. über die ersten Erscheinungen venerischer Lokal-Krankheitsformen und deren Behandlung, (Treatise on the first Appearances

of Local Forms of Venereal disease, and their Treatment), (One treatise under six heads), —Vienna 1820. large 8vo. pp. 11—18.

recall to the reader's memory the influence exerted by climate on the genital functions, especially as adequate proofs in confirmation of all this are comprised in our preceding Sections.

§ 29.

Far more important in view of our immediate object is the *influence exerted by Climate on the individual activity of the genital organs*, and here again we have in the first place to fix our eyes on Asia and Egypt. The burning rays of the sun to which these regions and their inhabitants are exposed, increase in a marked way the activity of the skin, and of course in the same proportion do the secretions from the mucous surfaces become less in quantity, but their product more highly charged in quality. Then, this being the case, a certain acidity or corroding quality of the secretion is readily set up, often making itself noticeable by a characteristic smell. This same influence must equally manifest itself in the mucous membrane of the inner parts of the genitals, and vaginal mucus accordingly acquire an acid quality, if it is not removed pretty frequently from the surface of the membrane, and becoming as it were rancid, exert a corrosive effect on everything it comes in contact with ¹.

¹ According to *Al. Donné*, *Recherches microscopiques sur la nature des mucus et la matière des divers écoulements des organes genitourinaires chez l'homme et chez la femme*, (Microscopic Researches into the Nature of the Mucous Secretions and the Constituents of the Various Discharges from the genito-urinary Organs in Male and Female), Paris 1837., the vaginal mucus disengaged under normal cir-

cumstances *always exhibits an acid reaction.*

² According to *J. P. Schotte*, *Von einem ansteckenden, schwarzgallichten Faulfieber, welches im Jahr 1778 in Senegall herrschte*, (Account of a Contagious, black biliary, putrid Fever, prevalent in Senegal in the Year 1778), from the English (Stendal) 1786. 8vo., p. 103., both men and women in Senegal get ulcers, quite without any

Now shortly before as well as shortly after the commencement of menstruation the secretion of mucus in the genitals is increased, and thus the menstrual blood, having in any case a tendency to decomposition, will mingle with this acrid, strong-smelling mucous discharge, and in this way assume a foul, acrid character itself¹. This is the origin

sypilitic contagion, in the one sex on the *glans penis* or the under side of the prepuce, in the other on the inner side of the *labia*.

¹ *Virey*, De la Femme, 2nd. edition, Brussels 1826., p. 70., En effet, dans la chaleur, lorsque les excrétiions de la peau, des glandes sébacées, des cryptes du vagin, augmentent en abondance et en fétidité, il n'est pas étonnant que le sang menstruel, pour peu qu'il séjourne en ces parties voisines de l'an us, qui sont dans un état d'orgasme, acquière bientôt de l'odeur. (Indeed in a hot climate, when the secretions from the skin, from the sebaceous glands, from the recesses of the vagina, increase in abundance and in foulness, it is not surprising that the menstrual blood, remaining for a time as it does in the regions contiguous to the anus, these regions being in a state of sur-excitation, quickly acquires an evil smell). So *Haller* too says (Elem. Physiolog. Vol. VII. pt. II. p. 146.), Ex Asia videtur opinio de menstrui sanguinis foetida et venenata natura

ad nos pervenisse, et per medicos potissimum Arabes ad Europaeos transiisse. In calidissimis certe regionibus, si ad aestuosum aerem immundities accesserit, non repugnat, sanguinem in loco calente, in vicinia faecum alvinarum retentum, aerem fieri et foetire. . . . Lentorem aliquem possit mucus admistus addidisse. (*It is from Asia that the opinion as to the fetid and poisonous character of menstrual blood would seem to have come to us*, being transmitted mainly by the Arab physicians to those of Europe. No doubt in very hot climates, if dirty habits be added to the extreme heat of the atmosphere, there is nothing at all unlikely in the blood, retained as it is in a hot locality, in close proximity to the faeces in the bowels, growing sour and smelling foul. . . . *A certain viscous quality may very well have been added by the admixture of mucous discharge*). What has been observed as to the injuriousness of menstrual blood by our predecessors since *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. VII. 15. XIX. 10. XXVIII.

of the ill repute into which menstrual blood, and this especially in hot climates, has fallen from the earliest times onwards, for no doubt the virulent qualities alleged against it really belong to it solely and entirely as a result of the admixture with it of this vaginal mucus. Sea-water and fresh river-water are each of them separately innocuous for health, but mix them together so as to make brackish water, and the exhalations given off become highly detrimental!

A similar state of things exists also in connection with the male genital organs. The surface of the *glans penis*, where it lies contiguous to the external skin, exhibits along with the latter an increased secretion from the sebaceous follicles¹, the discharge from which, if it is allowed to remain any length

7.) may be found partially collected in *Schurig*, Parthenologia 227—240. Comp. *Frank de Frankenau*, Satyrae Medicae (Medical Satires), p. 89. Comp. pp. 54. sqq.—*Hensler*, Geschichte der Lustseuche, (History of Venereal Disease), Vol. I. pp. 204 sqq., where it is demonstrated that a great proportion of the Writers on Venereal disease at the beginning of the XVIth. Century attribute its rise to intercourse with women during menstruation.

¹ *Burdach*, Die Physiologie als Erfahrungswissenschaft, (Physiology as an Experimental Science), 2nd. edition, Vol. I. p. 196.—*Boerhaave*, Tract. de lue venerea, (Treatise on Venereal Contagion), Venice 1753., p. 6., says, In Asia ad partes genitales sub praeputio naturaliter sordes colliguntur,

quae acres redditae generant multa mala, quae praecipue ad lue veneream accedere proxime videntur; non vere sunt lues venerea; imo nostri nautae hoc etiam experiuntur, dum in illis terris degunt, nam nisi quotidie praeputium eluerent aqua salsa et aceto, vel similibus remediis brevi eodem morbo laborarent. (In Asia filth of sorts naturally enough collects on the genital parts beneath the prepuce, and this turning sour originates many complaints, which seem above all others to approximate closely to the Venereal disease. This our sailors found out, when living in those regions; for if they did not daily thoroughly wash the prepuce with salt water and vinegar, or similar remedies, they would soon suffer from the disease in question).

of time between the prepuce and the *glans* ¹, likewise acquires an acrid quality; then re-acting on these parts, sets up an inflammatory condition of the afore-said sebaceous follicles. "In fact", says *Niebuhr* ² the Medical Officer of the English at Haleb (Russel) ascertained that in hot countries more copious humours collect about the *glans penis* than in cold; and a friend of mine in India, who in that hot climate had employed only the ordinary European precautions to ensure cleanliness, got a sort of ulcers on the *glans*, an inconvenience he would have been much more likely to escape, had he been circumcised. Subsequently he always washed this part of his person very carefully, and from that time forth experienced no trace of a recurrence of the trouble. Washing the whole body and particularly the privates is an absolute necessity in hot countries; and it is perhaps for this reason that the religious founders of the Jews, the Mohammedans, the Fire-Worshippers, the Heathen in India, etc., have commanded the observation of this practice."

In close accord with this is the story *Flavius Josephus* ³ relates of *Apion* the Egyptian: "Wherefore

¹ *Thevenot*, Travels, Pt. I., p. 58., says, "The Arabs in fact have the prepuce so long that, if they did not have it circumcised. they would suffer much inconvenience from it; and little children are to be seen among them whose prepuce hangs down to a very considerable length;—not to mention that, supposing their foreskin uncircumcised, every time after passing water some drops would remain behind, rendering them unclean."

² *Niebuhr*, Beschreibung von Arabien, (Description of

Arabia) Copenhagen 1772. 4to., p. 77.

³ *Josephus*, Contra Apionem bk. II. ch. 13., ὁθεν εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέριους αὐτοῦ νόμους βλασφημίας δοῦναι δίκην Ἀπίων τὴν πρόπονσαν περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλκώσεως αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον γενομένης· καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελήθεις ὑπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλλὰ σηπόμενος ἐν δειναῖς ὀδύναϊς ἀπέθανεν. (for translation see text). The expression περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον (about the privates)

it appears to me Apion deservedly paid a fitting penalty for his scorn of ancestral customs; for only when forced by necessity was he circumcised, ulceration having been set up about his privates (his *glans penis*); and as a matter of fact the circumcision proved vain, for gangrene supervened, and he died in terrible pain." Again the passage just quoted will also afford a clear understanding of the following from *Philo*¹:

"Therefore were it more becoming, quitting childish and frivolous mockery altogether, intelligently and earnestly to investigate the causes in which this custom (Circumcision) originated, rather than to accuse whole nations of folly in a spirit of mere prejudice. It certainly does not seem probable to an intelligent enquirer, approaching the question in this mood, that so many thousands of folk in every age should have been circumcised without a sufficient cause, submitting to great pain merely to mutilate their own and their children's bodies. On the other hand there are many inducements to adopt outright and follow up the custom of our forefathers; and in an especial degree the four following. First, *the prevention of a virulent disease and one very difficult to cure*. This is known as *Anthrax*,—a denomination derived, as I suppose, from the ardent (fierce)

is evidently to be understood here as meaning the *glans penis*, or at any rate the prepuce. This is implied by the general sense of the whole passage.

¹ *Philo*, De circumcissione, Works edit. Th. Mangey Vol. II. p. 211. "Ἐν μὲν, χαλεπῆς νόσου καὶ δυσίατου πάθους ἀπαλλαγῇ, ἥν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παλαιοὶ σιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν ἐντυφόμενοι, ὥς οἶμαι, ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας

τυχόντος, ἥτις οὐ κολώτερον τοῖς τὰς ἀκροποσθίας ἔχουσιν ἐγγίγνεται. Δεύτερον, τὴν δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος καθαρότητα πρὸς τὸ ἀρμόττειν τάξει ἱερωμένη. Παρ' ὃ καὶ ξυρῶντο τὰ σώματα προσυπερβάλλοντες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν ἱερέων. ὑποσπλέγεται γὰρ καὶ ὑποστέλλεται καὶ θριξὶ καὶ ποσθίαις ἐνια τῶν ὀφειλόντων καθαίρεσθαι. (for translation see text above).

burning (*ἀπὸ τοῦ κατεῖν ἐντυφόμενον*) that accompanies it, and *readily arises in such as have the foreskin intact*. Secondly, to secure that purity of the whole person obligatory upon the Priestly caste. Whence it comes that the Priests in Egypt also scrupulously shave the whole body; for there is something collects and is deposited underneath the hair as well as under the foreskin, that must be removed."

From a comparison of these two passages from Niebuhr and from Philo respectively it may be gathered that the *anthrax* disease above mentioned did not in any way owe its rise to a *specifically* syphilitic origin, as has been now and again assumed by different enquirers. What we really learn from them is to recognize the liability of the sebaceous follicles of the *glans penis* to lapse into a condition of ulceration. True this tendency can be minimised to some extent by circumcision, as well as by unremitting care to secure cleanliness; yet it can never be completely removed, conditioned as it really is by climatic influences that do not admit of elimination. When once the corroding vaginal mucus of the woman, particularly in combination with the menstrual blood with its readiness to undergo putrefaction¹ re-acting on the mucous membrane,

¹ That is to say so far as it is suffered to remain for any length of time in the vagina and comes more or less in contact with the atmospheric air; for in the case of healthy menstrual blood no injurious combination is set up at all or any foul acridity developed, as *John Stedman* (Physiolog. Versuche und Beobachtungen, —Physiological Investigations and Observations, transl. from the English, Leipzig 1778. 8vo., pp. 50—54.) long ago

maintained. It is more probable however that any slight putrefactive action occurring is in each case due not so much to this as to the *acid quality* of the menstrual blood, which in conjunction with the acid vaginal mucus undergoes a kind of acetous fermentation in the vagina, the product of which has thus a corrosive effect. *Retzius* indeed has lately not only found menstrual blood to possess an exceedingly acid reaction, but even proved that

has set up sores and ulcers, then follows as a necessary consequence a still more dangerous mixture of matter and mucus. Next when under these conditions the man's *glans*, possessing as it does an equally great liability in its cutaneous glands to be attacked by ulceration, enters in coition a vagina in this state, it cannot occasion much surprise if blennorrhoea of the urethra or ulceration of the *glans penis* supervene ¹, especially if we consider the fact that

it contains free phosphoric and lactic acids. Comp. Arsberättelse om Svenska Läkare Sällskapets Arbeten, 1835., pp. 19—21. Froriep's Notiz, Vol. 49., p. 237.

¹ Hence too *Hugo Grotius* writes (Commentar. ad Mosis lib. III. — Commentary on Book of Leviticus, ch. 15.): Sciendum est autem in Syria et locis vicinis non minus τὴν γονόρροϊαν quam τὰ ἐμμήνια habere aliquid contagione nocens, (But it is to be observed that in Syria and the neighbouring regions ἡ γονόρροϊα (discharge from the genitals) no less than τὰ ἐμμήνια (menstrual discharge) contains a principle contagiously injurious). Even *Astruc*, the eager advocate of the American origin of Venereal disease, says (Vol. I. p. 92.): Sane constat in hac nostra Europa, quae magis temperata est, si cum menstruatīs res habeatur, balanum et praeputium leviori phlogosi aut superficiali pustulis, quae tamen brevi cessant, plerumque affici. Quanto graviora ergo iis impendere credendum est, quos in calidiori et aestu-

ante climate misceri cum foeminis non pudet, dum illis menses actu fluunt natura acerrimi et quasi virosi. Ideo forsā factum est, ut medici Arabes, qui regiones calidiores incolebant, quam Graeci et Latini, et primi et saepe disseruerint de pustulis et ulceribus virgae, oriundis ex coitu cum foeda muliere, hoc est (?), cum muliere menstruata. (It is an undoubted fact that in this Europe of ours, though enjoying a more temperate climate, if intercourse is had with women during menstruation, the *glans penis* and prepuce are generally attacked by some little inflammation or by superficial pustules, which however soon disappear. What much more serious consequences then must we suppose threaten those who in a warmer climate, one steaming with heat, are not ashamed to make coition with women, whilst their *menses* are actually flowing, these being from the nature of the case exceedingly acrid and almost poisonous. Perhaps this is why the Arab physicians, who lived in warmer

the act of coition sets the organs concerned in enhanced activity, making them more susceptible than ever to external injurious irritations. This is yet more likely to be the case, as concurrently a large amount of secretion is yielded by the morbidly affected mucous surface of the vagina, and very possibly this secretion undergoes under the influence of nervous excitation (as the saliva does under the influence of anger) some vital-chemical, contagious alteration of composition. Again supposing the woman to be at the time of coition actually in menstruation, a period when her genital organs are *ipso facto* roused to a condition of exaggerated activity, the disturbance must be yet greater, and the mischief resulting even more manifest.

This will in part account for the fact that ulcers on the genitals, brought about by coition, are so ready in Asia to assume a putrid character, and show that the Ancients had good reason to designate them by the name *ἄνθραξ* (anthrax, malignant pustule). For that *ἄνθραξ* was actually a consequence of coition we may see from a passage, already cited by Hensler and Simon, from Bishop *Palladius*¹, who

countries than the Greek and Latin practitioners, first and most often treated of pustules and ulcers of the verge, arising from coition with an unclean woman, that is to say (?) with a woman during menstruation). Comp. *Fr. Eagle* and *Judd* in *Behrend's Syphilologie*, Vol. I. 117 and 285.

¹ *Palladius*, *Lausiaca Historia*, ch. 39. in *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum* (Great Library of the Fathers), Vol. XIII., Paris 1644. fol., p. 950.: *Οὕτως δὲ γαστρομαργῶν καὶ οἰνοφυλῶν ἐνέπεσεν καὶ εἰς τὸν βύρβυρον τῆς γυναικείης*

ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ ὡς ἐσκέπτετο ἀμαρτῆσαι μιμᾶδι τινὶ προσομιλῶν συνεχῶς τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος ἐαυτοῦ διελέγετο· τοῦτων οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπραττομένων γέγονεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τινα οἰκονομίαν ἄνθραξ κατὰ τῆς βαλάνου· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐνόσησεν ἑξαμηνιαῖον χρόνον, ὡς κατασαπῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰ μορία καὶ αὐτομάτως ἀποπεσεῖν· ὕστερον δὲ ὑγιάνας καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἄνευ τούτων τῶν μελῶν, καὶ εἰς φρόνημα θεῖκόν ἐλθὼν

καὶ εἰς μνήμην τῆς οὐρανίου πολιτείας, καὶ ἐξομολογησάμενος πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, ἐνεργῆσαι μὴ φθάσας ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

(for translation see text above). For κατὰ τινὰ οἰκονομίαν (by a certain providence) we ought probably to read κατὰ θινὰν or θείαν οἰκονομίαν, a collocation of words constantly found in Palladius, and occurring in this very chapter a few lines before, in the sense of "by Divine providence". On the other hand the words τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος ἐαυτοῦ διελέγετο are to us absolutely unintelligible.

Helvetius translates the passage: Incidit in coenum femineae cupiditatis et cum peccare constitisset cum quadam mima assidue colloquutus, *ulcus suum aperuit*, (He fell into the mire of lust after women, and having set his mind on sinning, constantly conversing with a certain actress, *he opened his sore*. Indeed the γυναικείη ἐπιθυμία (womanly lust) itself is ambiguous, as strictly speaking it points to something unmanly, and if we compare with it the γυναικεία νόσος (womanly disease) of Dio Chrysostom (p. 209.), our thoughts cannot but turn to the vice of the pathic,—which however Hero could not very well practise with an actress, and to which he could hardly owe an *anthrax* on the *glans penis*. But ch.

35. shows us plainly enough that *Palladius* in using the phrase means lust, indulgence with women, accomplishing coition. It is related in that chapter of the Abbot Elias, how he had founded a nunnery, and was thereupon assailed by violent desire to abuse the nuns; wherefore he prayed, ἀπόκτεινόν με, ἵνα μὴ ἴδω αὐτάς θλιβομένας. ἢ τὸ πᾶθος μου λάβε, ἵνα αὐτῶν φροντίζω κατὰ λόγον. (Kill me, that I may not see them troubled, or else take away my *passion*, that I may look upon them with reason and moderation). Thereafter he fell asleep and dreamed the angels had castrated him, and on waking found indeed that he still possessed his genitals, but he declared, ὅτι οὐκέτι ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου πάθος γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμία. (there no more entered into my heart the passion of *lust after women*). But now what does τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος mean? Guided by the general sense, we might take it as meaning the genital organs, though we have searched in vain for analogous passages. But in that case it could be made to apply only to the female genitals or to the rectum, because these only exhibit a breach of continuity (*ἔλκος*,—a wound); or else we should have to suppose the seed to be looked upon in a sort of way as matter discharged, and the

relates of a certain Hero, how the Demon led him

male genitals, which secrete it, therefore called *ἔλκος* (a wound), for otherwise the *ἑαυτοῦ* (his own) cannot be got in. No less uncertain is the meaning of *διελέγετο*; "to converse" cannot possibly be taken as the sense here. *Suidas* and *Hesychius* explain *διαλέγεσθαι* by *συννοσιάζειν* (to associate with). *Pollux*, *Onomast.* V. 93. *περὶ μίξεως ζώων* (On the intercourse of Animals) says, *διαλεχθῆναι*. — οὐδ' ἡ διάλεξις, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθην αὐτῇ καὶ διειλεγμένος εἰμι ὡς *Ῥπερίδης*. II. 125. *Ῥπερίδης* δὲ διειλεγμένος, ἐπ' ἀφροδισίων. *Ἀριστοφάνης* δὲ *διαλέξασθαι* ἔφη. (*διελεχθῆναι*, — not ordinary conversation, but it means "I had converse with her", or "I am conversant", as says *Hyperides*, II. 125. Now *Hyperides* says "conversant with", speaking of love intercourse; and *Aristophanes* "to have converse with"). *Comp.* *Küster* and *Brunck* on *Aristophanes* *Plut.* 1083. *Moeris* p. 131. *Abresch*, *lect. Aristænet.* p. 50. But the meaning of accomplishing coition is implied already in *προσομιλῶν* (associating with), so that *διαλέγεσθαι* must here indicate some other more special circumstance. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* on *Lys.* 720 interprets *διαλέγουσιν* by *διορύττουσιν* (bore through), penetrate); accordingly we

must take *διαλέγεσθαι* as deponent, in which case we should have to read. *τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος αὐτῆς διελέγετο* (he penetrated her private parts), and make the *τὰ πρὸς ἔλκος* refer to the actress and her hymen (or fibula?), just as in the passage cited from *Josephus* on p. 315. the expression *περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον* (about the privates) signifies the foreskin. If we would keep *ἑαυτοῦ* (his own), then we must take *διαλέγομαι* in the sense of *καθαίρειν* (to purify) (*Hesychius* says *διαλέγειν, ἀνακαθαίρειν*, — to purify), and put in an *οὐκ* (not),—i.e. he did not purify his genitals. If we keep to the meaning of separation, division, we might understand the sentence as saying that Hero tore apart his foreskin; though really *ἔλκος* could scarcely be applied with any propriety to the male genitals at all. For its being used of the female genitals on the other hand a good analogy is offered by *ἑσχάρα* (a scab), which occurs in *Aristophanes*, *Knights* 1296. and often elsewhere. *Eustathius*, on *Odyss.* p. 1323., says: *δῆλον δ' ὅτι ἑσχάραν καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον ἐκάλον μύριον*. (Now it is evident they used to call the female part *ἑσχάρα*). However in this case the learned reader must be left to decide for himself.

to Alexandria, how he there visited theatres and horse-races, and roamed round the taverns. "And thus, being by this time a glutton and a drunkard, he fell moreover into the mire of lust after women; and being now set upon sinning, he lived with a certain actress, (and had carnal intercourse with her?). Then when he had done all this, by a (Divine) providence he got an "anthrax" on the glans penis; and was so sick for six months that his (private) parts rotted away and dropped off of themselves. But subsequently recovering and getting off with the loss of these members, coming to a knowledge of God and a remembrance of the heavenly kingdom, and after confessing all that had befallen him, he fell asleep a few days afterwards, without having had the time to manifest works (of repentance)." In spite of the difficulties some of the expressions in the text exhibit, the main fact is perfectly plain, and admits of no doubt whatever, viz. that Hero had brought the *ἄνθραξ* on himself by carnal intercourse with an actress, and the moral reflections Palladius tags on to it cannot invalidate the fact. The objections *Astruc* raises against the conclusiveness of the passage have already been refuted by *Hensler* (*Geschichte der Lustseuche*,—History of Venereal Disease, I. pp. 317 sqq.), who while citing as parallel instances the passages adduced by *Becket* from the early XVth Century, very justly remarks: "What proof would they have, if this is not conclusive?"

Did the female genitals perhaps receive the names *ἔσχαρα* (scab) and *ἄνθραξ* (malignant pustule), because they very often made men a present of these things?!

In any case it is an interesting fact that to this day in India *anthrax* and chancrous ulcers are looked upon as akin, and both according to *Sir William Jones* (*Asiatic Researches* Vol. II.) are known by the name *Nar Farsi* or *Ateshi Farsi* (*Ignis Persicus*—Persian Fire) to the *Cabirajas* or Indian physicians. Now if we think of the great care taken

by the Jews to ensure the multiplication of their race, the readiness with which various forms of ulceration pass over into mortification in hot localities,—as is shown by the examples of Apion and Hero,—and consequently the serious liability of the organs of generation to be destroyed, it will occasion less surprise when we read among the laws of *Moses*¹ the following injunction: “And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, and shall uncover her nakedness; he hath discovered her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood; and both of them shall be cut off from among their people.” Surely great and serious resulting injuries must in no inconsiderable number of instances have been before his eyes for a Lawgiver to feel himself constrained to assign the death penalty to the act of coition with women during menstruation,—and this in spite of the fact that he had already in a general way declared the woman at this time, as well as everything she touched, to be unclean. Again on the other hand coition with women in this condition must with the Jews have been amongst things practised with more than ordinary

¹ *Leviticus* ch. 20. v. 18. It is true *Maimonides* according to *Selden*, *Uxor Hebraica* (The Jewish Wife), Frankfurt 1673. 4to., p. 133., says: At vero si esset mensibus immunda, tametsi deducta fuerit, etiam et coitus sit secutus, nuptiae non perficiebantur. (But indeed if she were unclean with menstruation, though she had been led forth to a husband's house, even if coition had followed, the marriage was not proceeded with)—but in that case of course it happened unwittingly; though no doubt it may very

well on the other hand have been done not unfrequently wittingly. *Festus* explains the Latin word *imbubinare* by “menstruo mulierum sanguine inquinare” to pollute with the menstrual blood of women), which might almost justify us in conjecturing, that *duboes* had been observed to originate from intercourse with women during menstruation. *Hippocrates*, *De natura pueri* (On the Bodily Constitution of the Boy), edit. Kühn Vol. I. p. 390., derives affections of the sort in women from arrested menstruation.

frequency, if only such an extreme punishment availed to check it; and so we cannot really be surprised to find that the Holy Books of that Nation perhaps earlier than the writings of any other People were acquainted only too well with diseases of the genital organs acquired by coition. The particular disease that broke out in consequence of the worship of Baal-Peor has been discussed above in §§ 8 and 9; while the fact that the Mosaic books contain the first traces of a knowledge of *Gonorrhoea* has long been regarded as proved beyond a doubt ¹

¹ *Leviticus* Ch. 15. Want of space forbids our giving this Chapter here; but anyone who will read it through carefully, must easily see that in it the question is merely of a morbid discharge from the genitals (*basar*), the duration of which was uncertain. For this reason those affected continued still unclean for nine days after the cessation of the flux, whereas the man who had encountered ordinary pollution (verse 16.) was unclean only till the evening. The Septuagint translators render the flux by *ῥύσις* (flowing, flux), the person affected by the flux *γονοῦρῶνής* (having a flux from the genitals), while they say of ordinary pollution, *ὡς ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοίτη σπέρματος* ("if any man's seed of copulation go out of him"). *Astruc* and others wished to refer the flux from the genitals to Leprosy, but in that case the Leprosy must needs have been previously noticeable in the person affected by the flux, and the flux therefore been

really a symptom. Thus it would have demanded no further special ordinance for purification, as that commanded for Leprosy would have been used for it. Again the same would also have occurred, had the flux been noticed as *first* symptom of the Leprosy, for then the Priest was bound to have confined the person so affected and put him under observation, to see whether the other symptoms of Leprosy would show themselves as well. But of this there is nothing whatever to be found in the writings attributed to Moses, who clearly distinguishes between the flux and Leprosy, as also does the Author of II Samuel III. 29. Speaking generally, no other Author ever mentions the flux as a constant or frequent symptom of Leprosy, while *Schilling* even denies its occurrence altogether. Comp. *Hensler*, Vom abendl. Aus-satze (On Oriental Leprosy), pp. 130, 396.

If the Climate already exerted such an influence on the aboriginal inhabitants, how much greater must this have been where foreigners were concerned, on whom all endemic excitants of disease in a country notoriously work with augmented virulence. In Antiquity this fact must have been even more conspicuously true, inasmuch as at that period the Nations still remained much more unmixed than they subsequently became. It is a thing which always hitherto, speaking generally, has been far too little taken account of by Pathologists, but which is surely of vast importance in connection with the rise and spread of Venereal disease,—without its being in any way implied that we must necessarily therefore adopt the theory of its American origin¹. If

¹ *Astruc*, De morbis veneris (Of Venereal diseases), p. 93., Quid igitur mirum varia, heterogœna, acria multorum virorum semina (et smegmata we may add) una confusa, cum acerrimo et virulento menstruo sanguine mixta, intra uterum aestuantem et olidum spurcissimarum mulierum coercita, mora, heterogœnitate, calore loci brevi computruisse ac prima morbi veneris semina constituisse, quæ in alios, si qui forsitan continentiores erant, contagione dimanare? . . . Cum ergo in omnibus terrarum locis, ubi lues venerea antiquitus endemia fuisse videtur, eundem aeris fervorem cum pari incolarum impudicitia coniunctum fuisse manifestum sit, haud inanis inde locus est colligendi morbum naturæ eundem, quo regiones longissime dissitæ et inter quas nulla fuit commercii

communio, simili modo infestabantur, a simili causarum earundem concursu, in quo tantum convenirent, generatum olim fuisse et generari etiam nunc, si indigenæ iisdem moribus vivant. (What is there surprising then in the fact that the various, heterogeneous, acrid seminal fluids of a number of different men (and unguents as well, we may add), all confounded together and mixed with the exceedingly acrid and virulent menstrual blood, confined within the steaming hot and fetid womb of the dirtiest of women, by long continuance in one place, by heterogeneity of components, by the heat of the locality, should very soon have grown putrid, and so laid the first seeds of Venereal disease,—which then passed on by contagion to other men, men that were very possibly

we are not much mistaken, this factor was operative also in the case of the Plague of Baal-Peor. Now what holds good for the Jews, must equally hold good for the other peoples of Asia and of Egypt, and even in an enhanced degree, since these, as we have seen above, gave way to vicious indulgence to a yet more excessive degree.

Nevertheless, then as now distinctions no doubt existed, and probably in Antiquity as at the present day there were districts, whose physical conditions of climate might be regarded as actually forming a counteracting factor, and where in spite of excesses the genital organs seldom became diseased. The evidence for this must be given by later investigations, for we must of necessity first possess a geographical Nosology of Venereal disease at the present day, if we are ever to succeed in finding and utilizing the materials for the same in Antiquity. What has been so far collected by the meritorious *Schnurrer* in his Geographical Nosology is too incomplete to justify us at present in drawing any certain conclusions, more particularly as the greatest part of the material contributed by him is drawn from the communications of non-medical enquirers.

The climate of *Greece* neither exercised any pre-more self-restrained? . . . So, inasmuch as in all parts of the world, *wherever Venereal disease appears to have been endemic in Antiquity*, it is plain the same heat of the atmosphere was united with a similar immorality on the part of the inhabitants, there is therefore sufficient ground for concluding that the disease, identical in its nature and one whereby regions far removed from one another and between which existed no commercial intercourse were attacked in a like way, was originally produced by a like conjunction of identical causes, a conjunction wherein these only agreed, —and is still so produced, supposing the inhabitants to still live after the same fashion). *Wismann* (loco citato p. 32.) moreover is of opinion that Venereal disease under the conditions just named originates in Turkey to this day in its true form. A similar view is shared by *Eagle* and *Judd* (loco citato p. 306.).

eminently stimulating effect on the sexual activity of the genitals, nor yet did it afford a ground for the enhancement of their individual activity. Thus enjoying as it did in consequence of that happy combination of its seasons justly celebrated by ancient Writers¹ the advantages, without the disadvantages, of the Tropics, and its inhabitants possessing all functions in a more vigorous proportion, the climate could not possibly have been directly favourable to the rise of affections of the genitals; and for this reason made unnecessary all precautionary measures aimed at them, such as were required in Asia. *Italy* exhibits but little analogy with the Greek climate; still it cannot certainly without considerable qualification be reckoned among factors favourable to maladies of the genital organs. From this we may at any rate partly explain why the physicians of Greece and Rome give so little satisfactory information on the diseases in question, though indeed, as we shall see presently, in this case other and quite distinct factors were at work.

§ 30.

We have now seen that Climate is *ipso facto* an important factor favourable to the rise of affections of the genital organs. How much *more* powerful an influence must it exert on such affections when

¹ *Herodotus*, bk. III. ch. 106., ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλὸν τι κάλλιστα κεκραμμένας ἔλαχε. (Hellas possesses seasons in many respects most admirably combined). Comp. *Dahlmann*, *Herodotus* pp. 90. sqq. *Plato* again praises the εὐκρασία τῶν ὥρων (happy mingling of the seasons) of Hellas in more than one passage; e.g. *Timaeus* 24, C.,

Critias III E., *Epinom.* 987 D.; and *Aristophanes* in a fragment of his *Horae* preserved by *Athenacus*, *Deipnos.* IX. p. 372. says of Attica:

ᾧστ' οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς οἶδ'
ὅπηνν' ἐστὶ τοῦνιαυτοῦ.

(So never yet has any man been able to tell precisely in what part of the year he is).

already in existence. Thus the question, *what influence did Climate manifest in Antiquity on the character and course of affections of the genitals*, is one of the utmost moment in connection with a History of Venereal disease,—the more so as on a correct answer being given to it depends the correctness of our views as to the form taken in such cases by the morbid process in Ancient times. True such a question presupposes the existence of these affections, and ought therefore, strictly speaking, only to be raised after the conclusion of our present investigations. However we think enough evidence has already been adduced in the preceding pages to remove all possible doubt from the mind of an attentive reader as to such being the case. Besides, this appears to us the more convenient course,—to survey in its entirety the influence exerted by Climate, rather than to take up our investigation of the subject afresh in different places, and thus to a greater or less extent mangle the discussion of it.

Preponderance of the vegetative principle combined with a certain slackness of tissue is the character of all organisms coming under the influence of the climate of Southern lands. In these countries an extra-ordinary stimulus acts on the mucous membrane of the genitals, and the character described will find its expression here also. Reaction will proceed not so much from the arterial side, or show itself under the guise of sthenic inflammation, but rather take the form merely of intensified secretion. What this increased secretion aims at is the removal of the abnormal stimulus, and the flow of mucus so originating manifests itself as simple, so to speak merely catarrhal, blennorrhœa. This, where the atmosphere is not impregnated with moist vapours, readily disappears, if only somewhat greater care is bestowed on the maintenance of cleanliness,—and all the more so, as re-absorption, which in hot climates acts vigorously on all the mucous membranes generally, very soon gets the upper hand again in the case of

that of the genital organs, seconded as it is by the activity of the external skin. The latter is always in a condition of enhanced action at the same time, while the extent of its surface of course markedly exceeds that of the mucous membrane of the genitals. On the other hand where the atmosphere is especially moist, the activity of the skin, as well as the process of re-absorption internally, appears to be less; and so under these circumstances the mucous flow will assume more of a chronic character, but at the same time to an even greater degree be free from inflammatory reaction.

All the more recent observations agree in one thing, viz. that in Southern countries the gonorrhoeal forms predominate, and speaking generally, almost always run a mild course that hardly calls for medical interference. There is no doubt Climatic conditions in Antiquity differed but little from those of to-day; so that we may safely assume that equally in Ancient times blennorrhoea showed the same general characteristics, a fact which existing traditions moreover prove beyond question. The frequency of blennorrhoea of the genital organs in Antiquity is shown at once by the just quoted passage from the Mosaic Books, while its mildness of character may be gathered amongst other things from the remedies employed by the old Physicians, who almost without exception followed the principle laid down by *Celsus* (VI. 18.), to treat gonorrhoea *levibus medicamentis* (with gentle remedial measures), if they were called upon to apply treatment at all. At least this is true of acute blennorrhoea; the chronic form of the complaint, with which alone as a general rule they had to do, of course required astringents. No doubt each failure of arterial reaction afforded yet another reason for the belief on the part of the Ancients that gonorrhoea was a result of weakness of the seed-secreting vessels, and their idea that the discharge was merely badly prepared semen. Supposing, as must have happened, that marks of increased activity appeared, these

proceeded not so much from the circulatory system at all as from the nerves, and *Galen*¹ was correct in referring Priapism under these conditions to spasmodic convulsion.

So much for mucous discharge. It was the same also with the various forms of ulceration of the genitals. The conditions to be enumerated presently in the next Section were already present to counteract their rise in any considerable proportion. Further, if they did appear in the high lands of Asia and in Upper Egypt more frequently than did blennorrhoea,—this much is shown plainly at any rate by present-day experience,—still they lasted but a short time, as the preponderant activity of vegetative growth, seconded by extraneous assistance, soon mastered the disease, and quickly restored again the loss of tissue. The course of events was otherwise indeed on lower levels, as in Syria and Lower Egypt, districts which besides their high temperature also showed a considerable degree of moisture in the atmosphere and soil. Here accordingly the different forms of ulceration, unless careful precautions were taken, assumed a malignant character, and readily passed over into gangrene (*ἄνθραξ*), as we saw a little above happened in the cases of Apion and Hero. By this means it is true every specific characteristic of the morbid alteration was annihilated; *but* this only made the risk to the individual so much the greater, the patient being at best only too apt to lose the organ attacked

¹ *Galen*, De symptomat. causis bk. III. ch. 11., edit. Kühn Vol. VII. p. 267., καὶ μὴν αἱ γονόρροιαί, χωρὶς μὲν τοῦ συντείνεσθαι τὸ αἰδοῖον, ἀρρώσια τῆς καθεκτικῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς ἀγγείοις ἐντεινόμενου δέ πως, οἷον σπασμῶτινι παραπλήσιον πασχόντων ἐπιτελοῦνται. (Moreover

gonorrhoeas, except in the case of the member being in a state of tension, arise from weakness of the retentive capacity in the spermatic vessels; but when there is tension of any sort, they are subject to a kind of spasm resembling that of convulsive patients).

Again, though sometimes the part escaped destruction by gangrene, even then its cure was often difficult owing to the fact that, where the malady had been neglected, worms made their appearance in the ulcers¹, and set up so profuse and so far

¹ *Larrey*, "Relation historique et chirurgicale de l'expédition de l'armée d'Orient, en Egypt et en Syrie," (Historical and Surgical Account of the Expedition of the Army of the East, in Egypt and Syria), Paris 1803. p. 116., Pendant le travail de la suppuration, les blessés furent seulement incommodés des vers ou larves de la mouche bleue, commune en Syrie. L'incubation des oeufs que cette mouche déposait sans cesse dans les plaies ou dans les appareils, étoit favorisée par la chaleur de la saison, l'humidité de l'atmosphère et la qualité de la toile à pansement (elle étoit de coton) la seule qu'on ait pu se procurer dans cette contrée. La présence de ces vers dans les plaies paraissait en accélérer la suppuration, causait des démangeaisons incommodes aux blessés et nous forçait de les panser trois ou quatre fois le jour. Ces insectes, formés en quelques heures, se développaient avec une telle rapidité, que du jour au lendemain, ils étoient de la grosseur d'un tuyau de plume de poulet. On faisait à chaque pansement des lotions d'une forte décoction de rhue et de petite sauge, qui suffisoient pour les détruire;

mais ils se reproduisaient bientôt après par le défaut des moyens propres à écarter l'approche des mouches et à prévenir l'incubation de leurs oeufs. (During the action of suppuration, the only inconvenience the wounded met with was from the worms or larvae of the blue fly, common in Syria. The hatching of the eggs, which this fly was continually depositing in the wounds or their dressings, was favoured by the heat of the season, the moisture of the atmosphere, and the nature of the material used for bandages. This was cotton, the only material for the purpose that could be procured in that country. The presence of these worms in the wounds appeared to accelerate their suppuration, caused the wounded men to suffer from troublesome itchings and forced us to renew the dressings three or four times a day. These insects, formed in a few hours, developed with such extraordinary rapidity, that from one day to the next, they reached the size of a fowl's quill. At each dressing lotions were applied of a strong decoction of rue and dwarf sage, which was effectual in destroying them; but they reappeared again very

spreading a suppuration that the patient eventually succumbed to it. Of this we have an example in the Emperor Galerius Maximianus, mentioned by *Eusebius*¹, and to which allusion is made as early

soon afterwards owing to the want of proper means for preventing the approach of the flies and hindering the hatching of their eggs). Compare what Larrey (p. 278.) says as to the climate of Syria.

¹ *Eusebius*, *Histor. Eccles.* bk. VIII. 14., τί δεῖ τὰς ἐμπαθεῖς ἀνδρὸς αἰσχροουργίας μνημονεύειν; ἢ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμοιχενμένων ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τὴν πληθύν; οὐκ ἦν γέ τοι πόλιν αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν, μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκ παντὸς φθορὰς γυναικῶν παρθένων τε ἀργαγὰς εἰργασμένον. — cap. 16. μέτεισι γοῦν αὐτὸν θεήλατος κόλασις· ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καταρξαμένη σαρκὸς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς παρελθούσα. ἀθρόα μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ σώματος ἀπόστασις γίγνεται αὐτῷ· εἰθ' ἔλκος ἐν βάθει συριγώδες καὶ τούτων ἀνιάτος νομὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω σπλάγχνων· ἀφ' ὧν ἀλεκτόν τι πληθὸς σκωλήκων βρύειν, θανατώδῃ τε ὁδμῇν ἀποπνέειν, τοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου τῶν σωματίων ἐκ πολυτροφίας αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τῆς νόσου εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πλήθους πιμελῆς μεταβεβληκότος· ἦν τότε κατασεπείσαν, ἀφόρητον καὶ φρικτοτάτην τοῖς πλησιάζουσι

παρέχειν τὴν θέαν, λατρῶν δ' οὖν οἱ μὲν, οὐδ' ὅλως ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τοῦ δυσώδους ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀτοπίαν οἶοι τε, κατεσφάττοντο. οἱ δὲ διωδηκότος τοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου καὶ εἰς ἀνέλπιστον σωτηρίας ἀποπεπτωκότος μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀνηλεῶς ἐκτείνοντο. (What need to recall the passions and abominations of the man? or to count the multitude of debaucheries done by him? Nay, he could not pass through a city without leaving behind him everywhere ruin of women and rape of virgins.—ch. 16. Yet heaven-sent punishment overtakes him, commencing with his very flesh and going on to assail the life. For an incessant suppurative inflammation attacks him in the region of the private parts of the body; then later on a wound penetrating deep in like a fistula and an incurable eating sore affecting these inmost intestines. Then from these an indescribable number of worms bred, and a corpse-like smell was given off, the whole bulk of the bodily parts having through high living and under the influence of the disease changed into an exaggerated superfluity of fat. Then this rotting away, displayed an intolerable and an appalling

as in the Book of Ecclesiasticus (XIX. 2, 3.), when the Author, Jesus the son of Sirach, says: "Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away: and he that cleaveth to harlots will become impudent. *Moths (otherwise ¹—Rottenness and worms)* shall have him to heritage, and a bold man shall be taken away." The use of knife and actual cautery must naturally have played an important part under these circumstances in the treatment adopted; but these the patient often dreaded more than the malady itself, and chose suicide rather than submit to them, like the "Municeps" whose story Pliny tells in the passage quoted in a previous chapter. But now supposing suchlike ulcers to be

spectacle to his attendants; while among his physicians, some finding themselves utterly unable to endure the exceeding horribleness of the stench, put an end to their lives; while others, the whole bulk having gone to complete rottenness, and the patient in a condition that admitted no hope of recovery, being unable to afford any help, were cruelly put to death). This passage occurs as well, word for word, in *Nicephorus*, *Hist. Eccles.* VII. 22. *Aur. Victor. Epit.* ch. 40., *Galerius Maximianus consumptis genitalibus* defecit, (*Galerius Maximianus died, the genital organs being destroyed*).—*Zosimus*, *Hist.* II. 11. speaks merely of *τραῦμα δυσίατον* (a wound difficult to cure), and *Paulus Diaconus*, *Hist. miscell.* XI. 5., says: putrefacto introrsum pectore, et vitalibus dissolutis, cum ultra horrorem humanæ miseriæ etiam vermes eructaret,

medicique iam ultra foetorem non ferentes, crebro iussu eius occiderentur etc. (the bosom having putrefied within, and the vitals rotted away, when exceeding the climax of human horror and suffering he began to bring up worms, and his physicians unable to bear the excessive foulness of the stench, were being executed at his frequent order, etc.). The same fate happened to *Herod*, of whom *Josephus*, *Antiq.* XVII. 6. says: τοῦ αἰδοῖου σήψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα (mortification of the genitals producing worms). *Comp. Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, edit. *Rosenmüller* vol. III. p. 520.

¹ This reading is clearly preferable. The Septuagint translators render it σήπη καὶ σκώληκες κληρονομήσουσιν αὐτόν, (Rottenness and worms shall be his heritage), where however it must be admitted σῆτες (moths) is also retained by the Editors.

situated in the mouth of a *fellator* or *cunnilingue*, then their course must have been all the more rapid, and the danger involved all the greater, if the patient lived in such a climate as described; and it was in this way the *Αιγύπτια καὶ Συριακά* and *Βουβαστικά ἕλκεα* (Egyptian and Syrian sores, Bubastic sores) mentioned above acquired their evil repute. Still in the majority of cases these climatic influences could be counteracted by appropriate medical aid and dietetic measures, or at any rate their effect considerably reduced. Hence it was that cases of the sort only very rarely appeared in Antiquity, and for this very reason were noted by the Historians, when they did occur.

The human organism possessed in Southern lands yet another way of combating the enemy's attacks, one which would seem to have escaped the notice of the Physicians of Antiquity, and which, though recognized in modern times, has yet never been at all adequately appreciated and utilized in the history of Venereal disease, viz. *the reaction exhibited by the skin in diseases of the genital organs in hot climates*. So long as authorities thought of the external skin as merely compacted of separate and distinct layers of tissue, there could not really be any question of an accurate knowledge of its functions whether under healthy or under morbid conditions. The investigations of *Breschet* and *Roussel de Vauzène*¹ as confirmed and reinforced by *Gurlt*², have now

¹ "Nouvelles recherches sur la structure de la peau", (Recent Investigations as to the Structure of the Skin), with 3 Plates. Paris 1835. 221 pp. 8vo.

² "Vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Haut des Menschen und der Haussäugethiere, besonders in Beziehung auf die Absonderungsorgane des Hauttalg und des Schweisses, (Comparative In-

vestigations as to the Skin in Man and the Domestic Mammals, with particular reference to the Organs of Secretion of the Sebaceous Humour and the Sweat), in *Muller's Archiv. für Physiologie* Jahrg. 1835., pp. 399—418. With copperplates, a comparison of which will very much facilitate the proper understanding of what follows.

taught us to understand that the skin, over and above these layers, possesses as a matter of fact,—a fact formerly only conjectured,—special organs belonging to the same class as the glands, to wit the skin, hair and sweat glands. These share amongst them the function hitherto ascribed to the skin generally, and especially bring into correlation the sympathies of the different parts, so much so that they may be said to be almost the sole and only seat of the manifold forms of skin-diseases. All this we endeavoured first to demonstrate in the series of Articles on Skin-diseases in "*Blasius' Handwörterbuch der Chirurgie und Augenheilkunde*" (Manual of Surgery and Ophthalmology), and so pave the way for a compendious Survey of our knowledge of the Skin-diseases up to the present time.

Now while the sweat-glands stand in a special connection of sympathy and antagonism with the lungs, the same correlation exists in a peculiar degree between the glands of the mucous membrane of the intestinal canal and of the genital organs on the one hand and the cutaneous glands on the other which secrete the *sebum* or sebaceous humour. It would take us too far a-field, if we undertook in this place to enter upon a detailed explanation of this circumstance, which however is still in sore need of further clearing up. We shall content ourselves with recalling the fact that Onanists (Masturbators) not only often betray themselves by having a nose with a shiny, tallowy looking surface that comes from excessive secretion of *sebum*, but also not less frequently by their face being covered with *acne* pustulus. One more fact we must mention is that the outbreak of *acne* very often with girls heralds the approach of each period of menstruation, and accompanies it¹. These are signs clearly pointing

¹ Already we find *Lorry*, "Abh. von den Krankheiten der Haut," (Treatise on Diseases of the Skin), Vol. I. p.

50., saying: "There is found to exist moreover a certain sympathy between the generative parts of men and women

to the conclusion that stimulations of the genitals are reflected back on the glands of the skin, for *acne* is nothing else but an affection of these glands, as we have demonstrated in the Work just mentioned.

But indeed there are proofs of this antagonism still nearer to hand. How frequently have our physicians observed an eruption ¹ resembling *roseola* or *urticaria* in character, at the—very often sudden—appearance of which the gonorrhoeal symptoms have much decreased in severity or disappeared altogether! These skin affections have been ascribed to the balsam of Copaiva or the Cubebs pepper administered in these cases, which are supposed to have stimulated the intestinal mucous membrane and so sympathetically excited the skin. This may very possibly sometimes be the case; but it could not but occur much more frequently, if the remedial agents mentioned are to bear the sole and entire blame. No doubt in some patients a particular idiosyncrasy may have

and the skin, which under the violent stimulus of sexual coition swells; but after it is over, sweat comes out on it, and *sometimes little heat-pimples appear.* p. 83., Now at puberty, a period when all the glands are opened, there is brought to the organs of transpiration a great quantity of a subtle and fluid material, there arises a peculiar smell, and if this matter has accumulated, it clogs the minute vessels, the humour contained in these becomes thick by retardation and solidification,—the result being a pimply eruption on the skin. This much is certain, that if both sexes are fully developed, and live chaste, an extensive series of mutually connected pustules

may arise, *just as if they were produced by the swelling of the glands in the skin.* The pustules are ranged in the same order as that in which the glands lie; exactly as if they were the meeting-place of the humours that would seem to have been dispersed in the skin." Comp. *Haller*, Elem. physiolog. Vol. VII. bk. XXVIII. sect. 3. § 4.

¹ More precise information on this, as well as on several other opinions expressed in the course of these Inquiries as to the pathology of Venereal disease, the reader will find placed at his disposal in our forthcoming Work, "Introduction to a Scientific Knowledge of the Venereal Disease."

given rise to sympathetic action stimulative of the intestinal canal, but in the majority the reaction of the mucous membrane of the genitals on the cutaneous glands has undoubtedly been a chief contributory factor under epidemic influences, while the drugs exhibited have played only a subordinate part in producing the result. There are cases where the gonorrhœa has been treated simply and solely by mere antiphlogistic methods, and yet such an eruption has been observed.

But it is not in gonorrhœa only that these phenomena appear; they have been noted as well in chancre, being then ascribed to the sublimate of mercury and looked upon as affording a criterion that the drug had exercised its full effect on the original complaint. In most cases this was without doubt a mistake, for Bielt, Rayer and other authorities have noted the most widely divergent forms of skin-disease to appear concurrently with the existence of chancre, and in consequence have come to regard them as primitive symptoms. In fact cases have actually been observed, where these were the sole primary symptoms of contagion after indulgence in unclean coition. At the same time it is only fair to say that this has been doubted in many quarters, observers trying to explain the fact of the absence of other symptoms by saying the ulcers, which are frequently very minute, may have been overlooked. At least experience has sufficiently taught us this much, that the so-called secondary symptoms, and therefore the skin-affections as well, appear the more readily in proportion as the ulcers of the genitals are smaller and more superficial; and we ourselves believe that never without local reaction on the genital organs from coition do so-called secondary appearances arise,—only it is not invariably ulcers that are to be looked for.

Now when even in our temperate climate the cutaneous glands play a not unimportant part in the morbid processes of Venereal disease, how much

more must this be the case in Asia and Egypt, where the activity of the skin generally and that of the cutaneous glands in particular is even under normal conditions far more conspicuously energetic, as may be seen from the constant oily state of the skin, more particularly in Negroes. This oily grease on the skin is in fact nothing more nor less than the product of the action of the cutaneous glands. These glands are peculiarly apt to become morbidly affected in travellers visiting the South during their acclimatisation; though natives too are yearly attacked in the Summer months by complaints of the skin-glands¹. The fact has long been recognized² that

¹ Comp. *Hillary*, "Beobachtungen über die Veränderungen Luft und die damit verbundenen epidemischen Krankheiten auf der Insel Barbados," (Observations on Changes of Atmosphere and the Epidemic Sicknesses connected with them in the Island of Barbadoes), transl. from the English by J. Ch. G. Ackermann. Leipzig 1776. 8vo., pp. 3 sqq.

² *Alex. Traj. Petronius*, De morbo Gallico, (On the French Disease—Syphilis), bk. II. chs. 24., and 26 (Aphrodisiacus pp. 1225, 1226.) in his time says: Et in regione calida, quoniam secundum naturae suae impetum ad cutem fertur, minus saevire, in frigida vero, quoniam contra suam naturam ad interna migrare cogitur, magis. — Neque nos non lateat, in ambiente (ut dicunt) calido, quoniam ad cutim attractio fit, morbum hunc et secundum naturae suae

impetum creari, et simul ad exteriora prorumpere solere. In frigido autem, quia intro repellitur contra suae naturae motum retroverti et solidas corporis partes saepius depasci. Frequentius etiam in regione calida quam frigida apparere; hic enim circumfusus aer, ne morbus ad cutim extendatur, prohibet (nam intro pellit), illic vero et ad cutim trahit et eandem retinet. (Moreover in a hot region, inasmuch as in accordance with the impulse of its nature it is carried to the skin, it is there less virulent; whereas in a cold one, as it is compelled against its nature to travel to the inward parts, it is more so.—Again we should not let this escape our notice, that in a hot environment (as they say), inasmuch as an attraction takes place towards the skin, this disease also according to the impulse of its nature is there brought into being, and is wont to

in Southern countries not only the greater number of skin-diseases, but even Venereal disease itself in an especial degree, appear as an exanthema of the skin, and for this reason it there displays far less destructive effects; but as a rule enquirers have contented themselves with the general habit, without (as pointed out before) adequately turning the fact to advantage in connection with the History and Theory of Venereal disease.

This preponderating bias towards the external skin

break out towards the external parts. On the other hand in a cold one, because it is drawn within, it is turned back contrary to the motion of its nature, and more often feeds upon the solid parts of the body. Again it appears more frequently in a hot region than in a cold one; for in the latter case the surrounding air (driving it within as it does) hinders the disease from extending to the skin, whereas in the former it draws it to the skin and keeps it there). But specially pertinent in this connection is p. 1211. — *Puydebat*, "Über den Einfluss des Climas auf den Menschen," (Of the Influence of Climate on Man), in the "Bulletin méd. de Bordeaux, 1836. May 21. (Froriep Notiz. 1836. Vol. 49. p. 179.) writes: Die immer geöffneten Hautporen hauchen in den heissen Ländern einen reichlichen, mehr oder weniger stark riechenden Schweiss aus. Die Hautdrüsen sondern eine ölige Flüssigkeit in Menge ab, welche die Haut schlüpfrig macht und derselben jenes bei

den Negeren so auffallende Ansehn giebt. Dieser Zustand der Haut macht sie zu Exanthenen, z. B. Masern, Blattern, Syphilis, Lepra, Elephantiasis geneigt. (The ever open skin-pores expire in hot countries a rich and more or less strongly smelling sweat. The cutaneous glands secrete an oily fluid in quantities, which makes the skin slippery and gives it that appearance so striking in Negroes. This state of the skin makes it liable to exanthematic effections, e.g. Measles, Small-pox, Syphilis, Leprosy, Elephantiasis). — In cold countries the transpiration of the skin is very weak; in consequence the internal secretions are increased in quantity, while in hot countries they are lessened from a directly opposite cause." Comp. *J. von Röser*, "Ueber einige Krankheiten des Orients," (On some Diseases of the East). Augsburg 1837., pp. 67—71., to whose statements we shall have to return on several future occasions.

must obviously manifest itself equally in other diseases of the mucous membranes, and so too in those of the genital organs. Reabsorption in particular, acting with increased vigour on the mucous surfaces, will prove its beneficial presence also in the diseases affecting them. The foreign matter that comes in contact with these surfaces is assimilated to a less degree by the mucous glands and by those of the *glans penis*, and no time is allowed it to exert a destructive influence on the small surface receiving it; on the other hand it is quickly thrown back on the much more extensive surface of the external skin, and there dealt with by the cutaneous glands with their powerful secretive and assimilatory action, being either assimilated or expelled externally.

In particular localities this quickly happens without any striking symptoms being locally perceptible in the skin, as e.g. in Numidia, Libya¹ and the Northern part of Peru², where the disease is said to cure itself without extraneous medical aid, and among the inhabitants generally to be practically

¹ *Joannes Leo*, "Descriptio Africae", (Description of Africa), Leyden 1632. 12mo., p. 86., Paucis admodum toto Atlante, tota Numidia totaque Libya hoc notum est contagium. Quodsi quisquam fuerit qui se eo infectum sentiat, mox in Numidiam aut in Nigritarum regionem proficiscitur, cuius tanta est aeris temperies, ut optimae sanitati restitutus inde in patriam redeat: quod quidem multis accidisse ipse meis vidi oculis, qui nullo adhibito neque pharmaco neque medico, praeter saluberrimum iam dictum aërem, revaluerant. (To very few persons indeed in the whole of the Atlas, the whole of Numidia and of Libya, is

this contagion known. But if there should be any man who feels himself attacked by it, he presently journeys into Numidia or the district of the Nigritae, where the nature of the air is such that he returns home again restored to excellent good health. This I have seen happen to many with my own eyes, who without help of druggist or doctor recovered by the exceeding salubrity of the air as aforesaid). *Comp. Scaliger*, Exercitat. CLXXX. ch. 18. — *Petronius*, loco citato p. 1213.

² *Schnurrer*, "Geographische Nosologie," (Geographical Nosology, — Distribution of Diseases), p. 454.

non-existent (?). Though this is not the case in other countries, still the cutaneous glands become involved in the morbid-process of the disease, and secrete with augmented copiousness, and the secretion being simultaneously altered in character, it fails to be driven out externally, inasmuch as external elimination is at once stopped owing to the fact that the cutaneous glands, like the uterus in pregnancy, close their orifice, so as to be enabled to carry out their function in their recesses. For this reason the glands swell, and manifest themselves in the form of *papillae* or tubercles (very often as little bladders, or blebs), changing later either into pustules, if the morbid products are eventually expelled ¹, or else gradually

¹ *Brown, W. G.* "Reisen in Afrika, Egypten und Syrien." (Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria), transl. from the English by C. Sprengel. Weimar 1800. 8vo., p. 389., tells us of a marine at Kahira, who had become infected, how the man, having in the mean time taken no means whatever to combat the disease and without giving up either the use of brandy or the practice of copulation, two months later got a violent itching eruption over his whole body, and particularly on the head and over the glands of the neck. This he treated by sprinkling over it a sort of red earth, whereupon it dried up and disappeared, so that four weeks later he found himself completely cured and his skin as clean and smooth as before. *Schnurrer*, loco citato p. 453., also gives the story, but with sundry inaccuracies. Similar observations were made by

Th. Clarke at the Cape of Good Hope, London Med. Gazette 1833. *Behrend*, Syphilidologie Vol. I. pp. 241 sqq. The Minorite *Conti* declared in opposition to *Norberg* (*Biörnsthäl's Briefe*, 6 vol. p. 410.): "Christian no less than Mussulman in the East is strictly forbidden to cohabit with a woman before the eighth day after her purification. If it is done within that period, the man's body is poisoned: he experiences swelling, ulcers, sores, itch and pains in the limbs, and shows all the symptoms of leprosy. At this time the female does not become pregnant, because the blood is unclean, but if conception does occur, the child also gets a bad itch, and generally is affected like his parents." *Fr. Eagle* (Lancet July 1836., Note 671.). *Behrend's* Syphilidologie, Vol. I. p. 118., relates a number

disappear, if the process of assimilation and reabsorption has been sufficiently vigorous. Supposing damp, cold or other unfavourable influences to be at work, suppuration may very well supervene, or degenerative processes commence, and so on, and *the disease pass over into leprosy and elephantiasis*. This is above all the case in Egypt, where from the first, chancres on the genitals would seem to possess a marked tendency towards scurfy and scabby formations ¹.

If these are the facts at the present day,—and no one doubts they are,—there only remains the question: were they so in Ancient times as well? Here we come face to face with the difficult problem as to the relation of leprosy with Venereal disease,—a problem which for Centuries has been the subject of dispute, and in spite of the very careful enquiries of a Hensler and of other investigators, cannot by any means be regarded as solved. Our own investigations on the Leprosy of the Ancients are as yet too incomplete, and the nature of the subject demands such far-reaching inquisition into the most widely different individual phænomena, that we are compelled, in order to economise our space, to renounce all idea of submitting the subject to any more detailed examination in the present Work. Besides, in our Second Part we shall be coming back to it again, when we have under investigation the question as to whether or no the Venereal disease of the XVth Century was developed from leprosy.

of cases that occurred in London where after intercourse with women during menstruation both gonorrhœa and chancre supervened.

¹ *Von Roesser*, loco citato p. 69. *Sonnerat*, "Reise nach Ostindien", (Journey to the East Indies), I. 94, 99. *Schnurrer*, Geogr. Nosologie p. 409. Note, says: "In Hindostan in particular experi-

ence has shown that a badly treated syphilis changes into leprosy." That this is not a thing of such extreme rarity in Europe either, we shall prove more fully in another place. Meantime compare what *Hensler*, "Vom Abendländischen Aussatze", (On Oriental Leprosy), pp. 228 sqq., says on the subject.

For our present purpose the following statement must suffice: The Climate of Asia and Egypt was in Antiquity, as mentioned already, undoubtedly but little different from what it is to-day, and the influence it exerted therefore must have shared in this resemblance ¹.

As to *mentagra*, we have already proved a little above that it was a consequence of the vice of the *cunnilingue*, and as according to Pliny's report the latter claimed Egypt for its fatherland, obviously the climate of that country must have been in part responsible for its origination. Now affections of the genital organs being found in Antiquity as the result of sexual intercourse, it follows that in this direction also Climate must have exerted its influence, and that in the very same way as we have just above seen it do,—in other words manifold affections of the skin must have originated in consequence of irritation and other morbid effects on the genital organs. True the Ancient physicians say not a word of this; but then they derive the greater proportion of the skin-diseases, which they mass all together in the most admired confusion, from internal mischief of various sorts, and regard them all as *apostases* (suppurative inflammations carrying off the effect of fevers, etc.),—at any rate a proof they were not entirely unacquainted with the antagonistic relations existing between the skin and other organs.

¹ *Galēn*, Ad Glaucon. de meth. med. II., edit. Kühn Vol. XI. p. 142., says: κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐλεφαντιῶσι πᾶμπολλοὶ διὰ τε τὴν διαίταν καὶ τὴν θερμότητα τοῦ χωρίου — ἅτε δὲ θερμοῦ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὄντος καὶ ἡ ῥοπή τῆς φορᾶς αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ θερμα γίνεταί (At any rate in the neighbourhood of

Alexandria very many persons suffer from elephantiasis as well through their mode of life as owing to the heat of the locality;—for indeed as a result of the excessive heat of the climate, the tendency of their constitution is also towards heat). In Germany and Mysia he asserts the disease is seldom observed, and in Scythia almost never.

So far as the genitals are concerned, they seem to have adequately realized only the *consensus* between the uterus and the skin¹, whereas in male subjects they appear to have put down most of the effects observed to the liver. But on these points we shall have something further to say later on. Still the assertion to the effect that Eunuchs are not attacked by *calvities* (baldness) (*Hippocrates*, I. 400; *Galen*, XVIII. A. 40., also p. 42., where mention is made of the excesses in *Baccho et Venere*—in Wine and Love—peculiarly prevalent at his epoch), which was a frequent consequence of vice in Antiquity², points to the *consensus* between genitals and skin having been already noted. Even more is the fact, vouched for by *Archigenes*³, that

¹ Phlyctænae (blisters) in erysipelas of the uterus are mentioned by Hippocrates, De ant. mulierum, edit. Kühn II. p. 541. *Galen*, edit. Kühn Vol. XVII. A. p. 358., ἰσθμὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ἐξανθήματα ἐν ταῖς τῆς μήτρας διαθέσεσιν εἰς τὸ δέριμα ἐκραγέοντα σημαίνουσιν ὅτι ἡ φλεγμονὴ ἢ ἐρυσίπελας ἐκ τοῦ ἀποξέοντος καὶ λεπτοῦ αἵματος ἐν ταῖς μήτραις ἐγγίνεται, ὥς ἐν τῷ περὶ γυναικείης φύσεως γέγραπται. (Be assured that those eruptions that break out on the skin in certain morbid conditions of the womb signify that the inflammation or erysipelas proceeds from the deficiency and poorness of the blood in the womb, as is stated in my Work, On the Female Constitution).

² *Aristotle*, Problem IV. 18.

³ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 1. ch. 122., Novimus quosdam audaciores qui sibi ipsis testes

ferro resecarunt; castratis enim non in peius malum ipsum procedet. Neque enim temere reperias, inquit Archigenes, ullum aliquem castratum elephantiasi laborantem, neque item facile mulierem. Quare etiam quidam ex confidentioribus medicis manum admovent, et quotquot sane ex eis ex sectione periculum evaserunt, per consequentis curationis usum perfecte ab hac maligna affectione liberati sunt. (We know of some bolder spirits who have amputated their own testicles with the knife; for after castration the actual evil will not then proceed to any worse length. For, says Archigenes, you will not readily find any single case of a castrated man suffering from elephantiasis, nor will you easily discover a woman at all affected by this disease. Wherefore, in fact, some of the more daring practitioners

castration was recommended by some Physicians as a cure for elephantiasis, such as to arouse the suspicion that the physicians of Antiquity knew perfectly well what influence affections of the genital organs exerted on diseases of the skin. This is made all the more likely by Archigenes (ch. 120.) not only speaking of the disease as being contagious, but also describing the skin-affection as secondary in character. He further declares its cause to be unknown, puts on record the extreme lubricity of the patients (Satyriasis pp. 74, 133, 269.), and even says in so many words that such as were castrated did not contract elephantiasis!

We have seen how *mentagra* attacked the *cunni-*

have operated, and there is no doubt that such of their patients as escaped the dangerous effects of the operation, have been through the employment of subsequent precautions completely freed from this malignant complaint). Comp. *Hensler*, "Vom Aussatz", (On Leprosy), p. 401. With regard to *the immunity of women*, an assertion likewise made in connection with *mentagra* (p. 288), *von Roeser* writes (loco citato p. 67.) referring to Venereal disease: "Above all it is now the case in Greece and Turkey that the practising physician,—and I have been assured of the fact by many persons,—exceedingly seldom meets with syphilitic female patients in his practice; that yet notwithstanding this none of the *sequelæ* and *different forms of subsequent mischief* that are usually found resulting from the disease when every

kind of medical aid is neglected, are seen in patients of that sex."—P. 71., "Only poison would seem, as a result of the secretive process exerted by the affected parts of the skin and the mucous membrane, which is much more powerful in women than in men, to be more readily eliminated from the body than is the case with men, so much so indeed that it is an almost unheard of thing in Egypt to find a female patient under medical treatment."—still this does not justify the conclusion that women *never* suffered from Venereal disease, as even *von Roeser* himself admits. Again *Larrey*, loco citato p. 253., actually found himself constrained in view of the wide dissemination of the disease among the French soldiers, to establish a special hospital for infected women, in order to check the spread of the complaint."

lingue, and afterwards passed over into *psora*; in just the same way might elephantiasis,—a complaint indeed which the Gloss of the Pseudo-Galen actually puts in connection with the Morbus Phoeniceus (Phoenician Disease),—be brought on by indulgence in coition. This is in no way contradicted by the preference the disease exhibits for first making its appearance in the face, inasmuch as the cutaneous glands of the face are in a relation of special sympathy with the genital organs. That leprosy too no less than elephantiasis was communicated and contracted by coition is shown by a host of examples given in the Mediæval Historians¹; in fact, a large number of Physicians held Venereal disease to be a species of leprosy or elephantiasis, while some made it actually originate in the act of coition with leprous persons; yet for all that we do not, according to *Hensler*, ("Vom Aussatz",—On Leprosy, p. 396.), find it anywhere recorded that the genital organs were first affected,—apart that is from what *Astruc* has brought forward on purpose to support his own view. As everybody knows, *he* refers all local evils existing prior to the end of the XVth Century to Leprosy.

But what would follow supposing traces *were* actually to be found proving that what was known in Asia as leprosy did as a matter of fact first show itself in the genitals? Before we enter upon the closer examination of reasons for this supposition, we must quote a passage from the Work of *Von Roeser* already several times mentioned, a passage equally important for the pathology of Venereal disease as for its History. *Von Roeser*, (p. 68.) writes thus: "Primary syphilis manifests itself in *Egypt* in the very rarest cases on the prepuce or glans of the verge; the chancres are more commonly found on the outer skin of the penis nearer the *mons Veneris*,

¹ Comp. *Foot*, "Abh. über die Lustseuche" (Treatise on Venereal Disease), transl. from the English by *H. Ch. Reich*, Vol. I. p. 62.

or actually on this in the hairy parts which among Egyptians and Arabs are generally kept shaved, *or else on the scrotum*. Pruner¹ told me that the occurrence of a chancre on the prepuce, which indeed is absent in Mohammedans owing to circumcision, or on the *glans penis* is in the ratio of 1 : 3 to chancres on the last mentioned parts, hence in that country Astruc's opinion that syphilitic ulcers hardly ever formed on the exterior of the verge, is strongly contradicted,—as is no less true amongst ourselves. That circumcision is not the sole cause of this phenomenon is manifest from the fact that in Smyrna and Constantinople I saw plenty of chancres on the *glans*, as well as amongst Jews at home, though I am not going to deny that circumcision may have some share in causing the rarity of the appearance of a chancre on the *glans*,—but this does not in any way explain the frequency of their appearance on the scrotum and the *mons Veneris*. A tendency to take the exanthematic type, a tendency which makes itself known also by the fact of *many chancres* commonly appearing at once and *showing in a marked degree a preference for scurfy and scabby forms*, might very possibly afford a better explanation of the phenomenon in question."

Now as to the supposition just expressed, this is based on a repeated examination of a passage of the very utmost importance in the history of leprosy, viz. Ch. XIII. of Leviticus—a chapter which has exercised Theologians no less than Physicians for Centuries, but without our being enabled to regard the investigations it has given rise to as in any way concluded. However it is no intention of ours to provide in this place a commentary on this Chapter, more particularly as we do not possess the philological acquirements necessary for a critical appreciation of the results so far obtained. Neither, speaking in general terms, has anything like

¹ Surgeon in Chief of the Esbekieh Hospital at Cairo.

sufficient progress in the study of original sources for the history of leprosy as yet been made to enable an adequate judgement to be formed; we much prefer to limit our efforts at present to contributing sundry observations, which stand in close connection with our immediate object, and at the same time may afford readers, whether scientific or philological authorities, an opportunity of favouring us with their judgement as specialists.

The correct understanding of the whole passage appears to us to depend in the first place on the success of the endeavour to find a certain and definite explanation of the expression בְּעוֹר בָּשָׂר (b'ôr b'sarô, —“skin of the flesh” in English Authorized Version). Luther rendered this by: *on the skin of his flesh*; the Septuagint translators give it as ἐν δέσματι χρωτός αὐτοῦ (in the skin of the surface); while *de Wette* (whose Translation of the passage generally we hereby ask the reader to consult, space not allowing us to quote the whole Chapter) translates it *on the skin of his body*, and understands by the expression every part of the external skin.

Supposing this translation the correct one, it will be a hard matter to explain how it was the hair should simultaneously have turned *white*, a circumstance which strangely enough caused even Hensler no surprise. Rosenmüller in his Scholia on the passage says: *Schilling (De lepra p. 7.) observat, in lepra alba pilos albescere, (Schilling, On Leprosy p. 7. notes that in white leprosy the hair grows white);* but it is only the *partes pilosae aut capillatae* (hairy parts, parts covered with long hair) that are here intended, and these are to be understood as including merely the head, eye-brows, chin, armpits and pubic region. Obviously the hair on other parts of the body cannot be taken here into consideration, as it is specifically almost colourless, and though it is true it may have had a stronger coloration in many Jews, surely they did not *all* belong to the race of Esau. Again all writers on leprosy, when this mischief affecting

the hair is in question, speak solely of the hair of the parts named ¹. So when *Haly Abbas* in a passage quoted by Hensler (*Excerpta* p. 9.), in which he is treating of *Allopitia* and *Tyria* (forms of leprosy), says, *Nonnunquam totius accidit pilis corporis* (Sometimes this happens to all the hair of the body), this also is to be understood merely of the parts above named. Indeed *Hensler* himself (*Vom Aussatz,—On Leprosy*, p. 304.) assumes this when, after speaking of the hair of the head and beard, he goes on: "But this mischief may also attack other hairy parts of the body. *Haly Abbas* says, (*Excerpta* p. 9.) At times this affects also the hair of the whole body. True the passage of *Hippocrates*, in view of the erroneous punctuation, seems to belong more properly to what follows, still even by itself it would be probable enough, as *the preliminary symptoms are found particularly in the arm-pit and the groin*, and might of course extend their ravages there, just as much as on the head." However should anyone wish to understand here *all* the hairy parts of the body mentioned, and suppose the Author to be speaking in the first instance in a general sense, then

¹ The passage of *Arctaeus* (*Morb. chron.* bk. II. ch. 13. edit Kühn p. 180.) can hardly be cited as evidence on the other side in this case, as the question there discussed is elephantiasis, not the leprosy of the Jews at all. Any how we read there: *τρίχες ἐν μὲν τῷ παντὶ προτεθνήσκουσι, χερσὶ μηροῖσι κνήμησι, αὐθις ἤβη, γενείοις ἀραιαί, ψεδναὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κόμαι· τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον πρόωροι, πολλοὶ καὶ φαλάκρωσις ἀθρόη· οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ ἤβη καὶ ἐπιμύμνοιν πανταί τρίχες, ἀπρεπέστεραι τῶν ἀποιχο-*

μένων. (Hair dies first in every part, on hands, thighs, shins; again on pubes and cheeks it becomes thin, and scanty also on the head. The locks are prematurely white, and baldness becomes general; nor is it long before pubes and cheeks are bare, and if a few scanty hairs should remain, they are uncomely as compared with those that have disappeared). Nor would it be any fairer to cite the fact that Albinos are covered over the whole body with a fine, white, woolly hair.

what follows will not agree, for the hair of the head and beard was *not* changed into *white*, but into *yellow* (צהב), as V. 30 states. There are left therefore only the eye-brows, arm-pits and the pubic region, to which the transformation to white can apply.

Granting these considerations to be correct, it is impossible to understand the *b'ôr b'sarô* as signifying the whole exterior surface of the skin; it must imply a local limitation. But the limited area intended can be nothing but *the genitals*, and this agrees best at once with the facts and with the usages of Biblical phraseology. In more than one passage, in fact, of the Old Testament *basar*, like σάρξ (flesh) in the New, has the meaning of "sexual parts"; and even in English the word *flesh*, particularly in ecclesiastical language, is consecrated by custom in this sense. So Luther was perfectly justified in the passage under discussion in translating as he did: *on the skin of his flesh*, that is to say, of his genitals. The particular combination of *b'ôr b'sarô* we have not it is true been able to find used generally in the books of the Old Testament, but we must not therefore conclude absolutely that it is unique and peculiar to this XIIIth. Chapter; though indeed, if such *were* the case, it would merely be an additional confirmation of the explanation we have given.

So far as the matter of fact goes, such an assumption offers no difficulties,—indeed it actually removes several, as e.g. that connected with the coloration of the skin, and not only proves that already at that date pustules on the genitals had been observed that were free from any suspicion of malignant character, but further that along with a suspicious pustule or similar symptom (scurf, ulcer) there went a simultaneous general affection of the skin as a whole, which was held to be diagnostic for the local malady, and accordingly proclaimed even the suspected leper free from taint after his recovery from it. For evidently we must take verses 12 and 13 as indicating

this, where it is stated in so many words: "And if the leprosy break out (פִּרְיָא, —blossom) abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the plague from his head even to his feet, as far as appeareth to the priest; then the priest shall look: and behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague; it is all turned white: he is clean." (English Revised Version). The last words have been wrongly referred by some Interpreters to the "Bohak" (bright spot), which is mentioned in verse 39., but really nothing more than this is intended:—after the eruption is dried up, and the skin has returned to its natural white colour, then the hitherto sick man is to be declared clean ¹.

This diagnostic eruption again points to another fact, viz. that the leprosy must have had its seat in a part of the body, the cutaneous glands of which stand in a relation of lively sympathy with those of the skin generally, and this according to modern experience can only be the cutaneous glands of the genital organs. Sometimes inoculation with cow-pox lymph brings out a general eruption of the whole skin, but this circumstance cannot well be made pertinent here, as really and truly the lymph is a resultant product of a feverish affection, and therefore its innate tendency is towards a reproduction of

¹ Already *J. D. Michaelis*, "Fragen an eine Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer, die auf Befehl Ihrer Majestät des Königs von Dänemark nach Arabien reisen," (Questions addressed to a Society of Learned Men, travelling at the Command of HM. the King of Denmark to Arabia), Frankfurt-on-the-Main 1762., p. 23., says in the 11th. question on Leprosy under head No. 8.:

"Does it possess a natural diagnostic mark in this, if it breaks out everywhere at once, and covers the whole body? From Leviticus XIII. 12—13. we might seem to be almost justified in concluding this to be so. But I am in doubt how in that case this passage is to be interpreted in accordance with the history of the disease." Comp. p. 335. Note 1.

itself under circumstances of feverish stimulation, and to set the whole organism, and consequently the whole cutaneous glandular system, in a state of enhanced activity. How the diagnostic eruption comes about may be gathered from the statement of the case given just above; while the passage quoted from *von Roeser's Work* will explain the rest. Still for the present this much may suffice to put the expert reader in a position to test our conjecture,—for indeed so far it makes no profession to be more than a conjecture. Supposing it found tenable, then the further consequences that cannot but grow from it for the elucidation of the Chapter in discussion may be readily developed. On the other hand, if it is devoid of justification, it would be quite useless further to elaborate a hypothesis, plunging a subject obscure enough without this in even deeper darkness. Further than this we only need to mention that *Hensler* and others hold *menlagra* to be indicated in the bald chin and scurfy (scall) chin of Leviticus (XIII. 29 sqq.), which if they are right would merely be another point in favour of our view.

Finally there can hardly be any need for us to observe that we have no idea of holding leprosy in general to be a consequence of excesses; on the contrary we believe, to return to the problem we started with at the beginning of this Section, that we are bound to agree to the opinion first explicitly laid down by *Becket*¹, viz. *that under the widely comprehensive notion of Leprosy were included other forms of skin-diseases owing their existence to some previous affection of the genital organs*,—in precisely the same way as this happened in the Middle Ages, and as may be the case occasionally even at the present day.

¹ *Philosoph. Transactions on Venereal Disease, Vol. I. Vol. XXXI. Foot, Treatise pp. 25 sqq.*

§ 31.

What precise influence Climate exerted on the form taken and course run by affections of the genital organs in *Greece and Italy*, can be only approximately laid down, as the information supplied by Physicians, though ample in quantity, mostly leaves the point indefinite as to where the observations were made, whether in Asia Minor and Egypt (Alexandria), or in Greece and Italy. The last named country indeed was, as is well known, almost entirely devoid of independent native medical Writers.

The mild, genial sky of Greece and Italy impressed on all forms of disease, including diseases of the genitals, a mild character. There, on the confines of East and West, we find, it is true, the same natural tendencies prevailing as in Asia, but always on a less exaggerated scale. *Von Roeser* (loco citato p. 70.) says: "In conclusion we should note further that in Egypt gonorrhœa is a complaint of very rare occurrence, in Greece and Turkey a very common one. That the exanthematic character taken by syphilis is not(?) responsible for the fact of its not manifesting itself as gonorrhœa is confirmed by the circumstance that it occurs much more frequently in Greece than amongst ourselves, whereas syphilis in that country has (though not in an identical form) the exanthematic type to an even greater degree than in our own." *D. Hennen*¹ found Venereal disease rare in Cephalonia, but on the contrary gonorrhœa quite common.

No doubt the tendency to determine towards the skin is clearly noticeable in Greece as well, but not to such an extent as to outweigh the local affection. The latter accordingly takes a more independent

¹ *D. Hennen*, Sketches of the Mediterranean. London the Medical Topography of 1830.

form than is the case in Asia, and for this reason, though making its appearance more frequently, neither follows so rapid a course nor shows so destructive a character,—if only the organism is seconded to some extent in the efforts to combat the malady. This is shown by the statements *Galen* has left as to gonorrhœa and ulcers occurring in connection with bubonic swellings,—a matter we shall have occasion to speak of later. While in Asia the skin affection is manifested by the formation of pustules and scurf, in Greece and neighbouring countries of the South it rather takes the shape of *papillae* and small blisters or blebs, and only in obstinate cases breaks out in tubercles. Hence *lepra*, *psora*, *lichen*, and *elephantiasis* are the forms under which we must look for it in the medical Writers of Antiquity, who however say nothing as to the origin of these diseases, or else, as we have seen before, refer them all to deficiency of the moist humours ¹.

We have never yet succeeded, though we have before now expended much time on the effort, in getting a clear grasp of the ideas the Ancient physicians intended to express by the different designations they gave to the various skin-diseases. So we are constrained to postpone deeper investigation of the question to a subsequent occasion, or wait to see whether meantime some other enquirer, better

¹ *Galen*, De febr. diff., bk. I., edit. Kühn Vol. VII. 284 sqq., δριμύν δ' ἀπορροῖ καὶ θανῶδες περίττωμα τοῖς ἦτοι κακοχυμοτέροις, ἣ ἐδέσματα μοχθηρὰ προσφερομένοις τοιαῦτα γούν ἐδέσματα καὶ νῦν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐσθίειν πολλοὶ διὰ λιμὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἀπὸ σηπεδονῶν τε καὶ λοιμῶδων πυρετῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐξάνθημασιν ἐάλωσαν ψωρῶδεσι τε καὶ λεπρώδεσιν. (But

there discharges an acrid and biting excretion, and this in patients already only too much afflicted with evil humours, or else food becomes noxious to them, though normally able to tolerate such food; and now being forced to eat, many died in consequence of the plague, some from putrefying and pestilential fevers, while others again were attacked by exanthematic eruptions of the *psora* and *lepra* types).

equipped for the work, may not throw light on the chaos. Only so far as *Scabies* (Scab) is concerned, it would seem allowable to assume allusions to be intended to vicious living as a cause of the malady. It cannot be without a reason that for centuries this one above all other skin diseases seems to have fallen under special disrepute; and the term to have been used by poets, by *Martial*¹ for example, to indicate that sensuai indulgence had been at work. In fact, several of the earliest Writers on Venereal disease hold it to be a sort of *scabies*, and even at a later period there is for long frequent mention made of *Venereal scars or scabs*. Possibly also in Greece *lepra* (leprosy) was looked upon as a form of skin-disease that was come by in no reputable way, and commonly regarded as an inheritance of the debauchees², just as we saw to be the case with *mentagra* at Rome.

¹ Martial, Bk. VI. Epigr. 37.,

O quanta scabie miser laborat !
Culum non habet, est tamen cinadus.

(How sad a scurvy (*scabies*)
does the wretch groan under !
Bottom all gone; and yet he
is a cinadus !)

Bk. XI. Epigr. 8.,

Penelopae licet esse tibi sub prin-
cipe Nerva
Sed prohibet scabies ingenium-
que vetus.

(You may be a Penelope under
Nerva as Emperor; only that
scurvy hinders you and in-
veterate viciousness). The
mala scabies (horrid scurvy)
from *Horace*, *Ars Poet*, 453.,
is familiar; as well as the
statement of *Justin* (*Hist.*
XXXVI. 2.) to the effect
that the Jews were driven out

of Egypt on account of *Scabies*
and *Vitiligo* (Tetter), that the
Egyptians might not be in-
fected by them. Comp. *Mi-
chaelis*, "Mosaisches Recht",
(Mosaic Law) IV. 209. The
infectious nature of *psora* is
declared also by *Aristotle*,
Problem. VII. 8. *Galen*, *De
puls. diff.*, IV. 1. The transition
of *mentagra* into *psora* has
been already mentioned.

² *Aristophanes*, *Birds* 151.
makes *Euelpides* say: βδελ-
λύττομαι τὸν Λέπρεον ἀπὸ
Μελανθίου (I detest the
"Leprean" of *Melanthius*), on
which the Scholiast remarks:
Μελάνθιος ὁ τραγικός
κωμωδεῖται γὰρ εἰς μαλακίαν
καὶ ὀψοφαγίαν. Ἰλλάτων δὲ
αὐτὸν ἐν Σκύθαις ὡς λάλον
σώπτει. ἔλχε δὲ Μελάνθιος
λέπραν. (*Melanthius* the

Affections of the external skin consequent upon complaints of the genital organs being thus no less common in Ancient times than they are to-day, it follows that in inverse proportion forms of ulceration of the palate and nose, as well as complaints affecting the bones, must have fallen into the background and have been of more rare occurrence, just as is observed to be the case in the present day¹. So, to combine all the varying forms under one generalisation, we may say that this represents a type of disease of an exceedingly mild and favourable character, particularly if attention is directed only to the external symptoms, as indeed was habitually done by the old pathologists. For even the skin-affection itself presents so little that is characteristic, or at any rate shows itself

Tragedian; for he is derided on account of his luxurious living and gluttony. But Plato laughs at him in the "Scythians" as a *garrulous* person; now Melanthius had *leprosy*). The same thing is mentioned in the "Peace", 803., with the addition, *καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν Κόλαξιν Εὐπόλις ὡς κύναιδον αὐτὸν διαβάλλει καὶ κόλακα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς λευκὰς ἔχοντα καὶ λεπράς*. (and still more severely does Eupolis in his "Flatterers" ridicule him as being *pathic* and a flatterer; moreover as having whites,—white leprosy,—and leprosy). Here we would particularly call attention to the *λευκαί* (white leprosy), which we have already noted as a consequence of the habits of the *cunnilingue*; and with this the *λάλον* (garrulous, talkative) of the Comic poet

Plato agrees very well, for *Hesychius* explains *γλωσσο-στροφεῖν* (to ply the tongue) by *περιλαλεῖν* and *στωμύλλεσθαι* (to be very talkative, to babble). Thus *lepra* would seem to be attached as penalty to the vice of the pathic, Elephantiasis is stated to be infectious by *Arctaeus*, *Morb. chron.*, II. 12. and *Paulus Aegineta*, IV. 1.; however, present day experience tells us nothing of this, and the later Greek physicians refer it again to deficient gall (Marx, *Orig. contag.*, p. 78.); what was the meaning of its great contagiousness in earlier times?

¹ *Von Roeser*, loco citato p. 69. Inflammation of the throat, or ulcerations of the throat, are very rare; still rarer are diseases of the bones, and then only taking the form of swellings of the periosteum.

under such varying shapes, that even at the present day its diagnosis is extremely difficult, being very often based solely and entirely on the admission of the patient, whether voluntary or forced from him, of having suffered from gonorrhœa or chancre. But if the so-called secondary symptoms are more or less completely absent, or lack distinctness, what is there then left beyond the primary affections of the genitals and their succedanea? Full and sufficient descriptions of these are not lacking; we have already quoted numerous examples, and we shall find others yet clearer and more precise later on.

Before quitting the subject of the influence exerted by Climate, we are bound to return once more to the question, *in what relation did contagion, if contagion there was, stand to this climatic influence?* The existence of contagion in the case of gonorrhœa is certified by the passage of *Galen* already quoted by Naumann, which we propose later on to give in full, besides being implied long before by the law of purification of the Mosaic Books. So far as ulcerous formations, condylomata and skin-affections such as *mentagra* etc., are concerned, proof is supplied by the facts we have previously given. According to more modern experience all forms of contagion exhibit in Southern countries a more fugitive type than elsewhere and spread with proportionately greater readiness. Whereas in such as are naturally fugitive, the intensity may for that very reason be less injurious, fixed and stable forms of contagion on the contrary must obviously lose in strength, at any rate so far as their local effects go. They will be the less able to make good a lodgement in the organism, from the fact that, stimulating the latter as they do to a general activity, they are the more readily resisted and prevented by this very state of enhanced activity. For just as, speaking generally, chronic complaints, uncomplicated by fever, can only be removed by artificially setting up a feverish condition, that is to say by calling on the organism

as a whole to share in the local manifestations of disease. Precisely the same is true of local affections set up by any fixed and stable contagion, and so the removal of the actual contagion can only be successfully brought about either by direct decomposition and destruction of the affected tissue or by metamorphosis into a fugitive form.

Now inasmuch as the contagion was rapidly thrown off from the point of first infection upon the cutaneous glands,—and this happened the more readily, the more fugitive its character was,—the affections there set up by it standing in such clear relation as they did with the primary sumptoms, were necessarily bound also to exhibit a greater or less degree of the contagious character, as indeed is observed according to *Jos. Frank*, *Bielt* and other authorities even in Europe to the present day. In Greece, where the transformation was less often to pustular and scurfy forms, more frequently merely to papillae or at worst little bladder-like risings, or blebs (*Phlyctaenae*), while at the same time the energy of the skin was not so pronounced, the interval between the appearance of the primary and secondary symptoms was greater, and the contagiousness of the skin-affections undoubtedly less prominent, it cost the organism in that climate much more strenuous effort to set in action the elimination of the disease by the skin. Consequently the nervous system as well was injuriously affected by sympathy to a greater extent, while the exanthematic forms showed themselves in more obvious conjunction with itch (*psora*!). This was partially the case in Italy too, though here the climate approximated more nearly to that of Lower Egypt, leading to a more frequent appearance of pustulous forms, as shown by the prevalence in that country of *mentagra*.

But just as climatic influence relaxed the intensity of contagion, and diminished concurrently the malignancy of disease-types, local as well as general, so

on the contrary, in those cases where other influences tended to counteract its effect, while the organism was not strong enough to overmaster the assaults of the enemy by general or local activity, it sought to guard against the contagion rising to a higher degree of independence; it set up mortification of the ulcers, by which means the contagion itself was directly destroyed. From all this it may be concluded, that although climate must evidently be acknowledged to be an important factor favourable to the rise of affections of the genital organs in Antiquity as much as at the present day, yet on the other hand it tended by its own action to combat the mischief it had originated; and so, at any rate so far as the development of the morbid process is concerned, is to be regarded to an almost equal degree as a counteracting influence at the same time.

§ 32.

The experience of all ages has conclusively proved that a large proportion of such morbid phenomena as occur in consequence of local climatic conditions are capable equally of being produced sooner or later in countries and neighbourhoods the climate of which is entirely different by help of the *genius epidemicus*; and that the readiness with which they are so produced varies in direct ratio with the degree in which the climate is associated with and seconds the favourable factors. It is indeed extremely difficult, in view of the low level of development to which the science of Epidemics, in general no less than in particular, has as yet attained, to show this as applicable in any given case, more especially if it is a question of the epidemic condition of some disease of which the pathological relations themselves are far from being as yet adequately known. Still this must not prevent us from making at any rate

an attempt at investigation of the question, how much or how little effort has been manifested by such influence in the course of years.

But the influence of the genius epidemicus on diseases in general is a twofold one. *Either* it supplies the capital, most essential external circumstances conditioning the production of a disease, in fact is related to it as cause to effect. In virtue of it the disease is an *epidemic* disease, coming into existence for the first time concurrently with the development of the genius epidemicus, disappearing again with the cessation of its prevalence, and once again springing up if and when the genius epidemicus makes a second re-appearance. *Or else* the most essential external conditioning circumstances are specifically independent of the genius epidemicus; while the latter takes merely a remote share in the way of favouring or counteracting the production of the disease, manifesting its influence rather in modifying the form and direction of such morbid reactions as have arisen in the organism without its intervention at all,—in other words *the disease is subject to epidemic influence*.

Unfortunately hitherto these two kinds of influence exerted by the genius epidemicus have been only too often confounded, and no adequate distinction drawn between epidemic diseases on the one hand and diseases subject to epidemic influence on the other. This has been especially so with regard to Venereal disease, the epidemic character of which curiously enough enquirers have felt bound to vindicate, as well at the beginning of the XVth. Century as here and there even at the present day. The baselessness of such an opinion is so perfectly obvious to anyone who weighs the matter with any care, that we really do not think it necessary to devote more pains now to proving the point, particularly as we propose to treat it more fully in another place. On the other hand Venereal disease is subject to epidemic influence, in fact it is so

perhaps to a greater extent than many other forms of sickness, as will be clearly shown in the course of our historical investigations. Accordingly the only question still wanting an answer is, how far such influence may have been effectual in Antiquity. This question of course presupposes the existence already of a number of diseases appearing in consequence of Venereal excesses; still we possess sufficient proof, as previously stated in the course of our enquiries into the influence of climate, to justify a provisional assumption of their existence for our immediate purpose. For openly admitting as we do our ignorance in relation to the influence of the *genius epidemicus* on sexual activity generally and on the individual activity of the genital organs in particular, and noting the problem to be one that can only be solved in the future, there is nothing else left us to investigate here but this, viz. *the influence of the genius epidemicus in reference to the forms taken and course followed by diseases occurring in consequence of Venereal excesses.*

It may be collected from later experience and observation that there are three clearly marked forms of the *genius epidemicus* or *epidemic condition*, that exercise a preponderating influence on affections of the genitals and Venereal disease, and condition the frequency of the occurrence of one or the other type of these, viz. *catarrhal*, conditioning blennorrhœal affections. the *exanthematic*, conditioning complaints of the cutaneous glands, and the *typhoidal*, conditioning various forms of chancre and their malignancy.

With regard to the influence of the *genius epidemicus catarrhalis* and *exanthematicus*, it would seem to be difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion as to what precisely this was in Asia and the South of Europe, since the Climate was *ipso facto*, as already shown, pre-eminently favourable to blennorrhœal and cutaneous affections; nevertheless the rise and spread of mentagra as well as of elephantiasis

in the time of Pompey the Great does afford some indication at any rate so far as Italy is concerned. No doubt the Hippocratic writers several times mention the prevalence of skin affections at particular periods; but the expressions they employ are too general to make it possible for us to take these into special consideration in this place. However there is one passage we must make an exception of,—a passage of the greatest importance for our purpose, even though in all probability it refers to the commencement of a combined erysipelas-typhoid condition, to which we shall have occasion to return again later. In it Hippocrates relates how after a dry Summer with Southerly winds and frequent rain there followed a mild, wet Winter, next cold and even snow-storms succeeded in the Spring with much rain, and finally a very hot Summer again. In the Spring began inflammatory fevers and erysipelas, and ¹ “in many cases aphthae and ulcerations formed in the mouth, many rheums occurred in the genitals taking the form of ulcers and abscesses on the external and internal surface of the sexual parts; also eye troubles, with discharge, obstinate, persistent and painful; also growths, which are called *σύνκα* (figs) on the inner and outer surface of the eye-lids, causing many to lose their sight; besides they frequently occurred on other parts liable to ulceration and particularly on the genital organs.” In this passage the expressions *έλκώματα*, *φύματα*, *ἔξωθεν ἔσωθεν τὰ περὶ βουβώνας* (ulcers and abscesses on the external and internal surface of the sexual parts) is as a rule misunderstood by the annotators. But

¹ *Hippocrates*, Epidem. Bk. III., edit. Kühn Vol. III. p. 486., *στόματα πολλοῖσιν ἀφθώδεα, ἑλκώδεα· φεύματα περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα πολλά· ἑλκώματα, φύματα, ἔξωθεν ἔσωθεν τὰ περὶ βουβώνας, ὀφθαλμοὶ ὄγραι, μακροὶ*

χρόνιοι μετὰ πόνων· ἐπιφύσεις βλεφάρων ἔξωθεν ἔσωθεν, πολλῶν φθείροντες τὰς ὄψιας, ἃ σύνκα ἐπονομάζουσιν· ἐφύετο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλκίων πολλὰ καὶ αἰδοίοισιν. (for translation see text above).

really *ἔξωθεν* (on the outside) evidently refers to *ἐλκώματα* (ulcers), while *ἔσωθεν* (on the inside) goes with *φύματα* (abscesses), and signifies a swelling and inflammation of a mucous gland resulting in suppuration, as may be seen from the next quoted Aphorism¹. "Such patients as have *φύματα* (abscesses) in the urethra find relief, so soon as these have suppurated and broken." That this relief (*λύσις*) consisted in the cessation of pain and of the retention of urine may be gathered not only from Galen's commentary on the first passage, and from the *λύεται ὁ πόνος* (the suffering is relieved) in the

¹ *Hippocrates*, Bk. IV. Aphor. 82., edit. Kühn Vol. III. p. 735., *ὁκόσοισιν ἐν τῇ οὐρήθρῃ φύματα φύεται, τουτέοισι διαπυήσαντος καὶ ἐκραγέντος λύσις.* (for translation see text above). The same Aphorism is repeated again Bk. VII. Aphor. 57. p. 763., *ὁκόσοισιν ἐν τῇ οὐρήθρῃ φύματα γίνονται, τουτέοισι διαπυήσαντος καὶ ἐκραγέντος λύεται ὁ πόνος.* (Patients having abscesses in the urethra, find relief from the suffering, so soon as these have suppurated and broken).—*Celsus*, bk. II. ch. 8. translates this by: *Quibus in fistula urinae minuti abscessus, quos φύματα Graeci vocant, esse coeperunt, iis ubi pus ea parte profluxit, sanitas redditur.* (Patients in whom small abscesses have been set up in the urinary canal, which the Greeks call *φύματα*, recover when once matter has flowed out at the spot).—*Galen*, in his Explanation of the first Aphorism of Hippo-

crates (edit. Kühn Vol. XVII. B. p. 778.) says: *πρόχειρον γὰρ παντὶ γινῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τῷ οὐρητικῷ τῷ κατὰ τὸ αἰδοῖον, τοῦτο γὰρ οὐρήθραν καλοῦσι συνισταμένων φυμάτων τὴν λύσιν γίνεσθαι ῥαγέντων ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ἰσχυρίαν δὴ τινα γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον φύμα καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὡς τὸ φύμα τοῦτο ῥαγὲν ἰάσεται τὴν ἰσχυρίαν ἐβδελον.* (For it is within the knowledge of every observer that in the case of abscesses that have been set up in the urinary canal in the region of the privates,—called the urethra,—relief is afforded when once these have burst. For it is likely some retention of urine occurs on account of such abscess, and so the fact of this abscess having burst will obviously remedy the retention). *Comp. Galen*, De loc. affect. Bk. I. ch. 1., bk. VI. ch. 6. *Paulus Aegineta* bk. IV. ch. 22.

repetition of the same Aphorism, but Hippocrates actually says so distinctly in a third passage ¹.

Supposing the view, still generally held even in the last Century, that regards gonorrhœa as a result of an ulcer in the urethra, to have been already adopted in Hippocrates' time,—and inasmuch as the expression *γονορροία*, so far as we know, never occurs in his writings, the assumption would not only not be absurd, but such a view would really be preferable to that which makes out the discharge to be badly made semen,—we shall find in this passage an expression of the fact of the more common occurrence of gonorrhœa, the most troublesome symptom of which, viz. the pain suffered during micturition (*πόνος, δυσουρία, ισχυρία*, suffering, difficulty in micturition, retention of urine), disappears, as is well known, concurrently with the commencement of the discharge (*πύου ῥαγέντος, πυμάτων ῥαγέντων*,—when the pus has broken out, when the abscess has broken), or if it does not entirely disappear, is at any rate sensibly diminished. But it is not really needful to accept this as having been the ruling opinion; the facts may very well be accounted for by supposing that in virtue of the *epidemic condition* a strongly marked tendency was set up on the part of the glandular organs to inflammatory and suppurative action, by which not merely the glands of the external skin (*έλκώματα ἔξωθεν*,—ulcerations on the outside, Moscs' *ΠΛῆ, ΠΥ*), but also those of the mucous membrane of the urethra (*φύματα ἔσωθεν*,—abscesses on the inside) were affected,

¹ *Hippocrates*, Coact. prae-not., edit. Kühn Vol. I. p. 312., οἷσι δὲ φύμα περὶ τὴν κύστιν ἐστὶ τὸ παρέχον τὴν δυσουρίην, παντοίως σχηματιζόμεντες ὀχλύνονται· λύσις δὲ τούτου γίνεται πύου ῥαγέντος. (Patients having

an abscess in the region of the bladder that causes difficulty of micturition, find themselves troubled and effected in all sorts of ways; but relief from this is experienced, when once the matter has broken out).

exactly as is observed at the present day, especially in the chronic forms of gonorrhœa.

The gonorrhœa then in this case would seem to have been of a more malignant type and to have been combined with ulceration. This best agrees with the general delineation of the *epidemic condition* as a whole, the exanthematic character of which declared itself in the fig-like growths or tumours,—the *σῦχα αἰδοιοειδῆ* (figs on the genitals). *Grimm* (Vol. I. p. 490.) already remarks on this passage of Hippocrates: "One might be tempted in this case to regard the ulcerations of the genital parts and their consequences, the fig-like tumours, as being the first signs of disease due to incontinence. Indeed what was there to hinder an evil of the sort in those times and under a warm climate from signaling itself,—then subsequently so far losing its malignant character that its nature was completely misunderstood? Something of the same kind actually happens under our own eyes in connection with this very disease."

§ 33.

Still more important were the effects of these meteorological conditions on ulcers of the genitals *already in existence*. We read (*loco citato* p. 482.): "Even before the beginning of Spring, concurrently with the commencement of the cold time, erysipelas made frequent appearances sometimes with, sometimes without, visible cause; it showed itself highly malignant in type, and carried off many. Many again suffered from painful affections of the pharynx (anginae,—sore throats), loss of voice (affections of the wind-pipe), inflammatory fevers with delirium, aphthae in the mouth, *φύματα* (abscesses) in the genital organs, ophthalmias, *ἀνθρακες* (malignant pustules), etc.—Also many got erysipelas from external causes, at such spots as these had happened to affect them,

even after the smallest injuries¹, and in all parts of the body. Above all sexagenarians suffered in this way in the head, if they were treated in the smallest degree carelessly. Even under careful and scientific treatment wide-spread phlegmonous affections frequently occurred, while the crysipelas spread to a serious extent and with great rapidity in all directions. In most of the patients so affected the metamorphosis that succeeded was to ulcerations, whilst *muscles, sinews and bones fell away to a serious degree*. But the morbid product that collected did not resemble ordinary matter (pus), but was a sort of putrid *sanies*, occurring equally in combination and by itself². Such as were attacked in the head, became bald over the whole head and chin, the bones were laid bare and fell away, and such *ῥεύματα* (morbid discharges) as described occurred frequently, whether with or without fever. Symptoms of the kind however were more terrifying than really destructive³,

¹ *Hippocrates*, De acre aquis et locis, edit. Kühn. Vol. I. p. 526., κῆν μὲν τὸ θέρος ἀύχμηρόν γένηται, θάσσον παύονται αἱ νοῦσοι· ἦν δὲ ἔπομβρον, πολυχρόνιοι γίνονται καὶ φαγεδαίνας κοινῶς ἐγγίνεσθαι ἀπὸ πάσης προφάσιος, ἦν ἔλκος ἐγγένηται. (And if the Summer is a dry one, the diseases will cease more speedily; if on the other hand it is rainy, they become chronic, and such that cancerous sores are set up on any pretext, if an injury of any sort occur).

² *Galen*, in his Commentary on this passage (Vol. XVII. A. p. 671) says in this connection: διεσῆπετο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν μοχθηρῶν χυμῶν ὑγρῶν τὰ στερεὰ· ποικίλον δ' εἶναι

τὸ ῥεῦμα διὰ τὴν τῶν σηπομένων διαφθορὰν εὐλογον· ὑπὸ γὰρ κοινῆς αἰτίας τῆς σηπεδόνος ἕκαστον τῶν σηπομένων ἴδιον εἶδος ἵαχει τῆς διαφθορᾶς. (But under influence of the morbid moist juices the solid parts rotted away; so it is only reasonable to expect the discharge to be complex, resulting from the destruction of the parts rotted away; for although proceeding from one common cause, that of decomposition, each of the rotting parts has its own particular form of decomposition).

³ *Galen*, in his Commentary loco citato p. 672., adds: φοβερωτέραν εἶχε φαντασίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ κεφαλὴν μορλοῖς, διὰ τὸ καὶν βραχὺ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἐνταῦθα παραλαχ-

for among patients in whom these (ῥεύματα) came to maturity and resulted in suppuration, the majority were saved ; on the contrary many died among those in whom the phlegmonous affections and the erysipelas disappeared, without undergoing any such metamorphosis into other forms of disease. Moreover the same thing happened to those in whose case (the morbid product) attacked some other part of the body. For with many of them the whole upper and fore arm fell away ; while in some patients the disease attacked the ribs, the sole difference being

θείη, πλέον γίνεσθαι τὸ αἰσχος ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη μεγάλην ἐκτροπὴν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα. μηροῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ βραχίονος ἢ κνήμης ἢ πήχους ἀπορῶν ἐν δέρματι μικροτέραν ἔχει φαντασίαν, εἰ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς συναποπέσοιεν αἱ τρίχες τῷ δέρματι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ γενείου σὺν αὐταῖς, ἢ μὲν φαντασία τοῦ πάθους γίνεται μεγάλη, ὁ κίνδυνος δ' ἥττον ἢ εἰ περὶ αἰδοῖα συμβαίῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος ἢ λάρυγγα καὶ θώρακα καὶ τι τῶν κυρίων· οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οὕτως γινόμενα φοβερὰ μᾶλλον ἢν ἢ κακίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ὅτι οὐν ἄλλο μέρος οὕτως ἐκπίπτοντα· κακίω γὰρ ἢν ἐφ' ὧν ἀπέστησεν εἰς τὸ βάθος ὁ τὸ ἐρυσίπελος ἐργαζόμενος χυμὸς κ. τ. λ. (It offered a more terrifying appearance where the parts about the head were affected, because even if only a small deviation occur there from what is normal, the feeling

of disgust experienced is greater than in connection with other parts of the body, even when showing a great divergence towards what is abnormal. For the fact of the skin of the thigh being perished, or even when showing of the upper arm, or of the leg, or fore-arm, affords a less formidable appearance, but if the hair fall from the head and the skin along with it, and still more if that of the cheeks and chin go with it, the appearance of injury is very great; but the danger is all the while really less than if the like were to happen to the private parts or larynx and thorax or any of the vital parts. And not only are such things when they happen to the head more terrifying than actually dangerous, but also when it so falls out with regard to any other part; for much more dangerous is the case of those in whom the humour that sets up erysipelas has penetrated deeply in, etc.).

whether some destruction was wrought on their anterior or posterior aspect; in others again the whole thigh or the lower leg or the whole foot was laid bare. *But the most dangerous of all was, when this or the like happened in the neighbourhood of the private parts or to the private parts themselves, and the mischief manifested itself in the form of ulcers, and as the result of external causes. In many patients suchlike symptoms occurred during, before, as well as after the fever*" ¹.

Galen, who has left us a Commentary on this passage (Vol. XVII. A.) mentions in the first place that aphthae, *φύματα* (abscesses) of the genitals, etc. specifically possessed (p. 661.) nothing of *κακοηθεία* (malignity), but only when as in this case they occurred in conjunction with a putrid general condition. "The putrid character easily arises even without a pestilential general condition, if the parts are attacked by phlegmonous affections or erysipelas, and spreads likewise over the neighbouring parts lying uppermost; hence it is we are compelled after cutting away the decayed tissues to cauterize the place. It is no wonder then, when such a condition has arisen that upper and fore-arm, thigh and lower leg, ribs and head are attacked, if the private parts suffer above all others.—So far the author has discussed those affections of a kind akin to erysipelas which associate themselves with ulcerations or other comparatively

¹ Hippocrates, loco citato p. 284., πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ βραχίων καὶ πῆχυν ὅλος [ὅλως] περιερόβῃ· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ πλεονὰ ταῦτα ἐκακοῦτο ἢ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν τι ἢ τῶν ὀπισθεν· οἱ δὲ ὅλος ὁ μηρὸς ἢ τὰ περικνήμια ἐψιλοῦτο καὶ πούς ὅλος· ἦν δὲ πάντων χυλεπώτατον τῶν τοιούτων, ὅτι περὶ ἡβην καὶ αἰδοῖα γενοῖατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ

ἔλκεα καὶ μετὰ προφάσιος τοιαῦτα· πολλοῖσι δὲ ἐν πυρετοῖσι καὶ πρὸ πυρετοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πυρετοῖσι ξυνέπιπτεν. (for translation see text above). For ἢ τὰ περικνήμια ἐψιλοῦτο should evidently be read more correctly with *Galen*, De temperam. bk. I., edit. Kühn Vol. I. p. 532. ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν κνήμην ἀπεψιλοῦτο.

insignificant external cause; in what follows he speaks of such attacks as occurred without any such occasioning cause" ¹.

Now if we examine these statements, so far as they are of immediate interest in view of our object, we may unhesitatingly conclude from them, that in Hippocrates' time a large number of patients suffered from ulcers of the genitals. These it seems under the influence of the prevailing typhoïdal conditions were assailed by inflammation of an erysipelas-like type, rapidly passing over into humid gangrene, which latter destroyed the parts attacked, readily extended its ravages, and eventually killed the patient. This is an observation which *Galen* likewise had frequent occasion to make (so probably under the head of Influence of the Climate of Asia, pp. 318, 326, 329.), without any exactly definite typhoïdal conditions having been prevalent ², and even saw himself under these circumstances very generally constrained, in order to put a stop to the spread of the mortification, *to amputate the gangrenous tissue, and afterwards cauterize the wound*. What was the origin of these ulcers of the genitals

¹ *Galen*, Vol. XVII. A. p. 674., Καὶ χωρὶς λοιμῶδους καταστάσεως, ὅταν ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖς χωροῖς ᾗτοι φλεγμονὴ τις ἢ ἐρυσίπελας γένηται, ῥᾶστά τε σήπεται καὶ συμπαθείας ἐργάζεται τῶν ὑπερκειμένων μορίων· διὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμεθα μετὰ τὸ περικύψαι τὰ σεσηπότα τὴν χώραν ἐκκίειν· οὐδὲν οὖν θανμαστόν, τοιαύτης καταστάσεως γινομένης ὥς καὶ βραχίονα καὶ μηρὸν καὶ νήμην, πλεονεῖν τε καὶ κεφαλὴν διασῆπαι, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἥκειν κακώσεως

τὰ περὶ αἰδοῖα . . . Ἀχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ γέγονε περὶ τῶν ἐρυσιπελάτων, ὅσα δ' ἔλκωσιν ἢ τι μικρὸν οὕτως ἄλλο τῶν ἐξωθεν αἰτίων συνέστη· ἐφεξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένων ποιήσεται τὸν λόγον. (for translation see text above).

² Hippocrates moreover, Aphorism. Vol. I. p. 724., says: τοῦ δὲ θέρους . . . καὶ σηπεδόνες αἰδοίων καὶ ἰδρωα. (And in the Summer.... occur also putrefactions of the *privates* and transpirations).

is indeed not stated; but it is certain they were not invariably conditioned by the prevailing *genius epidemicus*. Besides, since Hippocrates several times mentions them without giving the cause that produced them, it is a more likely conjecture to suppose that this cause was one universally familiar (it consisted in an act of unclean intercourse with women), than to assume it to have been *absolutely unknown* to physicians generally ¹.

Again the result of this investigation is of still more especial interest in so far as it enables us to

¹ Very possibly in many cases these affections of the extremities and genital organs owed their existence to *anthrax* or *carbuncle*; for not only does *Hippocrates* (p. 487.) say that *ἀνθρακες πολλοὶ κατὰ θέρος καὶ ἄλλα ἂ σήψη καλέεται* (many cases of malignant pustule in Summer-time, as well as other complaints known under the general name of putrefaction) appeared under these meteorological conditions, but *Galen* likewise (*Method. med.* bk. XIV., edit. Kühn Vol. X. p. 980.) observed an *anthrax* epidemic in Asia, that itself began with numerous *phlyctaenae* (blisterous swellings) resembling millet seeds; these subsequently broke and gave rise to an *ἐλκος ἐσχαρῶδες* (scabby sore). Indeed the destruction of the skin took place even without the previous occurrence of *phlyctaenae*. *πολλάκις δὲ οὐ μία φλύκταινα γεννᾶται κνησμένων, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μικρὰ*

καθ' ἅπερ τινὲς κέγχροι καταπυκνοῦσαι τὸ μέρος ὧν ἐκρηγνυμένων ὁμοίως ἐσχαρῶδες ἕλκος γεννᾶται· κατὰ δὲ τοῦς ἐπιδημῆσαντας ἀνθρακας ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς φλύκταινῶν ἐνίοις εὐθέως ἀπεδάρητὸ δέρμα. (And often *not one phlyctuena* is originated on patients scratching themselves, but *many* minute ones like millet seeds, closely covering the affected part; and when these have broken, a kind of scabby sore is produced. And in cases of *anthrax* (malignant pustule), which was at one time epidemic in Asia, in some patients even without there having been previous *phlyctaenae*, the skin was immediately destroyed).—*Comp. Galen, De tumor. practernat.* Vol. VII. p. 719. Further, this information is in any case of importance for the more correct appreciation of the facts as to the Plague of Athens.

properly appreciate Thucydides' notice of the so-called *Plague of Athens*. This has been discussed

¹*Thucydides*, Peloponnesian War, bk. II. ch. 49., *Διεξήκει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἀνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἰδρυνθὲν κακόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτὸν ἐπεσήμαινε· κατίσκηπτε γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας· καὶ πολλοὶ στειρισκόμενοι τούτων διέφενγον* (for translation see text above). In this passage it is usual to read *ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε*, supplying *κακοῦ* from the previous clause to go with *αὐτοῦ*,—(the seizure of the disease itself on the extremities manifested itself); but even supposing the double genitive with *ἀντίληψις* defensible, the construction is still very awkward, and is made still more so by the fact that in taking it this way we are compelled to translate *ἐπεσήμαινε* by "manifested itself" (*mali vis, apprehendens extremas corporis partes se prodebat, manifestam faciebat*,—the strength of the disease declared itself, made itself manifest, in seizing the extremities of the body,—is Wittenbach's interpretation, *Select. Hist.* p. 367.), without by so doing obtaining any clear meaning of the sentence. On the other hand this is got directly we read with *Reiske*

(Annotations p. 21. in his "Thucydides Reden, übersetzt von Reiske, nebst lateinischen Anmerkungen über dessen gesamntes Werk,—Speeches in Thucydides translated into German by Reiske, together with Latin Notes on his "Histories" generally, Leipzig 1761. 8vo.) *ἀντίληψις αὐτὸν ἐπεσήμαινε*,—a seizure put its mark on him. But whether *αὐτοῦ* is read or *αὐτόν*, in any case it will be impossible to take the sentence as *Kraus*, p. 54., has done, when he says: "The pustulous suppurative eruption begins with the head and spreads little by little over the entire body even to the hands and feet. The fact that Thucydides had the eruption especially in his mind when he speaks of the gradual spread of the evil throughout the whole body is shown by the expressions chosen by him "The disease goes through the entire body and *marks* (*ἐπεσήμαινε*) hands and feet.'" Now by what other of the symptoms mentioned would the affection of the hands and feet have been likely to make itself evident except by the eruption?" There must surely be few readers of Thucydides capable of putting so radically false an interpretation on the Historian's words.

by very many writers, and has given occasion to the most widely different explanations. He relates as follows: "For the disease which at first had its stronghold in the head, beginning from above downwards traversed by degrees the whole body; and even supposing a patient to have escaped the worst, yet a seizure of the extremities put its mark upon him. For it attacked the genitals and the extremities of the hands and feet; and many escaped death, but with the loss of these parts." Even more clearly does the poet *Lucretius*¹ paint the disease, when he says:

Profluvium porro qui tetri sanguinis acre
Exierat; tamen in nervos huic morbus et artus
Ibat et in partes genitales corporis ipsas,
Et graviter partim metuentes limina leti
Vivebant ferro privati virili.

(Then too if any one had escaped the acrid discharge of noisome blood, the disease would yet pass into his sinews and joints and onward even *into the sexual organs of the body*; and some from excessive dread of the gates of death *would live bereaved of these parts by the knife*. Munro's translation).

Though we really are concerned only with the last words of Thucydides, so far as they relate to the genitals, yet what precedes has given occasion to such extraordinary interpretations that we feel bound to devote some attention to this as well. The whole passage proved itself an especial *stone of stumbling* to those writers who endeavoured to identify the Athenian plague with *scarlet-fever*, as *Malfatti* did, or with *small-pox*, like *Scuderi* and *Kraus*. In fact this is why the last named says as he does²: "The loss of the private parts and the extremities *στερησόμενοι τούτων*,—being deprived

¹ *Lucretius*, De rerum natura bk. VI. 1205 sqq.

² *Kraus*, "Ueber das Alter

der Menschenpocken," — (On the Antiquity of Small-pox), Hanover 1825., pp. 54 sqq.

of these, with the lose of these) would certainly seem to point merely to the loss of the *free use* of these parts, in consequence of ulcerations, swellings of the joints, lesions and contractions, for the entire members are not likely to have been destroyed by mortification or amputated by the surgeon? Indeed it is only in deference to the verses of Lucretius that the latter opinion has become the one generally held; but even Ancient commentators ¹ have felt that the Roman poet may very possibly have mistaken Thucydides' meaning. Moreover I feel myself disposed to agree with them particularly on this ground, that the mortification of the whole of any of the greater limbs, though it *has* been observed in pestilential fevers, in *Typhus contagiosus putridus* (putrid infectious Typhus) amongst others, yet makes a comparatively rare symptom of the disease, and at the same time so dangerous a one that it can hardly be, as Thucydides alleges it was, that many (*πολλοί*) after such a serious affection escaped death, while on the contrary some (*εἰσὶ δ' οἱ*) only did so with the loss of the eyes." Any one who will compare the just quoted passages of Hippocrates and Galen with the account of Thucydides, will want no further proof that an a matter of fact mortification of the extremities did supervene, an occurrence that even in later times ² is not of the

¹ *Paulinus Fabius*, *Praelectiones Marciae*, etc. 352 (but he *defends* his accuracy, as do Lambinus and Mercurialis),—*Scuderi* Pt. I. p. 126. To these we may add *Petr. Victorius*, *Variar. lect.* bk. XXXV. ch. 8.

² As in the Antonine Plague in the year 235 A. D.,—*Galen*, *De usu part.* III. ch. 5., *De prob. pravisque alimentor. succ.* ch. 1., edit. Kühn Vol. VI. p. 749.; *Cyprian*, *Works*,

Venice 1728. fol., p. 465.)—Further note *Hecquet*, "Obs. sur la chute des os du pied dans une femme attaquée d'une fièvre maligne," (Observations on the Falling in of the Bones of the Foot in the case of a Woman attacked by a Malignant Fever), in *Memoires de Paris* 1746. *Histor.* p. 40.—*J. C. Brebis*, *De sphacelo totius fere faciei post superatam febrem malignam oborto*, (On the Mortification of almost the

extreme rarity that *Kraus* and others believe. Again the fact that *many* of those attacked escaped with their lives is the less surprising when one remembers that Thucydides is not speaking of entire arms and feet as having fallen off, but only of *ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας*, that is to say, fingers and toes. However supposing any one to prefer not to supply *ἄκρων* with *τούτων*, but take it as used in its full extent, maintaining that hands and feet as well as genitals were entirely destroyed, even this would not belong to the category of *extremely rare* phenomena, for Hippocrates actually saw the extremities entirely fall off in similar circumstances, while if only the *ῥεύματα* (morbid discharges) came duly to maturity and matteration supervened, the major part (*οἱ πλείστοι τούτων ἐσώζοντο*,—the majority of these were saved) escaped with their life.

Finally the passage of Thucydides gives no sort of evidence to prove that the *ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις* (seizure of extremities) occurred solely in those attacked by the fever as metastasis and so on. For the first sentence quoted, to the effect that the disease traversed the whole body, evidently refers back to the preceding clause *ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν* (when the disease descends into the abdomen), and for this reason is

whole Face supervening after Recovery from a Malignant Fever), in Act. Acad. N. C. Vol. IV. p. 206. — *Percival* (Samml. auserles. Abh. Vol. XV. p. 335.) observed during an epidemic of putrid fever at Manchester many patients with violent erysipelas on the face and head; and in the Typhus epidemics of 1806—1813, *von Hildebrand* ("Ueber den ansteckenden Typhus," — On infectious Typhus), 2nd. edition, Vienna

1814., p. 200.) and *Horn* ("Erfahrungen über die Heilung des ansteckenden Nerven- und Lazarethfiebers," (Experiences in the Cure of infectious Nervous and Hospital Fevers), 2nd. edition, Berlin 1814., pp. 49, 71.) saw violent inflammations of an erysipelas character set up in the nose, elbows, fingers and particularly the toes of their patients, which rapidly passed over into mortification.

connected with it by the conjunction γάρ—"for". The succeeding words καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο (and even supposing a patient to have escaped the worst) may very well be taken in this way; μεγίστων (the greatest, worst things) is made not a Neuter absolute, like τὰ ἔσχατα (last extremities) and such like phrases in other places, but κακῶν (evils) is supplied to go with it, and the whole translated: "even supposing a patient escaped the greatest evils", that is to say if he were not attacked by the λοιμός (Plague) in the forms of head and abdominal affections, "yet it marked him", that is it made its existence manifest by gangrene of the extremities supervening¹. This Thucydides, a layman writing on a medical subject, supposes to be a mere manifestation of the λοιμός (Plague), while Hippocrates regarded it as the proof of the erysipelas-putrid condition, which caused the already previously existing ulcers etc. to assume this character.

We have already mentioned the fact that at Athens ulcers of the feet were of frequent occurrence; and these must, no less than the ulcers of the genitals previously existing in any case, have necessarily been likewise assailed by the general unhealthy condition of things, and when this happened, have passed over into gangrene. Thucydides in fact says expressly at the beginning of his delineation of the disease (ch. 49.): τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὁμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκείνο ἄνιστον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. (For indeed that year, as was universally admitted, chanced to be of all years one especially free from other diseases in general; and indeed if any

¹ A further question arises whether we should not read, instead of κατέσκηπτε γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα (for it at-

tacked 'the genitals also), κατέσκηπτε γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα (for mischief, evil, attacked the genitals).

one suffered previously from any complaint, *all ended in this, the plague.*" We have seen how Hippocrates observed the prevalence of ulcers of the genitals at the period of the special meteorological conditions he drew attention to, and without doubt in the same way such existed at Athens as well, and were subsequently dominated by the prevailing erysipelas-typhoidal conditions. This was manifested in one of two ways; either the ulcers became gangrenous, or the patient was attacked by typhus, precisely as is noted to be the case at the present day¹. But under either eventuality the existing contagion was annihilated, in the one case by the general feverish reaction of the organism². But in those cases where neither fever nor mortification supervened, the contagion undoubtedly assumed a more strongly effective character, was more readily infectious, set up more deeply penetrating ulcerations,

¹ *Joseph Franc*, *Prax. med. univ. praecept.* Pt. I. Vol. III. sect. 2., Typhus, ch. 2. § 4. Note 11. Observation 108., says: "Notwithstanding the fact that in the General Hospital of Vienna Venereal patients were separated from others, yet it often happened at the time I was Physician in Chief there, that patients suffering from concealed Venereal disease or paying patients were admitted into the common Wards. Now if one or the other got typhus, or if such a patient was already lying there, or was brought there, *the Venereal cases without exception took the typhus*, and particularly so during the mercurial treatment."

² *Schönlein*, "Vorlesungen",

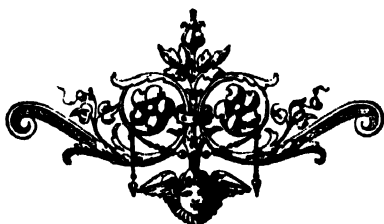
(Prelections), Vol. II. p. 48., "The syphilitic exanthema either remains stationary when typhus arises, or disappears instantly and for ever — or the part affected with syphilis becomes gangrenous." "*Neumann*, "Specielle Pathologie und Therapie", (Special Pathology and Therapeutics), Vol. II. p. 107., "Violent, severe typhoidal fevers cure syphilis completely; its symptoms disappear with the commencement of the illness and never return. — Again after Petechial fever I have in most cases observed that the syphilis troubles that disappeared at its commencement never came back again." *Historical* vouchers will be afforded in plenty by our later investigations.

and the tendency towards the skin being the predominating one, exanthematic eruptions with an inclination to ulcerative forms (*ἐκθύματα μεγάλα, ἔρπητες πολλοῖσιν μεγάλοι*,—great pustules, extensive creeping eruptions in many cases) were observed by Hippocrates to be set up in Summer, (*loco citato* p. 487.). All these are factors of the highest importance for the history of Venereal disease, as it is only by them that we shall be enabled to solve the great riddle of the origin of Venereal disease in the XVth. Century,—a riddle to which the answer would long ago have been found, if only enquirers had not been in the habit almost down to our own days of persistently looking upon Venereal disease as an isolated phenomenon.

True it is impossible from the passage of Thucydides to decide with any certainty whether the extremities, hands, feet and genitals, fell off of their own accord or were removed by the knife; but our own opinion is that both was the case, for of course there were Physicians at Athens, and until they had learned their powerlessness against the prevailing sickness, they no doubt employed the remedial means at their disposal, and these consisted according to Hippocrates solely and simply in the use of scalpel and cauterizing iron, all other measures having proved unavailing. That these were equally resorted to in ulcerations of the genitals we see from the passage of Galen quoted above, and the Poem of the Priapeia, p. 74, confirms the same in the most convincing way.

Enough has been alleged to prove how far the view expressed in many different forms, to the effect that, in the Athenian Plague as well as in the meteorological conditions and their results as laid down by Hippocrates, it is a question of Venereal disease, is justified by facts, and to show that even in Antiquity materials are to be found to demonstrate conclusively that the *genius epidemicus* exercised a not unimportant influence on the rise, form and course

of the ulcerations of the genital organs. In what way this influence acted on the complaints consequent on paederastia and the vices of the *cunnilingue* and the *fellator* and affecting the posterior and mouth, we cannot at any rate at the moment demonstrate historically, but it seems only probable that previously existing ulcerations in the mouth and throat must under an erysipelas-typhoidal general condition have proved themselves in the highest degree dangerous to the sufferers.



SECOND SECTION.

Influences which served to hinder to a greater or less degree the inception of Diseases consequent upon the Use or Misuse of the Genital Organs.

§ 34.

It has been fully proved in the course of our previous investigations that Asia and Egypt must be regarded as the two focus-points of exaggerated sensual licence, the conditions of climate being most favourable in those regions for the generation of affections consequent upon sexual excesses. So it may be fairly concluded without further proof that in the same parts of the world attention was early devoted to the problem how to render such influences,—no mere passing ones, be it observed, but continuously operative,—as little harmful as possible. Now in what way could this end be more adequately attained than by *cleanliness* carried out to the highest possible degree? As a matter of history, the merest superficial acquaintance with the customs and usages of Antiquity clearly shows that equally in Asia and in Egypt concern for bodily cleanliness had occupied the particular attention of both political and sacerdotal Legislators from the most remote period. More than this, it had come to be looked upon by the people as so entirely necessary, as to be all but inextricably blended with their very life and

being. Any idea of vexatious compulsion entirely disappeared, and the laws and ordinances directed to this object are in force to this day as fully as they were thousands of years ago.

Inhabitants of the temperate zone who visited these lands were bound to think,—unless they gave more careful consideration to the subject than most were likely to do,—such almost universal and such scrupulous care for cleanliness exaggerated; and so we find, e.g. the Greek writers, who cite many of the usages of this description, invariably referring to them merely as a sort of curiosity. In later times, e.g. in *St. Athanasius*,¹ they are even condemned as being prompted by the Devil, in order to diminish the amount of time to be devoted to pious exercises. It may well be that in course of time a too scrupulously precise dependance on ancestral custom had brought many of these usages into ridicule, especially when they were practised in countries where in some cases the reasons for their observance altogether cease to be operative. Yet anyone who considers with due care the conditions under which they were originally introduced, will find himself constrained to admit that the Lawgiver was only obeying a behest of necessity.

If the different customs and usages of the Ancients in connection with their careful attention to cleanliness are examined more minutely, they are found to be divisible into two classes, according as (1.) their object was to prevent uncleanness, or (2.) to banish it, when once admitted. All measures connected with sanitary police supervision, the enforcement of which in modern civilized States leads to such endless difficulties, were almost entirely in the hands of the Priests, to whom the People were accustomed to accord an unquestioning obedience. It was an easy matter therefore to prevent any

¹ Works, Vol. I. p. 765.
Epistola ad Amunem, mona-

chum. (Letter to Amunis, a monk).

injurious contamination from extending over a wide area; it sufficed simply to declare unclean whatever might prove injurious to health to ensure its being avoided in practice,—and in the majority of instances with the most scrupulous care. This is a factor in the problem that appears never to have been properly appreciated by our Historical Pathologists; otherwise they must long ago have abandoned many prejudices regarding the knowledge possessed by the Ancients as to contagious matter. For how *could* practical observations be collected on infection and the liability to infection, when every possible chance of infection was carefully and generally avoided? Most of the Peoples of Antiquity considered contact with a dead body a pollution, more than this, they thought even the neighbourhood of a corpse to have the same effect. They hung up notices to warn the passers-by, and placed vessels of water (*ἀδάνιον, ὄστρακον, γάστρα*—water-stoup, earthen vessel, water-pot) before the house where a dead man lay, that those who came in and out might be able to purify themselves again on the spot ¹. Of course all did not go so far as the Persians, who declared every sick person unclean. Still it is a fact, and this most certainly not merely among the Jews, that all the various infectious skin-diseases that were massed together under the name of Leprosy ², and

¹ *Euripides*, *Alcestis* 98.,

πυλῶν παρόνθεν δ' οὐχ ὁρῶ
πηγαῖον ὡς νομίζεται
χέρινιβ' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις,
χαῖτα τ' οὐτίς ἐπὶ προθύροις
τομαῖος, ἃ δὴ νεκρῶν
πένθει πιτυεῖ.

(Before the doors I see no
lustral water from the fountain,
as is wont at the doors of the
departed, and in the forecourt
is no shorn hair, which is
ever cut in mourning for the

dead.) Comp. *Kirchmann*, *De
funeribus Rom.* (On Roman
Funerals) bk. I. last ch., bk. II,
ch. 15. *Lomeier*, *De veterum
gentil. lustrationibus* (On Public
Purifications among the An-
cients), ch. 16. *Casaubon*, On
the "Characters" of Theo-
phrastus, ch. 16.

² It may be mentioned by
way of supplement that Leprosy
among the Ancients was pretty
nearly universally regarded as
a punishment from the gods.

also Gonorrhœa (Clap), made the sufferer, and also everything he touched, unclean, and caused them to be set apart where no one should come in contact with them; and this continued so long as the sickness lasted.

Now does it really need any further proof that these diseases developed a perfectly well-known form of contagious matter: or is an arbitrary and imaginary theory to be adopted by preference, to the effect that injunctions of the sort owed their existence merely to the caprice of the Legislator, and were not based on any actual experience of real detriment resulting from their neglect in favour of others? At any rate it is certain that, where these laws were in force and where each individual followed them out exactly, a disease that is communicable only by close contact could not possibly be disseminated over any wide area. This could not take place under such circumstances, even though it had been engendered in its original form and continued prevalent for a long period of time.

However it was not only the sick that were avoided, but all possible causes as well that might lead to the disease. It was not only the effort required and the pain, but most likely the possibility also of injury resulting, that made the weakly Asiatic forgo the *Jus primæ noctis* (Right of the first night), and declare unclean the supposed ¹ injurious

Even the Greeks held this view, as comes out clearly from *Aeschylus*, Choeph. II. 2. This fact points to various conclusions as to liability to infection in Leprosy and the obscurity in which the causes of the disease are involved.

¹ In accordance with the explanations given on a previous page it might be thought quite conceivable that so long

as the hymen was intact, a part of the mucous discharge of the vagina and of the menstrual blood was retained, and acquired a certain degree of malignity. This acting on points of the penis where the surface had been accidentally broken in the act of defloration, or even on the mucous membrane of the urethra, might exert an injurious influence.

effects of the vaginal blood that flowed on the rupture of the hymen, as well as the act of defloration itself. Pollution was guarded against in this case, as it was by the regulation banishing women during the time of menstruation from the neighbourhood of men, a regulation that had the binding force of law amongst almost all the Nations of Antiquity. The same held good for the time of purification of women who had been lying-in,¹ a condition which was supposed in some unexplained way to be able to exert a possibly injurious influence on the genital organs of the husband.

Depilation.

§ 35.

In spite of all this it might yet happen that contact with a sick person could not be avoided, and all possible causes of the diseases in question escaped. Attention therefore was naturally directed to the effort to make the admission of the contagion and of matters having deleterious effects as difficult as might be. There were two means for attaining this end held to be especially effective,—depilation and circumcision.

The hair as is well known is particularly apt to attract and retain all kinds of moisture; and it will of course do this in the case of the genital secretions, whether healthy or morbid, if they come in contact with it. These secretions will the more readily exert an injurious effect, as each hair is accompanied by at least two cutaneous glands, possessing an excretory duct or pore, and in those

¹ *Euripides*, Iphigenia in Tauris 380. *Porphyrius*, bk.II. *περὶ Ἀποχῆς* (On Abstinence). *Dio Chrysostom*, Homily XIII, on Epist. to Ephesians.—*Theo-*

phrastus, Charact. ch. 16.—*Th. Bartholinus*, *Antiq. veteris puerperii synopsis* (Synopsis of Antiquities of Childbirth in Old Times). Copenhagen 1646.8vo.

parts of the body where a thicker and stronger growth of hair is found, develop a considerably increased degree of activity,—an increased activity which they exhibit in any case in hot countries. "Hence too the Priests in Egypt shave the body carefully; for there is something collects under the hair, that must be removed," *Philo* says in a passage cited above, and a fragment of *Theopompus* preserved by *Athenaeus*¹ also tells us, that

¹ *Deipnosoph.* bk. XII. p. 518., Πάντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι πιττοῦνται καὶ ξυροῦνται τὰ σώματα· καὶ παρὰ γε τοῖς Τυρρήνοις ἐργαστήρια κατεσκευάσται πολλὰ, καὶ τεχνίται τούτου τοῦ πράγματός εἰσιν, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ κουρεῖς· παρ' οὗς ὅταν εἰσέλθωσι, παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς πάντα τρόπον, οὐδὲν αἰσχυρόμενοι τοὺς ὀρώντας, οὐ δὲ τοὺς παριόντας· χρωῶντο δὲ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκούντων, μαθόντες παρὰ Σαμνιτῶν καὶ Μεσαπίων. (Now all the Barbarians that dwell towards the West, use pitch as a depilatory, and shave their bodies. Indeed amongst the Tyrrhenians establishments are fitted up in numbers for this purpose, and there are artistes who practise this profession, like barbers among ourselves. And when men go into their shops, they expose themselves in every part, feeling no shame of spectators nor of passers-by. And this custom is followed also by many of the Greeks and of

the inhabitants of Italy, who have learned it from Samnites and Messapians). The depilation of men and boys was attended to by women (*Martial*, XI. 79.) at the period of the highest degree of dissoluteness; in fact there was a special guild of such women, known as *ustriculac*. *Tertullian*, *De pallio* ch. 4. In the same way men performed this service for women, as e.g. *Domitian*, according to *Suetonius*, ch. 22., *Erat fama, quasi concubinas ipse develleret* (Rumour went, to the effect that the Emperor used to "pluck" his mistresses with his own hand,)—and *Helio-gabalus* according to *Lampridius*, ch. 31., *In balneis semper cum mulieribus fuit, ita ut eas ipse psilothro curaret, ipse quoque barbam psilothro accurans, quodque pudendum dictu est, eodem quo mulieres accurabantur, et eadem hora. Rasit et virilia subactoribus suis ad novaculam manu sua, qua postea barbam fecit.* (At the baths he was always with the women, going so far as to apply the "psilothrum"

this habit existed also among the Greeks, as well as among different peoples of Italy.

In later times however the habit gradually disappeared in these countries; and is only found again at the period of greatest luxury, when the Pathics endeavoured by the removal of hair from all parts of the body, except the head, to assimilate their outward appearance to the feminine type ¹. Especially were they bound to rid the posteriors ² of hair, as one penetrating into the anus during unnatural connexion might easily cause small cuts at the orifice, and produce chafings of the penis. For the same reason paederasts, as indeed was the case with all amateurs of Love, invariably took care to remove all hair from the genitals ³, to avoid endangering

(a depilatory) in their treatment himself, finishing off his own beard also with "psilothrum", and using, disgusting to relate, the same as the women were being treated with, and at one and the same time. Moreover he shaved his debauchees' (pathics) privates to the navel with his own hand, and then shaved his own beard).

¹ They used to remove the hair on the *face* (*Martial*, III. 74.), from the *nose* (Ovid, *Art. Amand.* I. 520.) on the arches of the *eyebrows* (Cicero, *Orat. pro Roscio*), from the armpits (*Juvenal*, XIV. 194., *Seneca*, *Epist.* 115.), on the *arms* (*Martial*, III. 63.), the *hands* (*Martial*, V. 41.), on the *legs* (*Juvenal*, IX. 12.) As to the beard, that has already been spoken of.

² *Martial*, II. 62., Cui praestas culum, quem, Labiene, II.

pilas. (To whom you give your fundament, Labienus, that you strip of hair).

³ *Martial*, II. 62.,

Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod
brachia vellis,
Quod cincta est brevibus men-
tula tonsa pilis,
Haec praestas, Labiene, tuae, quis
nescit? amicae.

(You pluck your chest, your legs, your arms, your *shaven member* is surrounded by short hair,—all these pains you offer, everyone knows it, to your mistress.) Bk. IX. 28.,

Cum depilatos, Chreste co-
leas portas,
Et vulturino mentulam
parem collo,
Et prostitutis laevius caput culis,
Nec vivat ullus in tuo pilus crure
Purgentque crebrae cana labra
voisellae etc.

(For you have your *testicles freed from hair*, Chrestus, and your *member like a*

the posterior and the private parts of their mistresses. Even more than men, did *women* seek to remove the hair from their private parts, as they do to this day in the East. This appears never to have been the case among the Jews; but in Asia and in Egypt the custom was observed by all classes of the people, and probably from those lands first spread into Greece and Italy. It seems to have been adopted very generally by Greek women; ¹ but it was *especially* hetaerae and "filles de joie" ² who practised local as well as general depilation. A similar state

vulture's neck, and your head smoother than those posteriors that you prostitute. Not a hair lives on your leg, and frequent application of the tweezers keeps clean your shaven lips, etc.) Comp. Bk. IX. 48. 58. *Suetonius*, Otho 12. *Persius*, IV. 37. *Ausonius*, 131.

¹ *Aristophanes*, *Lysistrat.* 151.,

Εἰ γὰρ καθήμεθ' ἔνδον
ἐντετριμμέναι
κάν τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς
ἀμοργίνοις
γυμναὶ παρλούμεν, δέλτα
παρκατετιλμέναι,
στύοντ' ἂν ἄνδρες κάπι-
θυμοῖεν πλεκοῦν.

(For if we sat withindoors anointed with unguents, and if we appeared lightly, clad in robes of Amorgian flax, *our bellies plucked clear of hair*, the men would all have erections, and would be fain to lie with us.) For the same reason Mnesilochus was

freed of hair on the genitals and in all other parts of the body, so as not to be recognised in the assemblage of women.

² *Aristophanes*, *Eccl.* 718., says of prostitutes:

καὶ τὰς γε δούλας οὐχὶ δεῖ
κοσμουμένας
τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὕφαρ-
πάζειν Κύνριν,
ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς δούλοισι
κοιμᾶσθαι μόνον
κατωνάκῃ τὸν χοῖρον
ἀποτετιλμένας.

(And the slave-women ought not to bedizen themselves and snatch away the love that is free-women's by rights; but should lie with slaves only, their pudenda plucked clean to please the wearer of the smock.) *Frogs* 515., ἄ. πῶς λέγεις; ὀρχηστρίδες; Θ. ἡβυλλιώσαι κάρτι παρκατετιλμέναι (*Xanthius*. What say you? dancing-girls? Therap. Yes! young wenches, just *plucked clean*). Comp. *Lysistrat.* 88.

of things must have existed at Rome¹, where older women resorted to the removal of hair from the genitals as a means of concealing their age². In

¹ *Martial*, bk. XII. Epigr. 32.,

**Nec plena turpi matris olla resina
Summoenianae qua pilantur uxores.**

(Nor yet your mother's jars
full of foul resin, wherewith
the suburban dames free them-
selves of hair.)

² Martial, bk. X. Epigr. 90.,

Quid vellis vetulum, Ligella,
cunnum?

**Quid busti cineres tui lacessis?
Tales munditiae decent puellas.
Erras, si tibi cunnus hic videtur,
Ad quem mentula pertinere desit.**

(Why pluck you bare, Ligella, *your old organ*? why vex you the ashes of your tomb? Such *nice allurements* are for girls. You are mistaken if you think yours is of a sort that a man's member should be fain to belong to it.) This passage, together with those quoted a little above from Aristophanes and Theopompus, will explain sufficiently what Horace (Sat. I. 2. v. 36.) meant by his "*mirator cunni Cupiennius albi*," (Cupiennius admirer of a *white organ*), for the *albus* (white) here evidently stands for *rasus, depilatus, nudus*, (shaven, freed from hair, bare); as in *Juvenal*, Sat. I. III., *Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis*, (Who but now had

arrived in this city with white, i. e. bare, feet.) The commentators have hitherto always explained it by *matrona stola alba*, seu *candida*, *vestita*, (a matron clad in a white, or glistening-white, robe), because, as *Heindorf* puts it, no other interpretation is to hand. But really there are several possible explanations on similar lines. It might be for "*canus cunnus*", (hoary, aged; organ) (*Martial*, bk. II. 38., bk. II. 34.), though again the meaning of *depilatus* (free of hair), in another sense, might equally well be at the bottom of this, as is the case with *cana labra* (hoary, white, lips)—IX. 28. Or *albus* (white) may be taken as synonymous with *increta*, *cerussata* (whitened with chalk, painted with ceruse), to which *Martial* supplies the explanation, when he says (III. 42.),

**Lomento rugas uteri quod condere
tentas,
Polla, tibi ventrem, non mihi labra
linis :**

(When you endeavour to hide the wrinkles on your stomach with powder, 'tis your own belly, Polla, not my lips, you smear with the stuff), — as also bk. IX. 3., *Illa siligineis pinguescit adultera cunnis*, (It — i. e. your penis — in adulterous loves, grows fat on women's

any case whether in Greece or in Italy the purpose and special object of depilation seems to have been soon lost sight of, and the practice to have been still to some extent kept up merely as a matter of fashion. Nevertheless it is a fact that the habit has continued even down to modern times in these

organs powdered with fine wheaten flour); [but another way of taking the line is: She, i. e. your mistress,—adulterous dame, grows fat on wheaten cakes—cakes baked in the shape of *cunni*.] The *Lomentum*, which is not derived from *lavimentum* or *lavamentum* (something to wash with), as Scheller, following Voss, makes it to be, but from the Greek *λεῖωμα* faba communita (*ground beans*), was bean-meal (*Vegetius*, De re veterin. V. 62., says: in subtilissimo lomento, hoc est farina fabacea, (in the finest *lomentum*, that is bean-flour.); and at the present day the Japanese, it seems, according to *Thunberg*, use a kind of bean-meal instead of soap. Roman ladies were most careful to maintain the *aequor ventris* (smoothness of the belly)—*Aulus Gellius*, Noctes Att. I. 2.); whence *Martial*, (III. 72.) says, addressing Laufella, who refuses to bathe with him:

Aut tibi pannosae pendent a pectore
mammæ
Aut sulcos uteri prodere nuda
times.

(Either your breasts hang

flabby from your bosom, or you fear, if you strip, to betray the furrows on your belly.) To obviate wrinkles on the face, they sprinkled their faces with chalk; and so *Petronius*, (Satyr. ch. 23.) says: et inter rugas malarum tantum erat cretae, ut putares detectum parietem nimbo laborare, (and amidst the wrinkles of the cheeks was so much chalk, that you would think a partition-wall had been stripped and was wrapped in a cloud of dust); and we read in *Lucian's* poem (Greek Anthology, Bk. II. tit. 9.) μή τοῖνυν τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν ψιμύθῳ κατάπλαττε. (Now don't besmear all your face with ceruse). However if *cunnius* must be taken as equivalent to *femina* (a woman), it would be on all fours with *albus amicus* (white, white-faced, friend) in *Martial* (bk. X. 12.), which *Farnabius* explains by *σκιαιτρόφος* (reared in the shade, delicate), answering more or less to our "*Whey-face*". As any rate *any* of these interpretations are for certain nearer the truth than the *stola alba* (clad in a white robe) one.

countries, and is actually followed there to some extent on the ground of cleanliness ¹.

Depilation is completed by the *polishing* of the skin with punice, etc., a treatment that made it very much less liable to take up dirt of all kinds. This and the *anointing* of the body, that commonly followed it, as it did the bath (see later), guarded against the introduction of foreign matter into the tissues to an important extent, yet without interfering with transpiration, which in southern countries takes place more by the cutaneous glands than by the sweat-pores. This fact goes some way to explain how it was that the contagious plagues of Antiquity, generally of a transient character, never properly speaking acquired any wide extension, unless they were carried along with the *Genius epidemicus* at the same time; and that even the latter, as is the case at the present day, could seldom master and reverse

¹ *Italae nonnullae se depiles tangere amant circa partes hymenaeo sacras, veritac for-tationem morpionum* (Some Italian women like to feel the skin bare of hair round those parts that are sacred to marriage, *fearing the foul breeding of lice*), writes *Rolfink*, "*Ordo et methodus generationi dicat. partium cognoscendi fabricam*, (Orderly and Systematic Knowledge of the Structure of the Parts devoted to Procreation). Jena 1664. 4to., p. 185. This may have been one motive among the Ancients also for the removal of the hair, for Aristotle in his time (*Hist. Anim.* bk. V. ch. 25.) is acquainted with felt-lice (crabs), and calls them *φθειρες ἄγριοι* (wild lice), without however mentioning

what part of the person they infest. His words are: *ἔστι δὲ γένος φθειρῶν, οἷ κα-λοῦνται ἄγριοι, καὶ σκληρότεροι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς γιγνομένων· εἰσι δὲ οὗτοι καὶ δυσφαίριτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος*. (There is another kind of lice, called *wild lice*, and more troublesome than the common sort. It is most difficult to rid the body of these). *Celsus*, *De re medica* bk. VI. chs. 6. and 15., mentions them as occurring in the eye-lashes: *Genus quoque vitii est, qui inter pilos palpebrarum pediculi nascuntur. φθειρίαισι* (Graeci nominant. (There is another kind of taint, lice that breed among the hair of the eyelids; it is called in Greek *φθειρίαισι*—lousiness.)

endemic predispositions. This last consideration merits the particular attention of the Historical Pathologist, as giving him a partial indication why Antiquity comes so far behind later times in regard to startling epidemics, at the same time teaching him to regard Asia as the home of Endemic, Europe of Epidemic Diseases. This ought to safeguard him against many over-hasty conclusions in his views of the progressive developement and evolution of disease in general. At the same time it will undoubtedly destroy not a few agreeable dreams, where he has allowed imagination to outrun reality.

Circumcision ¹.

§ 36.

Herodotus himself represents circumcision as a very ancient usage even in his time, as to which it is a moot point whether the Egyptians or Ethiopians first

¹ *Lockervitzens, Christ.* Disp. II on Circumcision, Witepsk 1679. 4to.—*Antonius*, Dissertation on the Circumcision of the Gentiles, Leipzig 1682. 4to.—*Grapius*, Did Abraham borrow Circumcision from the Egyptians? Rostock 1699. 4to. Jena 1722. 4to.—*Vogel*, Graduation Exercise on Questions as to the Advantages of the Medical Employment of Circumcision, Göttingen 1763. 4to.—*Hofmann*, On Circumcision as deserving of the name of an Old Testament Sacrament. Altorf 1770. 4to.—*Ackermann, J. Ch. G.*, "Aufsätze über die Beschneidung" (Essays on Circumcision) in *Weise's* "Materialien für Gottesgelahrtheit und Reli-

gion," (Materials for Theological and Religious Study), 1 vol. Gera 1784. 8vo., pp. 50 sqq. comp. *Blumenbach's* Med. Biblioth. Vol. I. p. 482.—*Meiners*, Christ., De circumcisionis origine et causis, (On the Origin and Reasons of Circumcision), in *Commentat. Societ. Göttingen* Vol. XIV. pp. 207 sqq.—*Borhek*, "Is Circumcision Hebraic by First Origin? and What prompted Abraham to its Introduction? A Historico-exegetical Enquiry," Duisburg and Lemgo 1793. 8vo.—*Bauer, F. W.* "Description of the Religious Constitution of the Ancient Jews. Leipzig 1805. large 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 76 sqq.—*Cohen, Moses*, Dissertation

practised it. From the Egyptians it would seem to have passed on to the Phoenicians and Syrians in Palestine, from the Colchians to the Syrians living on the banks of the river Thermodon and Parthenius and to the Macronians¹. To the present day we find Circumcision practised, as all the world knows, among the Mohammedans, Persians and Jews, among the Kaffirs on the South-East Coast of Africa, the Abyssinian Christians², the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands³, as well on the mainland of America,—and this not merely among the coast dwellers, but also in several inland district of South America⁴.

on Circumcision, regarded under its Religious, Hygienic and Pathological Aspects". Paris 1816. 4to.—*Brück, A. Th.* "A Word on the Advantages of Circumcision," in *Rust's Magaz.* Vol. VII. 1820. pp. 222—28.—*Hofmann, A. G.* in *Ersch and Gruber's "Encyclopaedic", Circumcision*, Vol. IX, (1822) pp. 265—70.—*Autenrieth, J. H.*, "Treatise on the Origin of Circumcision among savage and semi-savage Peoples, with reference to the Circumcision of the Israelites; together with a Critique by C. Chr. von Flatt." Tübingen 1829, large 8vo.

¹ *Herodotus*, Hist. Bk. II. ch. 104. *Origen*, Bk. V. ch. 41. Works edit. De la Rue, Vol. I. p. 609 D.—*Cyril*, Contra Julian. Bk. X. edit. Spanhem. p. 354. B.—*Diodorus Siculus*, Bk. I. ch. 28. *Strabo*, Geograph. Bk. XVII. ch. 2. 5. edit. Siebenkess. In *Sanchuniathon* (Fragments edit. Orelli, p. 36.) Circumcision is actually referred back to

Cronos.

² *Ludolf*, Histor. Aethiop. Bk. III. ch. 1. pp. 30 sqq. *Paulus*, "Sammlg. morgenländischer Reisebeschreibg." (Collection of Descriptions of Eastern Travel), Pt. III. p. 83.

³ Forster's "Beobachtungen," (Observations), p. 842.—Cook's Last Voyage, Vol. I. p. 387., Vol. II. pp. 161, 233.

⁴ *J. Gumilla*, "Histoire de l'Oronoko," (Hist. of Oronoko), Avignon 1708. Vol. I. p. 183. *Veigl in Murr's* "Sammlung der Reisen einiger Missionare," (Collection of Travels of Various Missionaries), p. 67.—*de Pauw*, "Reflexions sur les Américains," (Reflections on the Natives of America), Vol. II. p. 148. *Spizclius, Theoph.*, *Elevatio revelationis Montezinianae de repertis in America tribubus Israeliticis*, (Confutation of the Montezinian revelation as to the Finding of the lost Tribes of Israel in America. Bâle 1661. 8vo. *Burdach*, Physiology. Vol. III. p. 386.

Without in this place going into the different reasons that have been alleged to account for the original introduction of Circumcision, especially among the Jews, we may yet say, looking back to our previous exposition in § 29., that we hold ourselves bound to see in Circumcision originally a religious-hygienic measure, intended to guard a part of the body already in the earliest times held in such high honour among the Egyptians, Indians etc. as was the penis, against any probable chance of defilement by uncleanness (sebaceous smegma on the *glans penis*); for it was found that the uncurtailed prepuce made the maintenance of a clean *glans penis* much more difficult, favouring as it did the collection of the smegma resulting from the sebaceous secretions, and thus gave occasion for the formation of pustules and ulcers and the like inconveniences. These were referred not to the natural cause, but rather looked upon as a deserved punishment due to the anger of the offended deity to whom the penis was sacred, the deity being himself defiled and made unclean by the uncleanness of the organ. To escape such anger men were ready enough to remove a part, the direct utility of which was as little obvious at the first glance as that of the hair that grew in its neighbourhood,—a proceeding they were the more willing to agree to, as the mischief the uncurtailed prepuce occasioned was often enough manifested.

At first only the Priests, who of course were at the same time the Physicians of primitive Peoples, were allowed to undertake the performance of this operation; subsequently it devolved upon the people generally as well, either by direct command or because they were now convinced of the utility of circumcision. This utility however must have grown less and less frequently visible in proportion as fewer uncircumcised individuals were left in evidence; and so in the same degree the hygienic motive fell more and more into the background. Thus only the religious was left, and this was now taken as the

sole reason and sufficient explanation of the universal custom. Circumcision accordingly came to be a symbol signifying adoption among such as were initiated into the Egyptian Mysteries, and similarly adoption among the initiated of the Lord, adoption into the peculiar People of God. It is in this fashion the various discordant views as to the origin of circumcision, all of which proceeded in the first instance from a more or less one-sided point of view, may most satisfactorily be brought into agreement. True the motive for the operation was supplied by a pathological factor, but one which owed its force to a religious idea, and thus at first the knife was regarded not so much from the *physician's* point of view as from the *religious* side.

But again later, when religious ideas of the sort were more and more disappearing before a cool examination of actual nature, when the tale of diseases originating in the anger of a deity was growing every day fewer, belief became impossible in the religious meaning of circumcision, or indeed such belief was deliberately rejected, now that a clear and natural explanation of the rite was to be found. The religious motive in turn made way for the medical-hygienic, as in *Philo* in the passage quoted above, and even Our Lord seems to have held no other view of the rite, when he says ¹: "If a man received circumcision on the sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye wroth with me, because I *made a man every whit whole* on the sabbath?" *De Wette* in his Translation adds: "that is to say, not simply, as in circumcision, in one member, but in the whole body." In fact the question is here of the healing of the man "which had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity" (Ch. V.), whom Christ had made whole at the Pool

¹ Gospel of St. John, Ch. VII. v. 23., *Εἰ περιτομὴν λαμβάνει ἄνθρωπος ἐν σαββάτῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυθῇ ὁ νόμος*

Μωσέως, ἐμοὶ χολᾷτε ὅτι ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ὁ γιγῆ ἐποίησα ἐν σαββάτῳ. (for translation see text above).

of Bethesda on the Sabbath, for which reason the Jews wished to put him to death. The sick man was afflicted in his whole body, i. e. in every limb, for without help he could not leave his bed and go down into the Pool. Thus Christ we see contrasts the healing of all the members with circumcision, making it plain that in his view the latter makes whole morely a single member, the penis, or at least puts it in such a condition that it cannot become sick *ὅλην ἐποίησα*,—I made whole); accordingly the rite possessed for him only a purely medico-hygienic aim.

As to the introduction of Circumcision among the Jews, this may very likely, as we have already pointed, have taken place in the following mode: Evidently the Jews when in Egypt were not yet circumcised, as the speech of the lord Joshua clearly implies, "This day have I taken the reproach of Egypt from off you;" for in the eyes of the Egyptians the uncircumcised condition of the Jews was a reproach, just as in later times "Uncircumcised" was the strongest word of abuse with the Jews themselves.¹ Moses brought up by the Egyptian Priests, initiated into their secret wisdom, must necessarily have been circumcised, and so have known the hygienic as well as religious point of view. Convinced of its expediency, he determined to introduce it among the Jews, in order to make

¹ I Samuel, Ch. XVII. v. 14. It is true we find even in Genesis the covenant with Jehovah celebrated by Abraham by means of circumcision; but it was in later times only in each case that this custom was referred back to him as being racial father of the Nation. For the same reason in the case of Joshua the matter is so represented as

if the Jews had been already circumcised at their expulsion from Egypt. If this had really and truly been the case, it is impossible to see why circumcision was not carried out on those born on the march to Canaan. They were perfectly able to keep other laws, and they could have observed this too, if it had been given them at the time!

them by outward sign in some sort a holy and pure priestly Nation.¹ For this reason we find the command to circumcise on the eighth day after birth specified among the *Laws of Purification*,² yet without any further supplemental addition,—which would certainly not have been omitted, if it had at that time been regarded as a symbolic sign of covenant. Circumcision did not yet possess its purely symbolic meaning; and so it is not yet included among the laws given at Sinai, where the blood of the Burnt Offerings seals the covenant with God.

But subsequently when the Jews at Shittim gave themselves to the licentious worship of Baal Peor, not merely the expediency stood out in glaring conspicuousness, but the positive necessity of observing the laws of purity in general, including that of circumcision in particular. Thus the long conceived idea of Moses came to maturity, to enjoin upon the People the rite of circumcision as special symbol of unity with Jehovah; though he could not hope to bring about its universal adoption by adults, until these were on the point of actually setting foot on the Promised Land. This could only be after the death of Moses; consequently it was Joshua at Arolath who first circumcised all those who had been born in the Wilderness. Now all the sufferings of the march were forgotten, the land flowing with milk and honey, that was to content all their highest wishes, lay before their eyes, and so they were willing enough to consent to purchase its everlasting possession at the cost of what is certainly a painful, but at the same time on the whole only a trifling, operation. But then when every male was circumcised, there was no longer any evidence, as explained above, to convince people of the necessity of the observance, and thus for the future Circumcision appeared in the guise of a *purely* religious

¹ Leviticus, Ch. XIX. v. 6.

² Leviticus, Ch. XII. v. 3.

symbol, as the sacramental outward and visible sign of adoption into sonship with Jehovah,—a point of view subsequently consistently kept to throughout the Old Testament.

Finally with regard to the notion, expressed in many different forms, that Circumcision was originally introduced on behalf of increased fruitfulness on the part of the Sons of Abraham,¹—an idea found as early as in the pages of *Philo Judæus*, it would appear not to be so much the greater length of the foreskin that came into question, but rather the same general reasons that ensured a condition of cleanliness in the procreative organs; for the alleged interruption of the ejaculation of the semen owing to the excessive length of the foreskin can after all only occur, if the latter is at the same time unduly contracted at its orifice in such a way that during the act of coition it cannot be drawn back over the *glans*. Supposing, as we have seen to be the case, complaints affecting the *glans penis* when covered with the normal prepuce to be readily set up through climatic influences, the free use of the organ of procreation must of course in this way have been interfered with, or even in extreme cases, completely prevented. But inasmuch as the Jew, in this resembling most of the Nations of Antiquity, made a numerous posterity his highest glory,² and as this could only be obtained on the condition of

¹ *J. G. Hofmann*, De causa foecunditatis gentis circumcisae in circumcissione quaerenda, (On the Reason for the Fertility of the Circumcised Race to be sought in the fact of their Circumcision), Leipzig 1739. 4to.—*S. B. Wolfsheimer*, De causis fecunditatis Hebraeorum nonnullis sacr. cod. praeceptibus nitentibus, (On the Causes of the Fertility of the Jews as dependent upon

certain Precepts of the Sacred Volumes), Halle 1742. — *Bauer*, loco citato Vol. I. p. 63.

² The Talmud says: Quicumque Israelita liberis operam non dat, est velut homicida. (An Israelite, whoever he be, that fails to give heed to the procreation of children, is a kind of murderer). *Selden*, Uxor. Hebraic. Bk. I. ch. 9.

a healthy procreative member, every endeavour must obviously have been made to remove anything likely to be prejudicial to the part so profoundly revered, anything capable of disturbing, or even altogether frustrating, the due performance of its functions.

But just as this removal of a part of the prepuce, and the consequent increased possibilities of cleanliness of the *glans*, more or less counteracted the injurious effects of Climate tending to set up diseases of the *glans penis* in general, it must have equally exercised as against possible affections of this part resulting from coition a certain prophylactic influence, —though undoubtedly this was not *so* great as it has been in some quarters represented to be, as we intend to explain more fully elsewhere. Hence to some extent, but only to a limited extent, can the practice of circumcision be regarded as a proof of the existence of Venereal disease in Antiquity; but at the same time to refer it to this as *sole* motive, as *Stoll*¹ does, in quite inadmissible.

¹ *Stoll*, Praelectiones in diversos morbos chronicos, (Lectures on certain Chronic Diseases), Vol. I. p. 96, writes as follows: Antiquissimum cum Henslero pronuntiavi, atque inter Aegyptios, Judaeos, Graecos dein et Romanos per frequentem ut quasdam harum gentium consuetudines, mores, leges ac statuta forte inde possis repertere.... Sic praeceptum circumcisionis, antiquissima plane consuetudo, idcirco fortassis instituta fuerat, atque tanquam ritus sacer, tanquam praeceptum quoddam, de quo dispensari nemo queat, introducebatur,

quod circumcisis videatur difficilius morbum urethrae contrahere, rariusque ablato scilicet praeputio, intra quod virus haeret, rodit, caneros facit, quod et ipsum efficitur pessime in phymosi, paraphymosi. Glans ipsa in homine minus facile virus resorbere videtur, occallescent nempè... Nota virginitatis sedulo examinata est in neonuptis puellis; custodia foeminarum per totum orientem; adulterii crimen, maxime foeminarum, morte expiatum videntur docere, scivisse antiquitatem remotissimam, morbum quendam gravem, immundum volgi-

What has here been said of *the Circumcision of men*, holds good also in the main of *that of maids and women*. This consists in the removal of the *præputium clitoridis*; but neither the amputation of the Clitoris itself in so-called *Tribads* must be confounded with it, nor yet the operation on the exaggerated nymphæ or inner *labia*, of women. The Arabs, among whom this practice,—female circumcision,—is especially rife at the present day as it was of old,¹ call the part that is subjected to circumcision **نَاصِي** (*nava*), the circumcision itself **بَلَّار** (*ballar*) or **شَافْهَاد** (*chaphad*), and what is cut away in circumcision **بَاتِر** (*bätr*). Usually the circumcision of maids

vaga Venere dari et communicari. (With *Hensler* I pronounce it—Venereal disease—to be of most ancient origin, and to have been of such frequency among the Egyptians, Jews, as well as the Greeks and Romans, that it may well be possible to discover in it the cause of sundry habits, customs, laws and enactments of these Peoples... For instance the precept of circumcision, evidently an extremely ancient custom, was very possibly first instituted for this reason, and was introduced in the guise of a sacred rite, a ceremonial precept from which there can be no dispensation, because the circumcised man would seem less readily to contract disease of the urethra, and in cases where the prepuce has been removed, inside which the poison remains adherent and corrodes, less frequently

suffers from chancres, an effect that follows in its worst form in phymosis and paraphymosis. The *glans penis* itself in a man thus treated seems to absorb the poison less easily, being in fact grown partially callous... The fact that the sign of virginity was scrupulously examined in newly married virgins, the careful guard kept over women throughout the East, the penalty of death attached to the crime of adultery, especially in women, all seem to show that the remotest Antiquity was aware of some serious, foul disease being given and communicated by indiscriminate Love.

¹ *Strabo*, Geograph. Bk. XVII. ch. 11. § 5. — *Reland*, De religione Muhamedan., (On the Mohammedan Religion), p. 75. *Niebuhr*, Description of Arabia, p. 70.

is first performed on the completion of the tenth year by women who make it their special business and who are known as **مبطلرات** (*moballetterat*). These women perambulate the streets and openly call out, "Any maids to circumcise?"¹ Besides the Arabs, Circumcision of maids is to be found among the Copts or modern Egyptians,² the Ethiopians,³ in some districts of Persia,⁴ among the Negroes in Bambuk⁵ and the Panos in the province of Maynas in South America, the latter actually restricting the practice to the women.⁶

Baths and Bathing.

§ 37.

In spite of all precautions adopted it was impossible to keep away everything unclean from the body, while this latter by its own excrements was con-

¹ *Seezen*, in a letter to von Hammer on the Mines of the East. Vol. I. p. 65.

² *Paulus*, "Sammlung morgenländ. Reisebeschreibg.," (Collection of Descriptions of Eastern Travel), Vol. III. p. 83. — *Olivier's* "Reise in Aegypten, Syrien, etc.," (Travels in Egypt, Syria, etc.), p. 413. — *Seezen*, loco citato p. 65. Perhaps even the ancient Egyptians circumcised maids in their time. *Ambrosius*, Abraham Bk. II. ch. 11., in Works Vol. I. p. 347., Paris edition of 1686. *Galen*, De usu partium Bk. XV.

³ *Ludolf*, History of the Ethiopians Bk. III. ch. 1.

⁴ *Chardin*, Voyages en Perse, (Travels in Persia), Vol. X. p. 76., Amsterdam edition.

⁵ *Mungo Park*, Travels p. 180. — Voyage au pays de Bambouc, (Journey to the Land of Bambuk), p. 48.

⁶ *Veigl's* "Gründliche Nachrichten von der Landschaft Maynas in Südamerika," (Trustworthy Account of the Province of Maynas in South America), in *Murr's* "Sammlung der Reisen einiger Missionarien von der Gesellschaft Jesu," (Collection of the Travels of various Missionaries of the Society of Jesus), Nürnberg 1785., p. 67.

stantly making itself more or less unclean; ¹ hence

¹ *Plutarch*, On Isis and Osiris ch. 94. Hence we commonly find among the Ancients the custom, merely after the evacuation of urine and fæces, of cleansing the parts concerned. Accordingly *Josephus*, De Bello Judaic. Bk. II. ch. 8., says: καίπερ δὲ φυσικῆς οὐσῆς τῆς τῶν σαματικῶν λυμάτων ἐκκρίσεως ἀπολούεσθαι μετ' αὐτήν, καθάπερ μεμιασμένοις, ἔθιζον. (And even though the evacuation of the bodily defilements was in the course of nature, they were accustomed to wash themselves after it, as in the case of men polluted). The Romans used for the purpose a sponge fastened to the end of a stick, as we see from *Seneca*, Letter 70, where he says: Lignum, quod ad emendanda obscoena adhaerente spongia positum est, totum in gulam sparsit, (The stick that is placed with a sponge fixed to it for cleansing filth, this he shook right in his mouth). Slaves took stones, bulbs, etc. for the purpose. *Aristophanes*, Plut. IV. 1. After making water it was usual to wash the hands. *Petronius*, Satyr. 27. Exonerata ille vesica, aquam poposcit ad manus. (After relieving his bladder, he asked for water for his hands). This care for cleanliness roused, as mentioned before, the utmost anger on the part of Saint Athanasius; but

it is to this day the custom among the Turks, for it is enjoined by the Koran (Sure IV. 42.), even adding that only one hand ought to be used (*Nirbuhr*, Description of Arabia, p. 78.), namely the *left*. The same hand was used also by the Romans, as well as perhaps by all ancient Peoples. Hence *Martial* says, bk. XI. 59., sed lota mentula laeva . . . (but my member, when my left hand has been washed . . .). With the left hand, amica manus (the *mistress* hand), masturbation was performed, *Martial*, IX. 42. XI. 74.; it served to cover the genitals, *Lucian*, Amor. 13., hence according to *Ovid*, Ars amandi, Bk. II. 613.

Ipsa Venus pubem quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur laeva semireducta manu
(Venus herself, as oft as she lays aside her garments, half withdrawn covers herself with her left hand), and Priapus is represented in Art holding the penis with the left hand, *Priapeia* 24. 34. If we are not mistaken, this was also the case with Horus among the Egyptians. What has just been said explains at the same time the reason why the left hand has from of old been held in disrepute, an idea still preserved in the expression, to marry, to be married, *with the left hand*.

it was only natural that from the most primitive times men's attention was directed towards means of removing the uncleanness so contracted. But the defilement was never more than an external one; it concerned merely the skin and the orifices of the mucous membrane; while the matter requiring removal was of a sort soluble in water, and thus water was always the chief and foremost means employed to secure cleanliness. Doctrines of Cosmogony further confirmed the practice; these made water the origin of all things, a direct effluence of the deity and therefore itself divine,—a means not only of purification, but of sanctification as well.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά,

(The sea washes away all evils of mankind) was the refrain, one that resounds to this day in our ears from the East; so that we cannot wonder that baths and bathing formed a capital factor both in the public and private life of the Ancients. Whatever view might be taken of sexual intercourse, all agreed in this, that a certain defilement was connected with it, which (as follows indeed from our exposition on earlier pages) might easily become injurious to the organs brought into activity, and could only be obviated by dint of *baths* and a system of *bathing*.¹

¹ *Friedr. Hoffmann*, Diss. med. 3., asserit luem Veneream Constantinopolidos non grassari, quod feminae munditiei apprime studiosae post opus aquam sumant et locos diligenter colluant (asserts that Venereal disease is not prevalent at Constantinople, because the women being extremely careful of cleanliness take water after their work and scrupulously wash the parts), says *Astruc*, I. p. 108. This is further confirmed

by *Oppenheim*, "Ueber den Zustand der Heilkunde etc. in der Türkei, (On the Condition of Medical Science etc. in Turkey), Hamburg 1838., p. 81., who writes: "Without the great cleanliness of the Turks, who after any single occasion of coition not only practise washing, but wherever at all possible, go to the bath as well, the disease (Venereal) would undoubtedly be still more widely spread."

Thus we read in *Herodotus*:¹ "But as often as a *Babylonian* has had intercourse with his wife, he sits down beside a lighted censer, and his wife does the same on the opposite side; then when morning has come, both *bathe* themselves, for they will touch no vessel until they have washed. The same practice is followed by the *Arabians* too." Whether bathing after *each* act of coition was a national custom of the *Egyptians*, we have been unable to discover, but *Clement of Alexandria*² states that they were forbidden, as was almost everywhere the case in Antiquity, to enter the temple without having washed or bathed themselves after sexual intercourse; while the Priests were bound to bathe after every nocturnal pollution.³ This was equally an ordinance of the *Jews*, who at the same time were rendered by such pollution unclean till the evening. The last named People were also obliged to wash after every act of coition; at any rate *Josephus*⁴ and *Philo*⁵

¹ Herodotus, *Histor.* Bk. I. ch. 198., Ὅσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνῆρ Βαβυλώνιος περὶ θυμὸν καταγιγόμενον ἴζει· ἐτέρωθεν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ· ὁρῶν δὲ γενομένην λούνται καὶ ἄμφότεροι· ἄγγελος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄφρονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται· ταῦτά δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιοῦσι. (for translation see text above).

² *Eusebius*, *Praeparat. evangel.* p. 475. C., Μηδὲ εἰς ἱερὰ εἰσιέναι ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀλούτοις ἐνομοθέτησαν. (And they enjoined that men should not enter into temples unwashed after women).

³ *Chaeremon* in *Porphyr.*, περὶ ἀποχ. bk. IV. §. 7, The

expression *pollutiones* (pollutions) for nocturnal ejaculation of seed shows the Romans also saw a defilement in this. Comp. *Heinsius* on Ovid's *Art of Love*, bk. III. 96.

⁴ *Josephus*, *Contra Apionem*, bk. II. p. 1381., καὶ μετὰ τὴν νομιμὴν συνουσίαν ἄνδρος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀπολούσασθαι κελεύει ὁ νόμος· ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐγγίνεται μολυσμός. (Even after the lawful intercourse of man and wife the Law orders men to wash: a defilement both of soul and body ensues).

⁵ *Philo Judaeus*, *Despecial. legg.*, τοσαύτην δ' ἔχει πρόνοιαν ὁ νόμος τοῦ μηδ' ἐπὶ γάμοις νεωτερίζεσθαι, ὥστε

declare it to have been so, for in the Old Testament it is nowhere enjoined. As is generally known, this custom has been kept up in the East down to the present day, even among the Christian populations,—affording a concurrent testimony to the necessity for its observance in these countries.

Whether the *Greeks* deliberately and with intention made use of baths and bathing immediately after sexual intercourse, it is difficult to ascertain quite for certain; but it seems probable, as not only does Mythology more than once¹ make express mention of the bath after coition, but the phrase ὅσιος ἀπ' εὐνάς ὦν (being holy, purified, after the couch) points to the same conclusion. Moreover there is a passage in *Lucian*,²—though it is quite true he

καὶ τοὺς συνιόντας εἰς ὀμίλιαν ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας κατὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ γάμοις θεσμοὺς, ὅταν εὐνῇς ἀπαλλάττωντο, οὐ πρότερον ἢ τινος ψάσειν ἢ λουτροῖς καὶ περιέβαλεν τῆς τοῖς χρῆσθαι. (But the Law takes such precautions that nothing strange and unlawful be done in marriage, that it suffers not even such as come together in intercourse, men and women united according to the laws of marriage, when they quit the bed, to touch anything before they have employed baths and sprinklings). The same Writer, De mercede meretricis non accipienda in sacrar., (Of Harlots' Hire not meet to be Taken in the Holy Place), Works edit. Mangey Vol. II. p. 265.), moreover states that in his time the public women

made frequent use of warm baths.

¹ *Europa* bathed in Crete after coition with Zeus (Antigonos Carystius, Hist. mirab. 179.), Venus after the first embraces of Vulcan (Athenaeus, Deipnos. XV. p. 681.), Ceres after lying with Neptune (Pausanias, Arcad. p. 256.).

² In Amor. 42. Lucian says of the women (Hetaerae), νύκτας ἐπὶ τούτοις διηγούμεναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐτερόχρωτας ὕπνου καὶ θηλότητος εὐνὴν γέμουσαν ἀφ' ἧς ἀναστὰς ἕκαστος εὐθὺς λουτροῦ χρεῖός ἐστι. (passing their nights in this way, enjoying indiscriminate sleep and a couch teeming with wantonness; from the which each man when he has risen, straightway is in need of bathing). *Hesiod*, Works and Days 731., writes,

often describes Roman customs,—that might be thought to prove the same.

Clearer indications are forthcoming in the case of the *Romans*, who not only must not undertake any sacred function or enter a Temple, if they had failed to bathe after carrying out coition, ¹ but were also bound generally after every act of cohabitation to wash the parts brought into use. At any rate this holds good of the women, and so applies to the Roman matron (comp. the passage of *Suetonius* quoted

μηδ' αἰδοῖα γονῇ πεπαλαγ-
μένος ἐνδοθι οἴκου
ἐστὶν ἐμπελαδὸν παραφαινέ-
μεν, ἀλλ' ἀλέασθαι.

(Nor yet when done with generation, within the house hard by the hearth expose the privates, but retire aside).

¹ *Persius*, Sat. II. 15.,

Haec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino
in gurgite mergis
Mane caput bis terque et noctem
flumine purgas.

(That you may make this request free from taint, you plunge your head in Tiber's flood twice and three times at dawn, and *purge away your night in the stream*). *Gregory the Great*, Answers to ten Questions of Augustine, first English Bishop: Vir cum propria uxore dormiens, intrare ecclesiam, non debet, sed neque lotus intrare statim debet... Et quamvis de hac re diversae hominum nationes diversa sentiant, atque custodire videantur, Romanorum tamen semper atque ab antiquioribus usus fuit, post ad

mixturem propriae coniugis et lavacrii purificationem ab ingressu ecclesiae paullatim reverenter abstinere. (A man sleeping with his own wife, ought not to enter a church, and not even when washed ought he to enter immediately after.... And although on this matter different nations of mankind hold different opinions and appear to keep different customs, yet the Romans' practice always and from the most ancient times has ever been, that subsequently to intercourse with his lawful wife and the purification of the bath a man reverently abstain for a while from entering a church). For the same reason *Tibullus* says, Carmina bk. II. 1.,

Vos quoque abesse procul jubeo
discedite ab aris,
Queis tulit hesterni gaudia nocte,
Venus.

(You too I bid stand afar off, depart ye from the altars, to whom yesternight Venus brought her joys). Comp. *Ovid*, Amor., bk. III. eleg. 6.

in § 27 as to Atia, the mother of Augustus, as well as in an even greater degree to the *amica* (mistress) or courtesan. The regular name for this was *aquam sumere* (to take water).¹ Indeed there were actually special attendants *aquarioli* (water-boys),¹ whose business it

¹ *Ovid*, *Amor.*, bk. III. eleg. 7. 84.

Neve suae possent intactam scire
ministrae,
 Dedecus hoc s u n t a dissimulavit
a q u a.

(And that her handmaids might not know her untouched, she dissembled this disgrace by *taking water*).

Ovid, *Ars Amandi*, bk. III. 619.,

Scilicet obstabit custos ne scribere
possis,
 S u m e n d a e detur cum tibi tem-
p u s a q u a e.

(Of course your guard will put obstacles in the way to hinder your writing, though time be given you for *taking water*).

Martial, bk. VII. Epigr. 34.,

Ecquid femineos sequeris matrona
recessus?
 Secretusque tua, cunne, lavararis
aqua?

(What! do you a matron penetrate into women's secret haunts? and by stealth are you washed, O female organ, in the water that appertains to you? *Petronius*, Sat. 94., Itaque extra cellam processit, tanquam *aquam peteret*. (And so she came forward outside her chamber, and if she *were going for water*. — *Cicero*, *Orat. pro Caelio*, ch. 14. represents his grandfather Appius Claudius Caecus, who

(442 A.U.C.) had constructed the Appian Way, say to his depraved granddaughter: Ideo *aquam adduxi* ut ea tu incestu uterere? (Was it for this I brought the water to Rome, that you might use it for abominable purposes? Comp. Casaubon on Cicero, Letters to Atticus, bk. I. Letter 16. For the same reason women and girls who only rarely participated in sexual intercourse were called *siccae* (dry) (*Plautus*, *Miles Glor.* III. 1. 192. *Martial*, XI. Epigr. 82. *Petronius*, Sat. 37.), in contrast to the *uda puella* (wet girl) *Juvenal*, Sat. X. 321. *Martial*, XI. 17.), who was obliged to wash herself frequently. So too *illota* or *illauta* virgo (unwashed maid) stands for *intacta* virgo (untouched maid), as in *Plautus*, *Poenul.* I. sc. 2. 22. Nam quae lavata est, nisi perculata est, meo quidem animo, quasi *illauta* est. (For she who is washed, unless she is bedecked as well, in my opinion, is as good as *unwashed*). In fact the whole of this scene is important for our subject.

¹ *Festus*, p. 19. under word *Aquarioli*: Aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudicarum sordidi assecclae. (Aquarioli, or

was not merely to fetch water for this purpose, but also in particular to bathe and cleanse the "filles de joie" after sexual intercourse. For this reason *Lampridius* says of the Emperor Commodus (ch. 2), *aquam gessit, ut lenonum ministeriis probrosis natum magis, quam in loco crederes, ad quem fortuna pervexit* (he fetched water, so that you would more readily suppose him born to perform the shameful offices of pandars than in the station whereto fortune raised him). Such cleanliness was especially obligatory on those who had to do with the preparation of food and drink, such as bakers, cooks and butlers; ¹ and if we do not find it directly enjoined among many ancient Peoples, the only reason of this is that they were already accustomed to wash and bathe every morning ² immediately on leaving their bed.

¹ *Columella*, De re rust. bk. XII. ch. 4., His autem omnibus placuit, eum, qui rerum harum officium susceperit, castum esse continentemque oportere, quoniam totum in eo sit, ne contractentur pocula vel cibi, nisi aut ab impubi aut certe abstinentissimo rebus venereis. Quibus si fuerit operatus vel vir vel femina, debere eos flumine aut perenni aqua, priusquam penora contingant, ablui. (But all were agreed upon this, that he who should undertake the performance of these duties ought to be chaste and continent, since all depends on his care that drink and food be not defiled, unless indeed they are prepared by one still immature or at any rate one extremely self-restrained in the matter of love. But if it has been

indulged in by man or woman, they ought to be cleansed in the river or in flowing water, before they touch the victuals). From what precedes the words quoted, it may be conjectured that this custom prevailed also among the Carthaginians and Greeks.

² *Propertius*, bk. III. eleg. 9., At primum pura somnum tibi discute limpha. (But first shake off your sleep with pure water). *Apuleius*, *Metamorphos.* bk. II., Confestim discussa pigra quiete, alacer exurgo meque purificandi studio, marino lavacro trado. (Soon as ever dull sleep is shaken off, at once I briskly rise, and with the desire of purification, I give myself to the bath of sea water.) *Tacitus*, *Germania* ch. 22., Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, sae-

In the same way as after natural coition the parts brought into use were bathed and washed, this was also done after *unnatural*, and so we read in the Collection of Priapeia (Carm. 40.):

Falce minax et parte tui maiore, Priape,
Ad fontem, quaeso, dic mihi qua sit iter?
Vade per has vites, quarum si carpseris uvas
Quas aliter sumas, hospes, habebis aquas —

(Standing in threatening attitude with my bristling pruning-knife and your better part, Priapus, I enquire: "Pri'thee tell me, which is my way to the fountain?" "Go through yonder vines, but if you dare to pluck the grapes, you will find, stranger, *water you must take* elsewhere). Clearly this is to be taken as meaning paederastia or irrumation looked upon as punishment inflicted for the theft contemplated; and shows us at the same time it was not without a "double entendre" that Priapus was set up as a direction-post to fountains, a point that *Lomeier*¹ has already brought out with perfect correctness. Again the *fellator* after his work used to cleanse the mouth with water, as we learn from several passages in *Martial*; thus amongst other places we read in one, of Lesbia, ²

pius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. (Immediately on rising from sleep, which as a rule they prolong into the day-time, they wash, generally in warm water, as one would expect among men whose winter lasts most of the year).

¹ *Lomeier*, De lustrationibus veterum gentium, (Of the Lustrations of Ancient Peoples), ch. XVI. p. 167., Et Priapus iter ad fontem monstrare dicebatur, quod qui quaeve

viros experirentur lotione opus haberent; (Moreover Priapus was said to point the way to the fountain, because such men, or women as had intercourse, were in need of washing); in confirmation of which he then alleges the passage quoted in the text.

² *Martial*, Bk. II. Epigr. 50. Comp. bk. II. 70., bk. III. 69. 81. *Petronius*, Sat. 67., Aquam in os non coniciet. (He will not throw water into his mouth).

Quod fellas et aquam potes, nil Lesbia peccas,
Qua tibi parte opus est, Lesbia, sumis aquam.

(You *fellate* and then drink water; you do no wrong in this, Lesbia; where lies your work, there Lesbia you *take water*).

If we further add to this scrupulous cleanliness the quiet life led by the women of Antiquity, who spent most of their time, as women still do in the East, reclining, it is evident that in spite of the predisposing influence of Climate, injurious secretions from the vagina and uterus, or indeed ulcerations of these parts, must—speaking generally, and in proportion—have occurred but rarely. Moreover such maladies of the sort as were contracted were quickly got rid of again spontaneously, for very often even at the present day rest and cleanliness suffice by themselves for the removal of primary affections of the genitals. On the other hand it cannot be denied that a careless non-observance of these primeval laws of cleanliness must have then avenged itself all the more severely on the offending individual, and given occasion for the setting up of incurable diseases.

But great as the counteracting effect of the frequent use of baths in Antiquity was on the rise of diseases in general, and of those resulting from sexual excesses in particular, none the less in other ways did these same baths, directly or indirectly, *give occasion for their rise and spread*. As to their *direct* effect in this direction,—we certainly find but scanty evidence of any in the authorities, and even such as *are* forthcoming may very possibly be referred to the head of general want of cleanliness ¹. Still in view of the fact that at the present day the cellar baths of the Jews contribute to some degree to the spread of disease, and especially of skin-disease of different

¹ E. g. the Epigram of Martial (VI. 81.) on Charidemus, who according to VI. 56. was a *fellator*.

types, as did baths generally in the Middle Ages, the conjecture is surely justified that similar results followed in Antiquity, especially at Rome under the Emperors.

Indirectly maladies consequent upon sexual excesses were helped on by the mere fact that the ancient Baths afforded manifold opportunities for such excesses. The bath-attendants, or *aquarioli* (water-boys), who fetched the water for bathing, not only carried on vicious practices with the women frequenting the place themselves, but also made a business of procuration, as already pointed out just above, p. 214. The lascivious Roman Ladies took their own slaves with them to the Baths, that they might attend upon their mistresses.¹ At first the same bathing Establishments were used equally by both sexes, but not at the same time; and according to *Dio Cassius*,² *Agrippa* would appear to have first, 721 A. U. C., established the public Baths at Rome for men and women, from which place later on Baths open to both sexes were introduced into Greece, as *Plutarch*³

¹ *Martial*, bk. VII. Epigr. 34. 35.,

Inguina succinctus nigra tibi servus
aluta
Stat, quoties calidis tota soveris
aquis.

(A slave girl about the loins with a pouch of black leather stands by you, as oft as you are washed all over with warm water). *Claudian*, I. 106.,

Pectebat dominae crines et saepe
lavanti
Nudus in argento lympham porta-
bat alumnae.

(He was wont to comb his mistress' hair, and oft when she bathed, naked, he would

bring water for his lady in a silver ewer).

² *Dio Cassius*, *Histor.* bk. XLIX. ch. 43., τὰ τε βαλανεία προίκα δι' ἑτους καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ λούεσθαι παρέσχε. (And he opened the Baths gratuitously throughout the summer both to men and women). *Comp. Pliny. Hist. nat.* bk. XXVI. ch. 24. 9. *Dio Cassius*. LIV. 29.

³ *Plutarch*, *Cato Major* ch. 39., συλλούσασθαι δὲ μηδέποτε καὶ τούτου κοινὸν ἔθος ἔοικε Ῥωμαίων εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ πενθεροῖς γάμβροι ἐφυλάττοντο συλλούεσθαι, δυσωπούμενοι τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν καὶ γύμνωσιν· εἴτα

states. The Greeks called these Establishments *ἀνδρόγυνα λούτρα* (men-women, male-female, baths), and used to set up an image of Hermaphroditus in front of them.¹ In the Imperial period, when all shame was laid aside and Heliogabalus himself *in balneis semper cum mulieribus fuit* (always visited the Baths in company of the women) (*Lampridius* ch. 2), the use of the Baths both by men and women, and this at the same time, had become an established custom, as may be seen from several passages of *Martial*;² and it was in vain the Em-

μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ
γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες αὐτοὶ
πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν
τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλή-
κασιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. (And
never bathed together; indeed
the common habit of doing
so appears to be of Roman
origin. For at first sons-in-law
used to guard against bathing
with fathers-in-law, feeling
shame at such exposure and
stripping naked. Later on
however having learned the
habit of stripping naked from
the Greeks, they again in their
turn have taught the Greeks
that of doing so along with
women). The *balnea virilia*
(men's baths) are mentioned
in *Aulus Gellius*, Noct. Att.
X. 3., where he shows that
they were also used by women.

¹ Catalect. Græcor. Poetarum,

ἀνδράσιν Ἑρμῆς εἰμὶ γυ-
ναιξὶ δὲ Κύπρις ὀρώμαι·
ἀμφοτέρων δὲ φέρω συμ-
βολὰ μοι τοκέων
Τοῦνεκεν οὐκ ἀλόγως με τὸν
Ἑρμαφρόδιτον ἔθεντο

ἀνδρογύνοις λουτροῖς
παῖδα τὸν ἀμφίβολον.

(To men I am Hermes; for women I am looked upon as Cypri; and I bear the tokens of both my parents. Therefore not without good reason have they set me up, the Hermaphrodite, the boy of double nature, before male-female baths).

² *Martial*, Bk. VI. 34. bk. III. 51. bk. II. 76. As early as *Ovid*, Art of Love, bk. III. 639., we read:

Quum custode foris tunicam ser-
vante puellae
Celent furtivos balnea tuta iocos,

(When the doorkeeper at the entrance keeps the girl's garments, and the discreet baths cover surreptitious amusements); also in *Quintilian*, Institut. bk. V. ch. 9., nam si est signum adulterae lavari cum viris, etc. (if indeed it is a mark of a lewd woman to bathe with men).

perors *Hadrian*,¹ *Marcus Antoninus*² and *Alexander Severus*³ endeavoured to restrain the abuse by enactments. These were just as unavailing as were the invectives of the Fathers of the Church.⁴

¹ *Spartian*, Life of Hadrian ch. 18., Lavacre pro sexibus separavit. (He assigned separate baths for the two sexes). Dio Cass. LXIX. ch. 8.

² *Julius Capitolinus*, Life of Marcus Antoninus ch. 23., Lavacra mixta submovit, mores matronarum composuit diffluentes et iuvenum nobilium. (He abolished the mixed Baths, and restrained the loose habits of the Roman ladies and of the young nobles).

³ *Lampridius*, Life of Alexander Severus ch. 24., Balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit, quod quidem iam ante prohibitum Heliogabalus fieri permiserat. (He forbade the opening of mixed Baths at Rome, a practice which, though previously prohibited, Heliogabalus had allowed to be followed).

⁴ *Clement of Alexandria*, Paedagog. bk. III. ch. 5., says of women: καὶ δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι τοῖς σφῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποδύσαιντο, προσποίητον αἰσχύνῃς ἀξιοπιστίαν μνῶμεναι· ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν ἄλλων οἴκοι τὰς κατακλείστους, γυμνὰς ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις θεάσασθαι· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἀποδύσασθαι τοῖς θεαταῖς, ὥσπερ καπήλοις σωμάτων, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδος

(Oper. et Dies lib. II. 371).

Μῆδὲ γυναικείῳ λυτρῷ χροῖα φαιδρύνεσθαι, παραινέει· κοινὰ δὲ ἀνέωκται ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ βαλανεῖα· κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ ἀκρασίαν ἀποδύονται· ἐν τοῦ γὰρ εἰσορᾶν, γίνεται ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν· ὥσπερ ἀποκλυζομένης τῆς αἰδοῦς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ λουτρὰ αἱ δὲ μὴ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπερυθριῶσαι, τοὺς μὲν ὀδυμένοους ἀποκλείουσιν, ἰδίους δὲ οἰκέταις συλλοοῦνται, καὶ δούλοις ἀποδύονται γυμναί, καὶ ἀνατρίβονται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἔξουσίαν δοῦσαι τῷ κατεπτηχότι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, τὸ ἄδεις τῆς ψηλαφήσεως· οἱ γὰρ παρειαγόμενοι παρὰ τὰ λουτρὰ ταῖς δεσποίναῖς γυμναῖς, μελέτην ἰσχυοσιν ἀποδύσασθαι πρὸς τόλμαν ἐπιθυμίας· ἔθει πονηρῶ παρὰ γράφοντες τὸν φόβον. (And of a truth they would not strip before their own husbands, feigning a pretended plausibility of mock-modesty; but for other men, whosoever will, may readily see the women that are so close shut up at home, naked at the Baths. For there they are nowise ashamed to strip before the spectators, looking on like dealers in human flesh; whereas Hesiod (Works and Days, bk.

The Bathing Apartments, from which antique Roman modesty had excluded almost every glimmer of external light, were now patent to the eyes of the passer-by. Fitted up with every device of the most refined luxury,¹ they were transformed into

II. 371.) advises "But do not, for the earning of a woman's price, let her wash her skin bright and clean." Now the Baths are open for men and women alike. And hence their stripping leads to incontinence; for from seeing, men come to desire, as though their modesty were washed away in the Baths. Other women that have not attained such effrontery, shut out strangers indeed, but wash along with their own house-slaves, and are stripped naked before their servants and are rubbed by them, giving opportunity to the man a-tremble with longing, the free right to handle without fear; for the men that are admitted into the Baths with their naked mistresses take care to strip in such a way as to correspond to the daring audacity of their longing, putting down fear to the count of evil habit). — *Cyprian*, De Virginum habitu: Quid vero, quae promiscuas balneas adeunt, quae oculis ad libidinem curiosis, pudori ac pudicitiae dicata corpora prostituunt, quae cum viros ac a viris nudae vident turpiter ac videntur, nonne ipsae illecebram vitii praestant. (But in truth, those women that frequent indiscriminate Baths,

that expose to prying and lustful eyes their bodies that should be dedicate to modest shamefacedness, that along with men see what is disgraceful to see and in nakedness are seen by men, do not such women offer an enticement to sinfulness?) Comp. *Mercurialis*, De arte Gymnast. bk. I. ch. 10.—It is true we read in *Julius Caesar*, De bello Gallico bk. VI. ch. 21., of the ancient Germans: *Intra annum vero vicissimum feminae notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur*, (But to have known a woman under the twentieth year is held by them most disgraceful; and there is no concealment of it, as *they bathe indiscriminately in the rivers*); but here the antecedent clause bars any suspicion of sexual excesses having been invited by the practice.

¹ *Seneca*, Epist. 86. says, speaking of the bath of Scipio: *Balneolum angustum, tenebri-cosum ex consuetudine antiqua; non videbatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum*. (A little narrow bath-chamber, dim and gloomy after the antique fashion; our fathers could not

regular brothels; ¹ and accordingly were not allowed to open their doors earlier than one hour before the ordinary establishments of this nature.

believe a bath warm unless it was dark too). — Next he describes explicitly the luxury of the Roman Baths, and then goes on, — In hoc balneo Scipionis minimae sunt rimae magis quam fenestrae, muro lapideo exsectae, ut sine iniuria munimenti lumen admitterent. At nunc blattaria vocant balnea, si qua non ita aptata sunt, ut totius diei solem fenestris amplissimis recipiant; nisi et lavantur et colorantur; nisi ex solio agros et maria prospiciant . . . Imo si scias, non quotidie lavabatur. Nam ut aiunt, qui priscos mores urbis tradiderunt, brachia et crura quotidie abluebant, quae scilicet sordes opere collegerant: ceterum toti nundinis lavabantur. Hoc loco dicet aliquis, liquet mihi immundissimos fuisse. Quid putas illos oluisse? militiam, laborem, virum. Postquam munda balnea inventa sunt, spurciores sunt. (In this bath of Scipio there are tiny chinks rather than windows, cut through the stone wall, so as to admit light without detriment to the shelter afforded. But nowadays men call them *Baths for night-moths*, any that are not disposed in such a way as to let the sunlight enter all day long by immense windows; if they are not washed and sun-burned at once; if they cannot look

out on fields and sea from the pavement . . . If you must know the truth, he did not bathe every day. For we are told by those who have handed down accounts of the primitive manners of the City, our ancestors would wash daily arms and legs, for these had grown soiled with the dust of toil: but they washed all over only on market-days. Hearing this, it will be said, "It appears to me they must have very filthy people." Well! what think you it was they smelt of? Of fighting, and honest work, and manly vigour. Sweet, clean Baths have been introduced; but the population is only more foul). Comp. *Plutarch*, Quaest. convival. VIII. 9. *Sidonius Apollinaris* bk. II. Epist. 11. *Pliny*, Hist. nat. XXX. 54.

¹ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XXVIII., Tales, ubi comitantibus singulos quadraginta ministris, tholos introierint balnearum, ubi sunt, minaciter clamantes, si apparuisse subito ignotam compererint meretricem, aut oppidanae quondam prostibulum plebis, vel meritorii corporis veterem lupam, certatim concurrunt, palpan-tesque ad venam deformitate magna blanditarum ita extolunt, ut Semiramin. (Such men, when with forty servants attending each master they

The same opportunities which the Baths gave for vice with women, they afforded no less for vice between men,—for *paederastia*. There it was that amateurs looked about for *bene vasatos* and καλλιπύγους, (men with fine instruments, men with handsome buttocks), and this among the Greeks as well as among the Romans,¹ though the latter in this as in other things beat the record of all other nations.

have entered the rotundas of the Baths, where they remain with loud threatening shouts, if they should note an unknown courtesan to have put in an appearance, or some prostitute once popular with the common herd, or some old harlot who has sold her person for years, they strive who shall be first on the spot, and wheedling her to the top of her bent, with mighty exaggeration of flattery, praise her beauty as though she were a Semiramis). *Lampridius*, Life of Helio-gabalus ch. 26., Omnes de circo, de theatro, de stadio, de omnibus locis et *balneis*, meretrices collegit in aedes publicam. (All the prostitutes from circus, from theatre, from race-course, from all places

and from *the Baths*, he brought together into public establishments). Comp. *Suetonius*, Caligula ch. 37.

¹ Martial, bk. I. Epigr. 24.,

Invitae nullum, nisi cum quo, Cotta,
lavaris,

Et dant convivam balnea sola
tibi.

Mirabar, quare nunquam me, Cotta,
vocasses.

Iam scio, me nudum displicuisse
tibi.

(You invite no man, Cotta, but your bathing companion; the Baths only supply a guest for you. I used to wonder, why you had never asked me; now I know that you did not like the look of me when naked). Comp. *Martial*, Bk. I. 97. bk. VII. 33. bk. IX. 34. *Juvenal*, Sat. VI. 373.

THIRD SECTION.

Relation of the Physician to Diseases consequent upon the Use or Misuse of the Genital Organs.

§ 38.

In the preceding Sections we have become acquainted with the various influences capable of favouring or counteracting the rise of diseases consequent upon the use or misuse of the genitals in Antiquity. At the same time we have shown how a multitude of affections of the most different kinds attacked, as a result of the unnatural gratification of sexual desire, those parts which under these circumstances had to undertake the rôle of the genital organs of the one or the other sex. Thirdly we have brought forward in the course of the enquiry at any rate some examples, proving beyond a doubt that the sexual parts themselves too under favourable external conditions sometimes became diseased as the consequence of indulgence in sexual intercourse. Still these results were for the most part based on the evidence of non-medical Writers, for of set purpose we abstained as much as possible from calling the professional Writers into Court on these points, so as to be able to treat in their proper mutual connexion whatever statements these latter have left us as to the maladies in question. This course appeared to us all the more necessary, as it

is precisely the medical evidence which the opponents of the existence of Venereal disease in Antiquity believe themselves able to utilize in justification of their opinions.

But before we proceed to the detailed examination of the actual statements, it would seem expedient to get an answer to the following question: *whether indeed the Physicians of Antiquity generally were in a position to acquire an adequate knowledge of the bodily consequences of vicious living?* In fact on the correct answer to this question obviously depends the correct appreciation of the medical Writings as sources for the History of Venereal disease. Only under the condition that this question may be answered in the affirmative, can the evidence supplied by the Physicians be regarded as satisfactory for their own period. That it cannot of course be so for all periods, has been pointed out already in our examination of the authorities for Antiquity generally. Indeed for long periods of time Physicians had no special *locus standi*, inasmuch as each individual in the case of the most usual maladies endeavoured to help himself, and if the family recipes left him stranded, then betook himself with prayers for assistance to the Gods and their intermediaries on earth, the Priests. This still continued, even after the Physicians had won their recognition as a special profession, and we find accordingly throughout Antiquity popular, sacerdotal, and professional or *medical* medicine, if we may be allowed the expression, continuing to exist simultaneously side by side, and not a trace anywhere of the ridiculous limitation according to which no man has a right to be well without the help of a doctor.

Now having made it clear by what we have said, that in order to gain knowledge of a disease in Antiquity it is by no means enough to go to the Physicians only, even when such existed, that the latter should never be regarded as sole possessors of whatever was known from the point of view of pathology and

therapeutics, we are bound to apply the same rule in the case of diseases consequent upon vicious habits. Of this the foregoing Sections contain amply sufficient proofs. It has there been shown how the genital organs were under the protection of special deities. Diseases affecting them were ascribed to the vengeance of the said deities, as at Athens to Dionysus, at Lampsacus to Priapus. To them sufferers had recourse to win by their prayers the removal of the divine anger, as well as its consequences; and all this happened not only in times when Physicians did not as yet exist, but no less when they did and in defiance of them, as the poems of the Priapeia sufficiently prove.¹ How long these ideas lived on is shown by the pictures *Philo* (p. 315) and *Palladius* (p. 318) draw of their times, while the XVth. and XVIth. Centuries reproduced the same scenes.

The most obvious reason for this no doubt was the *enigma presented by the origin* of diseases of the genitals, particularly for any one unacquainted with the existence of contagions and their modes of activity. The man who with a healthy penis had accomplished coition, observed some days afterwards, though without resenting the fact, a mucous discharge to have been set up, or an ulcer, pustule, or what not, to have appeared. The cause of these affections he sought for in vain, for of course the mere act of coition was the very last thing he was likely to regard as such. Rather accustomed, wherever the cause of any phenomenon was unknown to him, to ascribe it to the intervention of the deity, he saw in his complaint likewise the *Θεῶν* (divine) as eventual cause. Naturally therefore it was divine

¹ It must be left to future investigation to decide, whether the great number of *phalli* found in so many places where Temples formerly existed, is not in part to be explained

by supposing these figures to have formed thank-offerings for the happy recovery of the corresponding parts from sickness.

assistance, and not human, that would avail to relieve him of his pain. Long after this time moreover, when men had ceased to refer all diseases to the vengeance of the gods, and now discovered natural causes for maladies of the genitals, as for other diseases, anything rather than just the act of coition was looked upon as cause of the observed effects, as indeed is the case to this day among the Turks,¹ and as the earliest Writers on Venereal disease abundantly show to have been so in their time. That the Physicians were no exceptions to this rule, we shall show on a later page.

A much more weighty reason however why the patient attacked by some affection of the genitals turned not to men (Physicians) for help, but to the Gods, and the Priests who represented them, was the feeling of *shame*. Since first Adam and Eve had recourse to the fig-leaf, it has ever been a habit among all peoples of the ancient as of the modern

¹ *Oppenheim*, Ueber den Zustand der Heilkunde in der Türkei, (On the Condition of of Medical Knowledge in Turkey), p. 81., "Without the very great cleanliness of the Turks, who after every occasion of sexual intercourse not only wash carefully, but also wherever it is possible go to the bath likewise, the disease would undoubtedly be yet more widely spread than it is . . . Yet the Turk will never admit, or rather he simply cannot bring himself to conceive, that he has contracted an infection through unclean cohabitation, but will be found always to give some other cause as occasioning his sickness. In fact the language itself shows this; the Turkish

expression for gonorrhœa is "*Belzouk*", literally: chill of the back (from *bel*, back and *zouk*, cold), and chill or over-heating will always be represented as having brought it on. — Moreover *Zeller von Zellenberg*, Abh. über die ersten Erscheinungen venerischer Lokal-Krankheitsformen und deren Behandlung, (Dissertation on the earliest Appearances of Forms of Local Venereal Disease, and their Treatment), Vienna 1810., p. 7., is of the opinion, that the reason of the imperfect knowledge possessed by the Ancients of gonorrhœa, chancre and buboes is to be found in this delayed appearance of the symptoms of disease after coition.

world to withdraw the procreative parts from the view of others by covering them. But above all did the Ancients regard the exposure of these parts ¹

¹ We see this in the clearest possible way from the passage of *Herodotus*, bk. I. ch. 9, 10., where Candaules wishes to induce Gyges to see his wife naked, in order to convince him of her beauty, but the latter objects: ἄμα δὲ κιδῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή· πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ (but when she strips off her tunic, a woman strips off therewith her modesty likewise; now mankind have long ago ascertained what is honourable, and from this we must learn how to act). Then *Herodotus* adds to this further (ch. 10.), παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν ἢ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις, καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν, ἐς αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλῃν φέρει (for among the Lydians, as indeed among pretty nearly all Barbarians, for a person to be seen naked is counted for the greatest disgrace). Comp. *Plutarch*, De audiend. rat. p. 37. *Diogenes Laertius*, VIII. 43. *Plato*, Politics V. 6. p. 457. A., V. 3. p. 452., Οὐ πολὺς χρόνος, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γέλοια, ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοῦς ἄνδρας ὀρεῖσθαι. (It is no long time since it appeared to

the Greeks, as it does still to most of the Barbarian peoples, shameful and ridiculous for men to be seen naked). In reference to the genital organs *Hesiod* says (Works and Days 733.):

μηδ' αἰδοῖα γονὴ πεπαλαγ-
μένος ἐνδοθι οἴκου
ἐστὶν ἐμπελαδὸν παραφαι-
νέμεν, ἀλλ' ἀλέασθαι.

(Nor yet when done with generation, within the house hard by the hearth expose the privates, but retire aside). *St. Augustine*, De civit. dei bk. XIV., Omnes gentes adeo tenent in usu pudenda velare, ut quidam barbari illas corporis partes nec in balneis undas habeant. (All nations in fact make it a habit to cover the privates, so much so that some Barbarians do not expose the parts of the body naked even in the Baths). *St. Ambrose*, Offic. I. 18., Licet plerique se et in lavacro, quantum possunt, tegant, ut vel illic, ubi nudum totum est corpus, huius modi intacta portio sit. (Most men may also cover themselves, as much as they can, even in the Bath, so that even there, where the whole body is naked, a part may so be hidden). *Arnobius*, bk. V., Propudiosa corporum monstratur obscœnitas, obiectanturque partes illae, quas

one of the severest trials to which modesty could be exposed; and rightly enough therefore designate them by the name of *pudenda*, *αἰδοῖα*, *the parts of shame*. Neither the wide extension of Phallic worship, nor yet the compulsory exposure of the Ephebi¹ and the naked exercises of maidens and youths at Sparta²,

pudor communis abscondere, quas naturalis verecundiae lex iubet, quas inter aures castas sine venia nefas est ac sine honoribus appellare praefatis. (The foulest abomination of men's bodies is exhibited, and those parts exposed, which common modesty, the natural law of shamefacedness, bids us conceal, which among ears polite it is forbidden to name without asking pardon and making a preface of apologies). —bk. III., Insignire his partibus, quas enumerare, quas persequi probus audeat nemo, nec sine summae foeditatis horrore mentis imaginatione concipere. (To parade those parts, which no honourable man dare name or describe, nor even without a shudder at such a height of foulness conceive a mental picture of). Comp. p. 42. and *Oppenheim*, loco citato p. 128., who undoubtedly ranks the importance of the vice of pederastia too high, when he finds in it the main reason for the feeling of shame prevalent among the Turks.

¹ *Aristophanes*, Wasps 578., *παίδων τολύνην δοκιμαζόμενων αἰδοῖα πάρεστι θεασθαι*. (Yet when boys are under

test, men may see their privates). Comp. *Athenaeus*, Deipnos, bk. XII. p. 550. Petit, Ad legg. Attic. p. 227. At Rome likewise in cases of marriage disputes the men were obliged to offer their genital organs for examination (*Quintilian*, Declam. 279.), a Law which was only revoked by Justinian. Comp. *Gundlingiana* No. 23. pp. 342 sqq. We learn from *Plato*, Theaetet. 151., *ποῖαν χρῆ πόλιν ἀνδρὶ συνοῦσαν ὡς ἀρίστους παῖδας τιτεῖν*, (what sort of maid must mate with what sort of man to produce as fine children as may be), that the marriageable girls were examined by the midwives,—a procedure that Plato wished to see universally introduced in his ideal State (De legg. bk. XII.). But against this *Theodoretus*, Contra Graecos bk. IX., declaims vigorously.

² In any case it is an error to suppose that by this it is implied that the maidens and young men were absolutely naked. They were merely *μονόπεπλοι* (single-frocked), clothed in a single short frock, slit up at the hips, for which reason they were also known by the

can fairly be cited in this connexion as proofs to the contrary.

In our own day the most accomplished voluptuaries are in no wise shocked at undertaking in secret the most shameful doings, but yet when it comes to showing the Physician the diseased instruments of their bestial lusts, often put this off so long as to run great risks of entirely losing the signs of their manhood; and without a doubt it was the same at the period when habitual depravity had reached its culminating point of enormity. Even Priapus himself asks (Carm. 3):

Nec mihi sit crimen, quod mentula semper operta est.

(Nor let it be laid as a crime against me, that my member is ever covered up.) If with this is compared

name *φαινομηρίδες* (showing the thighs) (*Pollux*, Onomastic. VII. 55.), a costume which was pretty much the general Doric one; thus *Moeris* says *δωριάζειν τὸ παραγυμνοῦσθαι τινα μέρη*, (to follow Dorian fashions, to expose certain parts). *Comp. Meursius*, Laconic. bk. I. end. *K. O. Müller*, The Dorians, IInd. Part pp. 263, 265. *Josephus*, De special legg., Works, Vol. II. p. 328. The meaning of *γυμνός* is nothing more than "lightly clad", in mere under-clothing, without outer cloak. So *Eubulus*, (*Athenaeus* bk. XIII. p. 558.) says, speaking of the brothel-girls, *γυμνάς—ἐν λεπτονήτοις ὁμέσιν ἑστῶτας* (standing "naked"—in light-spun garments). *Aelian*, Var. hist. XIII. 37., *ἐν χιτωνίσκῳ γυμνός*, ("naked"

in a tunic). Similarly *nudus* (naked) in Latin, as *Cuper* (*Observat.* bk. I. ch. 7.) long ago pointed out, often has no other meaning, but merely stands for *tunicatus* (clad in the tunic), in tunic only, without cloak or toga. We see this very clearly in *Petronius*, Satir. 55., *Aequum est induere nuptam ventum textilem*,—*Palam prostare nudam in nebula linea*. ('Tis right a bride should put on woven wind,—that she should stand openly for sale, "naked" in a linen cloud!) In precisely the same way the Jews use their word *עָרֹם* (*arôm*), *Isaiah* Ch. XX. 2., *Job* Ch. XXIV. 7. 10. *I Samuel* ch. XIX. 24., and the Arabs *مسلوح* (*mesluch*).

the poem from the *Priapeia* quoted on p. 74 of Vol. I., no one can fall to agree with us when we say that the field of observation open to Physicians in Antiquity with regard to diseases of the genitals can never have been at all extended. Even the Priests, at any rate in later times, were only resorted to in the more serious instances; but even so their journals of cases, supposing them ever to have kept such, would have been a far better source of information than those of the Physicians. We find a confirmation of this in the Mosaic Books of the Law, which contain the earliest and clearest delineations we possess of affections of the genital organs both in men and women.

But if men were so reluctant, how much more so must women have been, who were universally held to have committed a crime if they had given any part of their body to the eyes of a stranger. Just as the assistance of the Physician was disdained in childbirth, and to account for the fact the fable of *Agnodicé* invented, in the same way in complaints of the genitals women hesitated to submit themselves to the inquisition of the Physician. But seeing the female sexual organs are pre-eminently the home and breeding place of Venereal disease, this closed what was precisely the most direct way to a correct understanding of maladies of the genitals. The ancient Physicians, like our own forefathers, could at best make leucorrhœa the universal scape-goat; and accordingly even *Galen*, as we shall find presently, laid no stress on the circumstance, and drew no inference from it, that wherever men were attacked by gonorrhœa, the women with whom they had had coition likewise suffered from the complaint.

Further, to this general sense of shame was added a certain timidity before the professional status of real Physicians as a class, as well as the pretty universally prevalent idea of the *ignominiousness of a sickness brought on by a person's own fault*, at any rate among the educated part of the population.

This comes out in the following passage of *Plato*,¹ where he says: "Does it appear to you disgraceful to stand in need of medical help, when it is not wounds at all or such sicknesses as depend on the

¹ *Plato*, Republic, bk. II. p. 405. The Speech of *Lysias* 'Περὶ Φανίον contains a passage, preserved for us by *Athenaeus*, bk. XII. p. 552., in which these principles are expressed in Court, to induce the Judges to condemn the dissolute Cinesias: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πλείστων γινωσκόμενον οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως διέθεσαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ βούλεσθαι ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ τεθνᾶναι, παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν' ἰδῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς λίαν ὑβριστικῶς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα διακειμένοις, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολύουσι, μείζους καὶ χαλεπωτέρας, καὶ τὰς νόσους, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, προσβάλλοντες· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καμῖν νομίμως κοινὸν ἔπασιν ὅμιν ἐστίν· τὸ δ' οὕτως ἔχοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον διατελεῖν, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τούτοις μόνοις, προσήκει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἅπερ οὗτος, ἐξημαρτηκόσιν. (But this man, who is known to most of you, the gods have brought to such a pass that his enemies may well wish him to live rather than die, to be an example to other men, showing them that

where men's conduct is too violently overbearing towards the gods, these do not inflict punishments on their children, but pay them out in person with misfortunes, bringing down on them calamities and diseases greater and more severe than fall to the lot of others. For death and sickness are admittedly common to all of you; but to continue so long in such a condition, and dying every day, yet not be able to have done with his life, this is the fate only of men who have committed such evil deeds as he has). Again, the Taxili, an Indian people, regarded any bodily sickness as disgraceful, and on its appearance gave themselves to the fire; αἰσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικὴν· τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐξάγειν ἐαντὸν διὰ πυρὸς νήσαντα πυρᾶν, (But they hold a bodily disease to be most disgraceful; and the man who has formed a suspicion of the existence of such in himself, goes through the fire, after making a funeral pyre) says *Strabo*, Geograph. bk. XV. p. 716. 65. We should compare with this the suicide of Festus spoken of above and of the "Municeps" *Pliny* tells of.

seasons that have befallen, but when a man through indolence and a way of life such as we have noted (i.e. a very luxurious one), is filled full of fluxes and accumulations of wind like a sea, giving occasion to the noble sons of Asclepius to designate these complaints by the names of superfetations and catarrhs?" This was more than a mere expression of individual opinion; there is no doubt affections of the genital organs, more especially if their relation to sexual intercourse was known, belonged to the class of diseases held to be most disgraceful, ¹ and the Poet is justified in saying:

Diis me legitimis nimisque magnis
Ut Phoebos puta, filioque Phoebos
Curatum dare mentulam verebar.

(To the lawful gods, deities too exalted for me, such for instance as Phoebus, and Phoebus' son, I feared to entrust my member for cure.) Thus it was not to the "noble sons of Asclepius", in other words the Physicians, who treated freemen only, that patients resorted for help, but to the gods, or else to the medical underlings (*ὑπηρέται τῶν ἰατρῶν*,—subordinate assistants of the physicians), to the slave-doctors and quacks, who plied their trade in the doctor's shops,—establishments where, as we have seen above, paederasts and pathics foregathered. Exactly the same state of things prevailed down to the middle of the last Century; and to this day a majority of such sufferers rarely as a matter of fact come under any other hands.

The knowledge and observations of these Cullers of simples and Compounders of balsams, if indeed as a rule they really possessed the former, or knew how

¹ *Arctacus*, De caus. et sign. chron. morb. (On the Causes and Symptoms of Chronic Diseases), bk. II. ch. 5., says indeed explicitly of gonorrhœa: *ἀνώλεθρον μὲν*

ἡ γονόρροια, ἀτερπὲς δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς μέσφι ἀκοῇς, (Gonorrhœa is not indeed a dangerous complaint, but it is one that is hateful and abominable of repute).

to make the latter, necessarily perished on their decease, or at best were passed on by tradition to their successors in the doctor's shops, without professional Physicians or medical Science being one whit advantaged. To such men it was a matter of perfect indifference what was the origin of the disease for which they sold their powders and decoctions, for as *Plato* (*De legg.* IV. 720) says, they paid no attention to the existing conditions of disease, and did not care to give a thought to any such thing. But at any rate,—and this was the chief point,—the patient was spared a humiliating confession, and was glad enough to buy the privilege even at the cost of possible ruin to his health. We must further remember that the “filles de joie” in Greece and at Rome were mostly slave-women, who from the very fact of their status could make no claim to treatment by free-born physicians, and that during the flourishing period of Greek medicine under the Hippocratic school it was chiefly persons of the lowest station or else sailors and foreign traders and the like who sought enjoyment in the arms of prostitutes. Such men by their constant change of abode made all continued observation a simple impossibility, so that the very imperfect knowledge possessed by the scientifically trained Physicians with regard to diseases of the genitals and their consequences need occasion little surprise.

It is true of course that at the period of universal degradation of morals Physicians must have found no lack of opportunities for observation; but the great majority of them were incapable of utilizing these, actually blocked the way of set purpose, as we shall see presently, that led in the direction of more accurate investigation, or else troubled their heads little about the cultivation of Science or the systematic record of observations. The latter, if they had published them, whether in writing or orally, could only have been detrimental, particularly in the case of physicians of the character of Charidemus’

medical attendant,¹ to their own interests. In fact they were bound to call all their subtlety into play for the express purpose of concealing the true cause of diseases of this type, a circumstance which no doubt we have to thank for a large number of the extravagant and often more than ludicrous statements regarding the origin of Venereal disease in the XVth. and XVIth. Centuries.

But as a matter of fact the public itself was no less careful to guard the secret, as we gather from *Martial*,² as well as from the fact that *Galen* felt himself constrained even in his day to compose a special Treatise on dissimulated diseases. This sort of intentional deception on the part of patients was

¹ *Martial*, bk. VI. Epigr. 31.,

Uxorem, Charideme, tuam scis ipse
sinisque
A medico futui. Vis sine
febre mori!

(Your wife, Charidemus, you know to be entered by the doctor of your own knowledge, and suffer it. You are fain to die without a fever!) Similar instances occurred equally in the time of Hippocrates, as we gather from the oath, in which stands the clause: εἰς οἰκίας δὲ ὁκοσας ἂν εἰσῶ, ἐσελεύσομαι ἐπ' ὠφελείῃ καμνόντων, ἐκτὸς ἔων πάσης ἀδικίης ἐκουσίης καὶ φθορῆς τῆς τε ἄλλης, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἔργων, ἐπὶ τε γυναικείων σωμαίων καὶ ἀνδρώπων ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων. (Also into whatsoever houses I enter, I will go in there for the succour of sick persons, devoid of all voluntary offence

and all evil-doing, and above all of all amorous practices, whether on the persons of women or free men or slaves). At the same time we learn from this document, that even then paederastia was widespread enough already, and that physicians were actually not ashamed to abuse their patients in this, as in other vicious ways! Undoubtedly it is from no other reason that the Turk at this very moment will rather expire than allow a clyster to be administered to him.

² *Martial*, bk. II. Epigr. 40.,

Omnes Tongilium medici iussere
lavari,
O stulti! febrem creditis esse?
gula est.

(All the doctors ordered Tongilius to bathe; fools! think you it is a fever? it is gluttony that is the matter). Comp. bk. XI. Epigr. 87.

so much the easier, as Physicians in those times, as said above, in virtue of their pathological views,—some of which indeed may very well have originated in this way,—were little accessible to the truth. For these reasons they deserved, at any rate to some degree, the satiric lash of Martial; and were very generally ridiculed by the more discerning of the laity. This comes out in the important words of *Appuleius* (*Metamorph.* X. 211.) as follows: “*Crederes et illam fluctuare tantum vaporibus febrium: nisi quod et flebat: Heu medicorum ignavae mentes! Quid venae pulsus, quid caloris intemperantia, quid fatigatus anhelitus et utrimque secus iactatae crebriter laterum mutuae vicissitudines? Dii boni! Quam facilis, licet non artificii medico, cuivis tamen docto venereae cupidinis comprehensio, cum videas aliquem sine corporis calore flagrantem.*” (Could you imagine her so tempest-tossed by the vapours of mere fever,—not to mention that she kept forever crying: “*Oh! the sorry wits of doctors!*” What means the throbbing vein, the excessive temperature, the labouring breath, and the hurried interchange of heaving flank, panting now on one side now on the other? *Great heavens! how easy the diagnosis, not of course for a medical expert, but for any one learned in the symptoms of love,* when you see a person burning, yet without bodily fever-heat).

But does all this justify us in casting a stone at our medical colleagues of Ancient times? For the last three hundred years we imagine ourselves clearly acquainted with Venereal disease and all its forms; yet how many a bubo has been mistaken for a strangulated hernia, anal callosity, or the like, how many a case of vaginal gonorrhœa for simple *fluor albus* (white discharge, leucorrhœa), how many a condyloma on the posteriors for hæmorrhoidal swellings, and accordingly not treated as the physician in *Juvenal, medico ridente* (the physician grinning the

while), treated them,—that is duly cut away or ligatured?

Lastly to all these reasons was added further the *mildness and absence of danger characterizing the disease* itself, at any rate in the majority of instances,—as proved in our earlier investigations. To our own day genuine amateurs of Love, thanks to those who supply “advice, direction and information” on these subjects, endeavour as a rule, at any rate in the earlier stages, to cure without assistance the wounds received in the fight. This was equally so in Antiquity, as the following significant passage of *Galen*¹ shows: “This is pretty well all I have to say at present as to ephemeral fevers. For *patients who have contracted fever consequent upon a bubo, do not consult*

¹ *Galen*, Method, medendi, bk. VIII. ch. 6., edit. Kühn Vol. X. p. 580., *σχεδὸν εἰρηταί μοι πάντα περὶ τῶν ἐφημέρων πυρετῶν οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ βουβῶσι πυρέξαντες οὐδὲ πυνθάνονται τῶν ἰατρῶν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλὰ τοῦδ' ἔλκους ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἂν ὁ βουβῶν αὐτοῖς εἴη γεγεννημένος, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ βουβῶνος προνοησάμενοι, λούονται κατὰ τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ γενομένου κ. τ. λ.* (for translation see text above). The *Diatriton* mentioned in the next sentence was the fast till the third day, which was generally prescribed by *Thesalus* and the *methodic* school. For this reason it was called *διάτριτον θεσσαλείον* (*Thesalus' diatriton*), and the physicians who held to it *διατριτάριοι ἱατροί* (doctors of the *diatriton*), as we gather from the subsequent statement

of *Galen*. Of the ephemera in case of buboes *Galen* also speaks, ad Glauconem meth. med. bk. I. ch. 2., edit. Kühn Vol. XI. p. 6., *καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ βουβῶσι δὲ πυρετοὶ τούτου τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ χωρὶς ἔλκους φανεροῦ γένοιντο*, (Moreover the fevers that follow on buboes are of this kind, the exception being if they have not been without open ulceration). *Celsus* moreover, De re med. bk. VI. ch., 18., says à propos of diseases of the genitals, that he means to undertake their description, quia in vulgus eorum curatio praecipue cognoscenda est, quae invitissimus quisque alteri ostendit, (because a general acquaintance is particularly desirable with the means of curing such complaints as every man is most reluctant to make known to another).

physicians as to what they must do; but after first treating the ulcer which occasioned the bubo and then the bubo itself, bathe after the abatement of the severity of the attack. After that if any one says a word as to the "diatriton" (fast till the third day), all laugh and declare him a precisian: I suppose because they are of the opinion that nothing must be resigned to nature that is not invariably there."

We know quite well that the Ancients called all glandular swellings buboes, and that they were perfectly well acquainted ¹ with those glandular swellings in the arm-pits and the groin which follow upon ulcers of the fingers and toes; but this in no way justifies us in referring the above passage, which is certainly written in a general sense, *solely* to suchlike buboes and not equally to those in the soft tissues; more particularly as *Galen*, in the place where he is dealing expressly with the treatment of buboes and the phlegmonous affections preceding them and occasioning ulcers (*loco citato* p. 881), explicitly mentions phlegmonous symptoms as *κατὰ αἰδοῖον* (affecting the privates) and *γυναικὶ κατὰ μήτραν ἢ αἰδοῖον* (in women affecting womb and privates),—*loco citato* p. 893. Hence we think ourselves jus-

¹ *Galen*, *Meth. med.*, bk. XIII. ch. 5. p. 881., οὕτως οὖν καὶ δι' ἑλκος ἐν δακτύλῳ γινόμενον ἦτοι ποδὸς ἢ χειρὸς οἱ κατὰ τὸν βουβῶνα καὶ τὴν μασχάλην ἀδένες ἐξαίρονται τε καὶ φλεγμῶνουςι, τοῦ καταρρέοντος ἐπ' ἄκρον τὸν κῶλον αἵματος ἀπολαβόντες πρῶτοι· καὶ κατὰ τράχηλον δὲ καὶ παρ' ὅτα πολλάκις ἐξῆρθησαν ἀδένες, ἐλκῶν γενομένων ἦτοι κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸν τράχηλον ἢ τι τῶν πλησίον μορίων· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τοὺς οὕτως ἐξαρθέντας

ἀδένας βουβῶνας. (Thus then in consequence of an ulcer that has formed in a finger or toe the glands of the groin and the arm-pit become swollen and inflamed, having been the first to receive back the blood that flows down to the extremity of the limb. Moreover on the neck and about the ears glands are frequently swollen, when ulcers have been set up in the head or neck or any of the neighbouring parts. And glands swollen up in this way are known as buboes).

tified in drawing attention to the passage as containing an indication of the reason why ulcers of the genital organs pursued a milder course and admitted of an easier cure in Antiquity, because the *ephemera* evidently facilitated the assimilation and elimination of the contagion, this taking place either at the point primarily attacked, or else occurring because it (the ephemeral fever) led to an enhanced activity of the cutaneous glands by provoking an exanthematous eruption.

§ 39.

But for no small part of this reluctance on the part of patients the Physicians were themselves to blame. We have no wish in this place to enlarge upon the possibility of professional indiscretion in their case, though long ago the Hippocratic masters saw themselves constrained to guard their scholars against it.¹ Of far greater weight was the nature of the *treatment*, especially that applied to ulcers of all kinds, which was excellently adapted to fill sufferers with fear and trembling. Already *Hippocrates*² taught that ulcers with callous margins must be cauterized or else cut away with the knife. *Galen*³ declares himself even more plainly in the same sense: "But if the margins of the ulcer merely are discoloured and callous, they must be removed right to where the healthy flesh begins. Supposing this condition to have extended more widely, then the question

¹ Hippocratic Oath, in *Hippocrates*, Vol. I. p. 2., α δ' ἂν ἐν θεωραπείῃ ἢ ἰδῶ ἢ ἀκούσω, ἢ καὶ ἄνευ θεωραπείης, κατὰ βίον ἀνθρώπων, ἃ μὴ χρή ποτε ἐκκαλέεσθαι ἔξω, σιγήσομαι, ἄρῶντα ἡγεύμενος εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. (and whatsoever I may see or hear in my practice, or even apart from practice, connected

with men's life, what ought not in any case to be revealed, this I will say nought of, holding such secrets inviolable).

² *Hippocrates*, De locis in homine, edit. Kühn Vol. II. p. 139.

³ *Galen*, Method. medendi bk. IV. ch. 2., edit. Kühn Vol. X. p. 238.

arises,—whether we ought to cut away all the diseased tissue, or prefer a more tedious method of cure. It is natural and necessary in this case to consult the inclination of the patient; for whereas some prefer to avoid the knife and submit to a more tedious treatment, others on the contrary are ready for anything, so long as they get cured." The same procedure was adopted with ulcers of the genitals, especially gangrenous ulcers, as is proved at once by the passage already quoted on p. 176 of Vol. II above.

The Asiatic, for whom the genital organs were an object of veneration, was no doubt horrified, as the Turk is to this day, ¹ at the idea of any such operation on himself; while the licentious Roman, who must have dreaded its very probable result in the entire loss of the further use and enjoyment of the parts in question, ² sought any other means for choice, preferred to have recourse to Priapus or even resorted to suicide, like the *Municeps* of

¹ *Oppenheim*, loco citato p. 123. The Eastern Christian woman in question actually assured Niebuhr herself that she would never agree to the knife being applied to her husband's genitals, and yet in this case it was merely a question of dividing an over short *frenulum*. *Michaelis*, "Mosaisches Recht", (Mosaic Law), Vol. IV. p. 3.

² Examples of such are at any rate plentiful in *Martial*, e.g. bk. XI. Epigr. 75.,

Curandum penem commisit Bac-
chara Graecus
Rivali medico: Bacchara Gallus
erit.

(Bacchara entrusted the cure of his member to a rival doctor: Bacchara was a Greek, he will now be a Gaul,—

"Gallus", castrated Priest of Cybelé).
bk. II. Epigr. 46.,

Quae tibi non stabat, praecisa est
mentula, Glypte.
Demens, cum ferro quid tibi?
Gallus eras.

(Your member, Glyptus, that you could never get to stand erect, has been cut. Fool,—why! what had you to do with the knife? You were a "Gallus" already).
bk. III. Epigr. 81.,

Abscissa est quare Samia tibi
mentula testa,
Si tibi tam gratus. Baetice,
cunnus erat?

(Why has your member been cut with a Samian potsherd, if the female organ, Baeticus, was so dear to you)?

Pliny mentioned on p. 257, before he trusted himself to the physicians who ever since the Carnifex (Butcher) Archagathus had appeared at Rome, strove to rival one another in infatuation for cautery and amputation. In any case it was only the direst necessity¹ that drove the sufferer under such circumstances to the physician; while the latter had really and truly no reason for enquiring into the origin of the evil, as very often absolutely no alternative was left him but to grasp the knife or cauterizing iron. In this way medical procedure could not but have fallen into disrepute, while physicians were in most instances necessarily deprived of all opportunity of systematic observation.

Whether there were other factors as well to induce the old Physicians to apply the ordinary treatment of ulcers in general to those of the genital organs, we cannot indeed as yet for the time being determine. Certainly the conjecture is an obvious one that they may well have had an inkling of the specific nature of such ulcers, and that it was not merely the local mischief they sought to put a stop to by early application of cautery and knife. However it is only further and more careful investigations that must be allowed to decide the point,—the more so, as the

¹ *Scribonius Largus*, De compos. medicam. edit. Bernhold, Strasburg 1786., p. 2., writes in his Introduction to the Callistus: Siquidem verum est, antiquos herbis ac radicibus eorum corporis vitia curasse: quia etiam tunc genus mortaliū inter initia non facile se ferro committebat. Quod etiam nunc plerique faciunt, ne dicam omnes; et, nisi magna compulsi necessitate speque ipsius salutis, non patiunter sibi fieri, quae sane vix sunt toleranda.

(If in fact it is true that the Ancients cured the diseases of their bodies by means of herbs and roots: for even then the race of mortals *at the beginning did not readily entrust its cure to the knife*. And this is what even now the most part do; and, unless constrained by a sore need and by the hope of actual recovery, do not suffer operations to be performed on them, which in very deed are hardly to be endured).

general views as to the formation of ulcers held by the Ancients seem in many respects to tell against it. Thus *Galen*¹ says: "The mode in which these (ulcers involving destruction of substance) are set up however is twofold; they arise either by removal of surrounding tissue (ἐκ περιαιρέσεως) or by eating away (ἐξ ἀναβρώσεως). How the former acts is well known. As to the eating away, if it proceed from the inward parts of the organism, it is an outcome of the evil humours; but if it arise from outside, then it is a result of the physician's remedial measures or of fire." From this we gather that all ulcers of the genitals, as well as others, which did not result from the action either of remedial measures or of fire, were held as being necessarily an outcome of the evil humours of the body. Further, that this view was not in any way peculiar to the time of Galen, but was a direct and necessary consequence of the further development of the pathology of "humours," follows from the circumstance that we find the same opinion expressed by *Hippocrates*.² Again *Plato* shared the latter author's general doctrine of *apostasis* (suppurative inflammation taking off evil humours) in his "Timaeus", where he derives from the white phlegm, striking outwards to the skin, cutaneous eruptions, rashes and the like maladies, from the acrid, salty phlegm on the other hand the fluxes of all types, bearing different names according to the different parts of the body affected.

If we do not choose to infer from this the proof of a then occurring, genuine and consistent genesis of the affections peculiar to the genitals, we are bound at any rate to admit that such a view must

¹ *Galen*, Method. medendi bk. IV. ch. 1., edit. Kühn Vol. X. p. 233.

² *Hippocrates*, Coact. prae-not., edit. Kühn Vol. I. p. 343., τὰ ἐρπηστικά ὑπεράνω βουβῶνος πρὸς κενεῶνα καὶ

ἤβην γινόμενα, σημαίνει κοιλίην πονηρομένην. (Spreading eruptions that appear above the groin towards the flank and pubes point to an evil condition of stomach).

necessarily have debarred all thought of any *specific* character as belonging to ulcers of these organs,—the more so as to this very day we look in vain for any clear conception of really characteristic symptoms marking out Venereal ulcers in particular. Further, the knowledge that ulcers of the genitals were contracted through sexual intercourse, lacked entirely, so far as the ancient Physicians were concerned, the necessary confirmation and authority to induce them to make a special and distinctive class of morbid process to include them, because as a rule they paid no sort of attention to the occasioning cause, unless in virtue of its being still present and active, or else by the necessity for its elimination, it could afford some indication for therapeutic purposes. *Galen* brings this out best and most clearly in the following passage: ¹ “Moreover it will be a fitting occasion now to make it clear that not one of the causes directly occasioning the diathesis, or particular condition of body, will give any indication as to treatment; guiding signs for the purpose must rather be gathered from the complaint itself. What is to be done in any individual case depends on the immediate purpose and the nature of the part attacked, on the predominant temperament and the like facts. For to put it shortly, *in no case can an indication as to what is beneficial be taken from any one of the factors that are no longer existent*,—i.e. in actual operation. But as it often happens that in order to diagnose some affection that cannot be recognized either by help of ratiocination or by the senses, we are obliged to inquire into the cause that occasioned it, laymen conclude the guiding signs for remedial treatment to be taken from the same source. But this is by no means so. This may be plainly seen in those instances where the diathesis is quite well known in all its details; for whether it be *ecchymosis* or *ulcer-*

¹ *Galen*, Method. medendi bk. IV. ch. 3., edit. Kühn Vol. X. pp. 243 sqq.

ation or erysipelas or putrescent ulcer (σηπεδών) or phlegmonous affection in any organ, it is perfectly useless to trace out the cause that occasioned it (αἴτιον ποιεῖσθαι), if this latter is now no longer active. On the other hand for any affection, a clear insight into which is lacking, a knowledge of the occasioning cause is useful."

This principle was equally applied to affections of the genitals, the antecedent act of coition being regarded as affording absolutely no help in diagnosis, as we see from the passage of *Galen* to be next discussed. In this passage the declaration of a gonorrhœal patient to the effect that the women with whom he had connection suffered no less than himself from the malady, was entirely without influence on our author in the way of inducing him to assume and lay down a *specific* type of gonorrhœa. Under these circumstances it is really a matter for no surprise¹ that the old Physicians in discussing affections of the genitals never allege sexual intercourse as an occasioning factor amongst others; and the conclusion drawn that such affections in Antiquity were not contracted by coition, *because* the ancient Writers do not definitely and in every single instance assign this as a cause, evidences really and truly merely the absence of any accurate study of their works and the knowledge of their views that is acquired as a result of such study. It is abundantly clear however that the neglect of the etiological factors referred to led eventually to their being completely overlooked; and it is no less obvious

¹ Hence *Hensler* is quite right in saying as he does (*History of Venereal Disease* Vol. I. p. 298.): "It is extraordinary that a precision should have been demanded on the part of the Ancients, which they could not possibly possess, such indeed as cannot

be expected in any disease during its childhood. As to requiring them to have announced the cause of the evil with certainty and clearness, this is always only the result of time and reiterated experience."

that this must needs have been a source of manifold mistakes, which degraded the physician in the eyes of the non-professional laity, very often made him ridiculous by reason of this ignorance, and brought down, as we have seen, many a cut of the satirist's whip on his devoted shoulders. But how many of our colleagues are there not at the present day whom Venereal disease involves in the same doubts and difficulties?

However it may perhaps be suggested that, although the ancient Physicians did not feel themselves obliged to make any mention of sexual intercourse as cause of affections of the genitals, they cannot for all that have failed to notice the phænomena of infection. To say nothing of the fact that in no small proportion of instances affections of the genitals under the favouring conditions previously described did not as a matter of fact arise through infection, but actually in a sense spontaneously,¹ and further that to this day we possess absolutely no criterion to distinguish such diseases arising in this way,—for it is only superficial and indolent observers that deny the possibility of such origination altogether,—apart from all this, the view which the Ancients took as a whole of the general question of infection was one in the highest degree inadequate. For this state of things,

¹ *Galen*, De locis affect. bk. VI. ch. 5., edit. Kühn Vol. VIII. p. 422., *φαινόμενον δὲ σαφῶς, ἰσχυροτάτην ἔχειν τὴν δύναμιν ἐνίαις τῶν οὐσιῶν, ὑπόλοιπον ἂν εἴη ζητεῖν, εἰ διαφθορά τις ἐν τοῖς ζώοις δύναται γενέσθαι τηλικαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὥς ἰψὸς θηρίου παραπλησίαν ἔχειν ποιότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν.* (But it being plainly evident that there are some creatures have the power developed in

the highest degree, it would be superfluous to enquire whether there can exist in animals a destructive force so great in amount as to possess a quality and power similar to poison in snakes). In fact he answers this question in the affirmative so far as regards semen and menstrual blood, appealing to the poisonous quality of the spittle of dogs in rabies.

as *Heyne* long ago pointed out, the τὸ θεῖον (the divine element), or in other words the prevalent opinion that infectious diseases were an infliction of the offended deity, is mainly responsible. In these very diseases of the genitals, we have in fact seen how they were ascribed to the wrath of Dionysus and Priapus; and how long such ideas lasted, and how intimately they were interwoven with the life of the people, may be gauged by the circumstance that even the Christian Fathers themselves took every pains and used every effort to maintain them.

Now is it really in any way reasonable to expect the physicians of those times to have so completely extricated themselves from the predominant range of ideas? and have we any right to abuse them for their beliefs at the present moment, when in our own day there are to be found not a few physicians who deny absolutely the contagiousness of Venereal disease under its different forms? All the old practitioners could do was to draw attention to the fact that underlying the τὸ θεῖον there lurked some natural cause, and this view Hippocrates did actually maintain in his writings. As to the indicative signs of this cause perceptible by the senses, as to the

¹ *Heyne*, De febribus epidemicis Romae falso in pestium censum relatis Progr., (On certain Epidemic Fevers at Rome incorrectly referred to the Category of Plagues,—a Graduation Exercise), Göttingen 1782., p. 4. (Works vol. III.), Hoc enim erat illud, quod antiquitatem omnino ab subtiliore naturae adeoque et morborum cognitione revocavit et retraxit, quod ea, quae ad interiorem eius notitiam spectabant, inprimisque quae ab solenni rerum cursu recedebant, ad religiones metumque

deorum referebantur. (For indeed this was the cause which withdrew and kept back Antiquity generally from a more precise acquaintance with nature and so with diseases, viz. that everything which regarded the more intimate knowledge of it, and above all everything that was somewhat out of the common course of things, became a matter of religious scruples and superstition). Comp. *C. F. H. Marx*, Origines Contagii, (Original Causes of Contagion) Carlröhe and Baden 1824.

material substance, whatever it may be, that communicates infection, into all this they could hardly be expected to initiate investigations, ¹ deficient as they were in every sort of aid and assistance for the task. For I ask, have we, in spite of all our researches, thus far attained to any satisfactory and certain results? Could the Anti-Contagionists ever have come forward at all, if we had been successful in demonstrating the contagion to be perceptible to the senses?

Besides all this, we actually find to the present day that in the countries in question the contagion exhibits but a low degree of virulence, and only under epidemic influence, as at the epoch of the Athenian Plague, did it assume a virulent character at all,—a fact that will be made yet clearer in our Continuation of the History of Venereal Disease. But wherever the contagion did exhibit this virulence of character, the ulcers that were set up passed over as a rule into gangrenous mortification, or else the physicians either exterminated it altogether by the actual cautery or removed it along with the part in which it had established itself. Thus

¹ As a rule they ascribed the origin of the contagion to *σῆψις* (putrefaction), and from their point of view septic, or putrefactive, diseases were pretty much the same as infectious (*Galen*, De febr. diff. I. 4.). Hence it would seem probable the *ἐλκεα σηπεδόνα* (putrefying ulcers) were at any rate partly looked at in the same light,—a circumstance of the highest importance as bearing on ulcers of the genitals, as in that case these latter are manifestly represented as being infectious. It is to be hoped that experts

will give their decision as to this. At any rate as early as *Galen's* time (De locis effect. bk. VI. ch. 5., edit. Kühn Vol. VIII. p. 422.) the action of contagion was regarded as analogous to that of the electric ray-fish (*νάρκη θαλάττιος*) and the magnet, and the conclusion was drawn: *ταῦτά τε οὖν ἰκανὰ τεκμήρια τοῦ σμικρὸν οὐσίαν ἀλλοιοῦσαι μεγίστας ἐργάζεσθαι μόνῳ τῷ ψαῦσαι.* (these then are sufficient evidences of the fact that a small creature may produce very great variations by contact alone).

any further spread of the contagion in its original form was not to be expected, as in patients of the sort there can be no doubt all desire for coition must have been destroyed.

If we now bring together the results of our discussion so far, we shall find reason to believe that, speaking generally, the ancient physicians,—that is physicians properly so called,—possessed but scanty opportunities, especially in the case of women,¹ of observing with any precision the origin and course of affections of the genital organs, for it was mostly only the malignant forms of these that came under their notice, and these were of their very nature, except when epidemic conditions were at work, necessarily of infrequent occurrence. Their pathological views stood in the way of unprejudiced observation, *conspicuous* characteristic symptoms were as little to be found then as they are nowadays, any adequate knowledge of the material *substrata* of contagions was lacking to them in these as in other forms of disease, and thus they felt no direct inducement to class the *primary* affections of the genitals as forming a special category of disease.

Then again with regard to the *secondary* symptoms, the ancient practitioners in the cases treated by them made the occurrence of such all but impossible, for scalpel and cauterizing iron either entirely eradicated the contagion along with its material *substratum*, or else removed it with all speed before it could be reabsorbed into the system. Even when these did nevertheless appear, in some instances too great an interval of time intervened, in others the parts attacked were too remote from the spot primarily

¹ These were treated by the female physicians (*αἱ λατρίναι*), *Galen*, De loc. affect. VI. 5., Vol. VIII. p. 414.) and the midwives, who had to examine the female genitals in cases of disease affecting them, and

report the results to the Physicians. *Σκέψασθαι κέλευσεν τὴν μαῖαν ἀψαμένην τοῦ τῆς μήτρας ἀρχένου*, (bid the midwife examine by touch the neck of the womb), *Galen* says, loco citato p. 433.

affected for it to have been possible for them to be referred to any direct inter-communication. Indeed this was made an actual impossibility in most cases, as it was just those very spots that are the usual seat of the secondary affections which were attacked primarily in consequence of the different modes of *Venus illegitima* (abnormal love) with such extreme frequency as to make it barely practicable for the keenest eye at a diagnosis to discover any actual distinction between the two,—and this without taking into account the circumstance that in view of the pronounced tendency conditioned by climatic causes for the morbid process to strike outwards to the external skin, mischief in the mucous membranes and bones must necessarily have fallen to a considerable extent into the background.

If circumstances put it out of the power of the ancient Physicians to unite under one whole the separate forms of Venereal disease, to look at the morbid process in its entirety, it is no less self-evident that for the same reasons they could have found no occasion to invent a *special name* for a thing that was simply invisible to them. Hence the conclusion drawn that, because no such special name is found, *therefore* Venereal disease cannot have existed, strictly speaking requires no further consideration. Still, granting for the sake of argument that they had recognized at any rate the generic difference of the primary affections, were they therefore bound to introduce a special name for them? *Galen* shall supply the answer. He says, mentioning ¹ that the old Physicians possessed no special name for depression of the skull in conjunction with fissure of the bone: "It is better to give a clear description than to fall back miserably on barbarous names, which the younger physicians have invented in great plenty." In another place ² he finds fault with the different

¹ *Galen*, De morborum causis, ch. 9., edit. Kühn Vol. VII. p. 39.

² *Galen*, Methodus medendi bk. II. ch. 2., edit Kühn Vol. X. p. 84.

designations given to ulcers, and then proceeds: "If I consented to enumerate all the names, I should be running the risk of deliberately teaching what I recommend others to avoid, when I say that the true searcher after truth must needs withdraw his attention from the nomenclature that has grown up, and fix his eyes on the actual fact."

While these expressions of opinion demonstrate the uselessness of the names, they show at the same time that no inconsiderable number of such names must no doubt have been in existence. So far as affections of the genitals are concerned, not only is this indicated by the Greek *φθινὰς*,—wasting disease and the Latin *robigo*,—ulcerous sore, not to mention the ambiguous *ἀνθήραξ*,—carbuncle, malignant pustule, but *Celsus* expressly declares the fact, saying (Bk. VI ch. 18) at the beginning of his description of Diseases of the sexual parts: "Proxima sunt ea, quae ad partes obscoenas pertinent, quarum apud Graecos vocabula et tolerabilius se habent et accepta iam usu sunt, cum omni fere medicorum volumine atque sermone iactentur, apud nos foediora verba, ne consuetudine quidem aliqua verecundius loquentium commendata sunt." (Next come such words as apply to the parts of shame, the Greek names for which are at once less offensive and are now sanctioned by usage, as they are constantly occurring in every medical book and medical discussion, whereas our native (Latin) names are coarser and are not even recommended by any custom on the part of those who speak with some regard to modesty). *Celsus* himself communicates but few of these words, for he wrote *sinul et pudorem et artis praecepta servans*, (observing at once the laws of modesty and the rules of his art); while between him and the writers of the Hippocratic school medical Literature is all but a blank to us. The same is the case between *Celsus* and *Galen*; and of a period so important for our purpose as that of the licentious Emperors, likewise not a

single independent medical Writer has come down to us. In fact even the Fragments of the Compiler Oribasius, lately made known to the world by Mai, contain, alas! nothing more than the headings of the Chapters most interesting to us.

In such a condition of things it is really verging on the borders of folly to hope to give a dogmatic and decisive judgement as to the knowledge of Venereal disease possessed by the Physicians of Antiquity,—the more so as the extant medical Works have never once been adequately ransacked, as *Naumann* only the other day proved in the case of *Galen*. But of a surety it is easier to maintain the Ancients knew nothing of Venereal disease, than to devote the best part of a man's life-time to the investigation, how much the Ancients did actually know about it!

§ 40.

If we turn now from these discussions to the statements of the ancient Physicians themselves, there are two different ways in which we may regard them ourselves and present them to the reader's eyes. *Either* we put down consecutively everything that has been said by one and the same Author and examine each single datum we owe to him by itself, *or* we bring together the data given by different writers on one and the same subject, and then compare these one with another. The first way, the one generally followed by historians of Venereal disease hitherto, gives us it is true the general results of the knowledge possessed by the several writers on the different forms of Venereal disease; but, seeing on the one hand we do not in most instances actually possess all the works of our Author, while on the other even when we do, we are not justified in looking upon his report as embodying a *résumé* of all the knowledge of his time, the advantages of such

a way of dealing with the subject are on the whole but slight, while it has the *disadvantage* of rendering considerably more difficult the general survey of the information possessed by Antiquity as to Venereal disease, which nevertheless is really our immediate and capital concern, and cannot fail moreover to occasion a host of contradictions.

The second way not only relieves us from this disadvantage, but also ensures us that general Survey which is peculiarly necessary, and to the absence of which the circumstance is chiefly to be ascribed that it has been possible hitherto to convince the opponents of the antiquity of Venereal disease only in the most incomplete manner of its actual existence in those times at all, as the exposition of the contrary view, in itself incomplete, was bound in its fragmentary presentment to seem even more incomplete still. Of course, in following the second way of exposition, there is an unavoidable dislocation of the data communicated by each individual writer, but this is a thing of but little moment, more particularly as its inconvenience is minimised by our giving the passages, when quoted for the first time, *in extenso*, so as to have on subsequent occasions merely to refer back to them. Again the want of a clear marking of dates, a point undoubtedly of great importance in historical researches, is readily obviated by our laying down the available fixed points of our chronology in the general Survey that forms a necessary conclusion to our exposition.

No doubt *Hensler* and *Alex. Simon* had already struck out this second way of exposition; but the latter writer merely examined the data of the several Writers by themselves without making any effort to build them up into one whole. To do this was, it is true, a proceeding quite foreign to the method adopted by the Ancients, but for our own time, accustomed as we now are to demand a systematic exposition of a subject, it seems absolutely indispensable. *Hensler* on the other hand in his treatment

of the question fixed his particular attention solely on the Middle Ages, and made it his immediate aim merely to prove that previously to the ninetieth year of the XVth Century local affections of the genital organs were already well known, and had been subjected to treatment.¹

Now with regard to the actual exposition that follows, we shall refrain in it as much as possible from going into particulars, such as the text itself or the views of the Authors might seem to make obligatory, as the needful space fails us, at any rate for the present. Moreover the matter coming under review has been discussed already by many others, while as for critical elucidations, let them be as pressingly required as they may, we lack all the necessary *apparatus criticus*. In fact in the case of several Writers, the translation, let alone the original text, was with difficulty accessible, for which reason many a passage of those already known may perhaps have been passed by unregarded. A complete collection of all passages, including those still unknown,—for the harvest as was mentioned above has by no means been all reaped,—will certainly not be demanded by any reasonable reader from a Student of thirty, for hardly even a greybeard Enquirer surely could boast of having read all printed works of the ancient Physicians. For the rest, our present object is not at all to give an exhaustive exposition of all the ideas and observations of ancient Physicians as to affections of the genital organs; it only concerns us here to bring together what is true and directly

¹ *Hensler*, History of Venereal Disease Vol. I. p. 191. He says explicitly: "However I do not propose to follow up to its original cause the history either of gonorrhœa, valuable as the results might be, nor that of any other complaint liable to occur. It is sufficient

for my purpose to elucidate my Authorities for Venereal disease at its first appearance from the circumstances of their epoch, though no doubt incidentally the eye must sometimes take a wider sweep and look further and higher.

available for our task. Under this head would certainly seem to come the following seven points :

1. Gonorrhœa (*Clap*).

Nimia profusio seminis,—excessive flow of seed (Celsus),
γονόρροια.

Gonorrhœa, the name of which is compounded of *γονή* (badly made semen) and *ρῆν* (to flow),¹ consists in an affection of the seminal vessels, not of the private parts themselves, which merely serve as the road for the excretion of the seed.² *Two kinds* of gonorrhœa must be distinguished, according as the malady is, or is not, combined with erection of the penis.³

¹ *Galen*, De loc. affect. bk. VI. 6. (VIII. p. 439.), τὸ δὲ τῆς γονόρροίας ὄνομα προφανῶς ἐστὶ σύνθετον ἐκ τῆς γονῆς καὶ τοῦ ρῆν ὀνομάζεται γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ γονός. (Now the name of gonorrhœa is evidently compounded from the words *γονή* and *ρῆν*. For the semen (σπέρμα) is also known as *γονός*.)

² *Galen*, loco cit. p. 441., γονόρροια μὲν οὖν τῶν σπερματικῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶ πάθος, οὐ τῶν αἰδολῶν, οἷς δὲδω̄ χρηται πρὸς ἔκρουν ἢ γονή. (Gonorrhœa accordingly is an affection of the seminal organs, not of the privates, which the seed merely uses as its passage for excretion).—De usu partium bk. XIV. ch. 10. (IV. p. 188.), κατὰ δὲ

τὰς γονόρροίας αὐτῶν μόνων ἐστὶ τὸ πάθημα τῶν σπερματικῶν ἄγγειων. (But in gonorrhœas the affection is one solely of the seminal vessels.)

³ *Galen*, De symptom. caus. bk. II. ch. 2. (VII. p. 150.), ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῆς γονόρροίας ἡ ἑτέρα διαφορὰ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ἐντάσεως τοῦ αἰδοῖον γένοιτο, οἷον σπασμὸς ἐστίν, εἰ δὲ χωρὶς ταύτης, ἀρρώστια τῆς καθεκτικῆς θυνάμεως. (As is the case too with the second variety of gonorrhœa. For if it be combined with tension of the private, it is a sort of spasm, but if without this, a weakness of retentive force).—Bk. III. ch. 11. (p. 267.), καὶ μὴν καὶ αἱ γονόρροιαί, χωρὶς μὲν τοῦ συνεντείνεσθαι τὸ αἶδοιον,

Gonorrhœa with erection of the penis is called sometimes *Satyriasis* or *Satyriasmus* sometimes *Priapism*,¹ and is a species of cramp,² which however only attacks the penis, belongs to the category of

ἀρρωστία τῆς καθεκτικῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς ἀγγείοις ἐντεινόμενου δέ πως, ὅλον σπασμῷ τινι παραπλήσιον πασχόντων ἐπιτελοῦνται. (Moreover also gonorrhœas, if not combined with a state of tension of the private, are from a weakness of retentive power in the seminal vessels; but if there is any tension, they are marked by a sort of spasm resembling that of spasmodic patients).

¹ *Galen*, De tumoribus præternat., ch. 14. (VII. p. 728.), καθάπερ καὶ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἐντάσεις τῶν αἰδοίων μὴ καθισταμένης τινὲς ὀνομάζουσι σατυριασμόν, τινὲς δὲ πριαπισμόν. (Precisely as tensions of the privates not originating in a natural way are called by some Satyriasis, by others Priapism). The latter, as we gather from *Galen*, Method. XIV. ch. 7. (X. p. 968.), by the younger physicians.

² *Galen*, De usu partium bk. XIV. ch. 10. (IV. p. 187-), πηλίκην γὰρ ἔχει δύναμιν εἰς τὴν τῶν περιεχομένων ἐκκρίσιν ὁ ὅλον σπασμὸς τῶν μορίων τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἐπόμενος, ἐνεστί σοι μαθεῖν ἐκ τε τῶν ἐπιληψίων τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τοῦ παθήματος,

ὃ δὴ καλεῖται γονόρροια· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἰσχυρὰς ἐπιληψίας, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σῶμα σπᾶται σφοδρῶς, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ γεννητικὰ μόρια, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκκρίνεται τὸ σπέρμα· κατὰ δὲ τὰς γονόρροίας αὐτῶν μόνων ἐστὶ τὸ πάθημα τῶν σπερματικῶν ἀγγείων· ὁποῖαν οὖν τάσιν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις νοσήμασι πάσχει, τοιαύτην ἰσχυρὰ ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐκκρίνει τὸ σπέρμα. (for how great a force in the way of stimulating the secretion of the surrounding glands is exerted by the species of spasm of the parts that follows on amatory action, you may learn from the seizures in the more serious forms of epilepsy, as also from the affection which is known as gonorrhœa. For in violent epileptic seizures, because the whole body is strongly convulsed, and with it the procreative parts, for this reason the semen is secreted; whereas in gonorrhœas the affection is one solely of the actual seminal vessels. Accordingly whatever tension these parts undergo in the diseases mentioned is the same in degree as they experience on secreting semen in acts of sexual intercourse). Comp. Note 2.

the emphysemata, or inflations, ¹ and is conditioned by an afflux of the humours, particularly of conspissated or badly compounded humours. ² However this last phænomenon is only a symptom of that morbid lasciviousness which *Paulus Aegineta* entitles Priapism, while he designates the condition connected with it by the name of Satyriasis, this having its origin in an inflammatory affection of the seminal vessels. ³

¹ *Galen*, Method. medendi bk. XIV. ch. 7. (X. p. 967.), αὐτίκα γέ τοι πάθος ἐστὶ τὸ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων πριαπισμός, ἐπειδὴ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀκουσσίως ἐξάλλεται, τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων ὁ θεασάμενός τις τῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι προγεγυμνασμένων ἐτοίμως γνωριεῖ τοῦ τῶν ἐμφυσημάτων ὑπάρχον γένους· (The immediate complaint is what is called by the younger school Priapism, when the private part is erected involuntarily in patients so afflicted; and if any of my readers who have been prepared beforehand in the present memoranda see this, he will readily recognize the phænomenon to belong to the class of the emphysemata, or inflations). De sympt. caus. bk. III. ch. 11. (VII. p. 266).

² *Galen*, De causis morb. ch. 6. (VII. p. 22.), καὶ ὥς ἐνίοτε μὲν εἰλικρινῆς ἐπιφέρει τούτων ἕκαστος τῶν χυμῶν, ἐνίοτε δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυνται· καὶ ὥς αἱ τῶν οἰδούντων — μορίων διαθέσεις ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ πλείστον ποικίλλονται... καὶ σατυριάσεις ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους

εἶσι. (And so sometimes each of these humours is secreted pure, while at other times they are mixed one with the other; and so from this circumstance the conditions of the parts suffering swelling vary in the highest degree.... Now cases of satyriasis are of this kind). Comp. Method. med. bk. XIV. ch. 7.

³ *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 56., ἡ σατυρίασις ἐστὶ παλμός τοῦ αἰδοίου φλεγμονώδει τινι διαθέσει τῶν σπερματικῶν ἀγγείων ἐπόμενος μετ' ἐντάσεως καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο ὁ παλμός, κατασκήπτειν εἰσθὲν εἰς πάρεσιν τῶν σπερματικῶν ἀγγείων ἢ σπασμόν, καὶ ἀπόλλυντας ὁξέως οἱ σπασθέντες· τελευτῶντες δὲ φουσῶνται γαστέρα καὶ ὕδροῦσι ψυχρόν. (Satyriasis is palpitation of the private part following on an inflammatory condition of the spermatic vessels and accompanied with tension. If the palpitation do not cease, it commonly passes into paresis of the spermatic vessels or spasm, and patients attacked by the spasm quickly succumb; and in their last moments they

No proof is needed that both these views are right so far as this, that gonorrhœa is both spasmodic and inflammatory, and in either case may be accompanied by priapism. Nothing, or only very little, is evacuated of a nature to make the patients experience relief; and if there is, they are again attacked by the evil, until the original cause of the erection is eliminated, on which the penis relaxes of itself and subsides.¹ According to *Paulus Aegineta* paresis of the spermatic vessels,—the second form of gonorrhœa,²—supervenes, if the disease is not

have the abdomen distended and suffer from cold sweats.

¹ *Actuarius*, Method, med. bk. I ch. 22., Priapismus vero est permanens constansque colis extensio. — Corripit hic affectus cum calidus crassusque spiritus in colem decumbit, qui ubi non facile egredi permittitur, penem vi extendit. Hi exiguum vel nihil seminis eiacularantur, sentiunt tamen quod spiritus una excludatur et levare quidem aegri ita quadamtenus videntur: verum denuo eodem malo corripiuntur, donec intensionis causa fuerit sublata. Coles resolvitur, aut quod nervi illius aliqua intemperie debilitentur aut quod spiritus confluentis deficiat vel meatus eius obstruantur dissecantur. (Now priapism is a permanent and chronic state of erection of the member.—This complaint attacks a patient, when a hot and heavy spirit descends into the member, which not being suffered to readily escape, violently erects the penis. Such patients ejaculate little or no semen,

yet feel that the spirit is voided along with it, and so far as there is any emission, appear to be relieved thereby; but they are again attacked afresh by the same evil, until the cause of the tension has been removed. Then the member is relaxed, either because its muscles are weakened by some morbid condition, or because the spirit converging to it fails or its passages are blocked and become dried up).

² *Aretaeus*, Morb. chron. sympt. bk. II. ch. 5., ἀπὸ σατυριῆσεως εἰς γονορροίης ἀπόσκηψιν ἢ κατάσχεσιν. (The established tendency after satyriasis is towards a determination of gonorrhœa). *Caelius Aurelianus*, Acut. morb. bk. III. ch. 18., Omnibus tamen in ultimo conductio nervorum fit, quam Graeci spasmon vocaverunt et voluntarius seminis iactus. (Yet in all cases eventually a certain action of the muscles takes place, which the Greeks call spasm, and a voluntary ejaculation of semen).

relieved, or else general spasms. Patients attacked by such spasms succumb rapidly, suffering from cold sweats and tympanitic distension of the abdomen. *Alexander of Tralles* (IX. 10) saw the erection even continue after the death of the patient. This form is not a common one; it occurs pre-eminently among young people,¹ and according to *Themison's* observations, who frequently saw the complaint in Crete, where however it was probably very often a result of pederastia, is subject to epidemic influence.

The *treatment* of this form of gonorrhœa demands according to *Paulus Aegineta* (loco citato) immediate general blood-letting,—this *Galen*² also recommends, and practised with advantage,—local cupping or leeching, simple clysters, cooling and composing embrocations and poultices of solanum (nightshade) or cicuta (hemlock) in the lumbar region, of litharge, Cimolian earth, psymithium (white-lead) with vinegar, water or sweet wine, on the perineum. Internal remedies are a decoction of mallows, mercury and birch-bark, sap of rue, decoction from the root of

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. XIV. ch. 7. (X. p. 970.), γίνεταί δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς μὲν τὸ πάθος τοῦτο, νεανίαις γε μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἄλλην ἡλικίαν. (Now this complaint does not attack many, and young men are more liable than any other age). *Caelius Aurelianus*, Acut. morb. bk. III. ch. 18., Sed antecedentes ipsius passionis causae sunt epota medicamina — ἐντατι-κά —, item immodicus atque intemporalis usus veneris. Est autem communis passio viris atque feminis, quae solet accidere aetatibus mediis atque iuventuti. (But the antecedent causes of the actual complaint

are the taking of drugs, viz. aphrodisiacs, as also immoderate and unseasonable indulgence in love. And the complaint is common both to men and women, and regularly attacks persons in middle life as well as the young).

² *Galen*, Method. med. bk. XIV. ch. 7. (X. pp. 969 sqq.). Comp. De Composit. medicam. secund. locos, bk. IX. ch. 9. (XIII. p. 318.). *Caelius Aurelianus*, Acut. morb. bk. III. 18., Chron. morb. bk. II. 1. V. 9. *Actuarius*, Method. med. I. 15. *Nonnus*, Epitom. ch. 194. *Priscian*, bk. II. ch. 11.

the iris, *nymphaea* (water-lily) and *adanthum* (maidenhair). Diuretics are injurious. Patients should at the same time be put upon a low, vegetable diet, and the supine posture avoided. *Galen* (loco citato) recommended in addition emetics, but not purgatives, also embrocations of *ceratum rosaceum*, friction and subsequently gymnastic exercises. *Alexander of Tralles* insists particularly on the patient avoiding ¹ all wanton scenes and thoughts, and forbids the use of any cold, specially astringent things, whereby the resolution of the contraction is made more difficult (*πάθος δυσδιαφόρητον γενέσθαι*,—the affection is rendered hard to be resolved).

Gonorrhœa without erection of the penis, that is to say gonorrhœa proper, exhibits a persistent, involuntary discharge of the seed, ² has some analogy

¹ *Caelius Aurelianus* bk. III. ch. 18., *Prohibentes etiam hominum ingressum et magis iuvenum feminarum atque puerorum. Pulchritudo enim ingredientium admonitione quadam provocat aegrotantes; quippe cum etiam sani saepe talibus usi statim in veneream veniant voluptatem, provocati partium effecta tentigine. (Forbidding the entrance even of men, much more that of youths, women and boys. For the beauty of those entering excites the patients by calling up remembered images; for even healthy subjects frequently enjoying such sights straightway fall in lustful love, incited by a certain tension of the parts being produced). He also recommended shaving the hair of the pubis.*

² *Galen*, *De loc affect.* VI. 6. (VIII. p. 439.), *ἡ μὲν*

οὖν γονόρροια σπέρματος ἀπόκρισις ἐστὶν ἀκούσιος, ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ἀπροαίρετον ὀνομάζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ σαρφέστερον, ἀπόκρισιν σπέρματος συνεχῶς γιγνομένην, χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐνστάσεως... ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἐκκενούμενα κατὰ διττὸν τρόπον τοῦτο πάσχει, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν περιεχόντων αὐτὰ σωμάτων ἐκκρινόμενα, ποτὲ δὲ αὐτομάτως ἐκρέοντα δι' ἀρρώστειαν τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων οὐ κατεχόμενα, οὕτως καὶ τὸ σπέρμα. (Now gonorrhœa is an involuntary discharge of semen, or we may call it unintentional, if we prefer, as being a clearer term, the discharge of semen taking place continuously, without erection in the member... And just as other parts of our body when evac-

with *incontinentia urinae*, and usually depends like the latter on weakness or failure in the retentive power of the spermatic vessels.¹ Very often an inflammatory stage supervenes, making the complaint approximate to the first form; patients secrete copious and hot semen, which provokes them to ejaculation,—an ejaculation however that is followed by great exhaustion. If they avoid copulation, headache is established, pains in the stomach and nausea, while nocturnal pollutions cause them similar inconveniences to those they incur from coition. The ejaculation is accompanied by heat and smarting pain,—and this not solely among men but with women as well; for one of these patients, *Galen* writes,²

uated, suffer this in one of two ways, sometimes being discharged by the bodies that surround them, at others flowing out automatically, as failing to be retained through some weakness in the bodies themselves, so is it also with the semen — *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 55., ἡ γονόρροια σπέρματος ἐστὶν ἀκούσιος ἀπόκρισις σανεχῶς γινομένη χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐνστασεως, διὰ τὴν τῆς καθεκτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀσθενειαν γινομένη. (Gonorrhœa is an involuntary discharge of seed going on persistently without erection in the member, being due to feebleness of the retentive power). *Nonnus*, Epitome ch. 193., says the same.

¹ *Galen*, loco citato p. 441., ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὴν τῆς γονόρροιας, ἀνάλογον οὖρων ἐκκρίσειν ἀκουσίοις, ὅταν ἡ κατέχουσα δύναμις αὐτῇ

παρὰλυνθεῖσα τύχῃ. (Similarly too the discharge of gonorrhœa, analogous to the involuntary discharges of urine, whenever the retentive power itself has come to be paralysed). *Actuarius*, Method. med. bk. I. ch. 22., Causa autem eius est, seminalium vasorum fluxus facilitas, aut impotentia aut quod ob enatam intemperiem semen continere nequeant, aut quod humor quispiam mordax ibi abundans stimulet. (Now the cause of it is the facility of flow from the seminal vessels, either from impotence or because they are unable to retain the semen in consequence of a morbid condition that has arisen, or else because some *acid* humour is there in over-abundance, stimulating the flow).

² *Galen*, De sanitate tuenda Bk. VI. ch. 14. (VI. p. 443.), Μοχθηροτάτη δὲ σώματος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοιαυτὴ σπέρμα

told me that not only himself, but also *the women with whom he had accomplished coition*, experienced during the discharge a biting, burning pain. On the contrary, according to *Arctaeus*,¹ it would

πολὸν καὶ δερμὸν ἔνιοι γεν-
νῶσιν, ἐπείγει γὰρ αὐτοὺς
εἰς ἀπόκρισιν, οὐ μετὰ τὴν
ἐκκρίσιν ἐκλυτοί τε γίνονται
τῷ στόματι τῆς κοιλίας, . . .
ἀσθενεῖς γίνονται, καὶ
ξηροὶ καὶ λεπτοί, καὶ ὠχροί,
καὶ κοιλοφθαλμιῶντες οἱ
οὕτω διακείμενοι· εἰ δὲ ἐκ
τοῦ ταῦτα πάσχειν ἐπὶ ταῖς
συνουσίαις ἀπέχοντο μίξεως
ἀφροδισίων δύσφοροι μὲν
τὴν κεφαλὴν, δύσφοροι δὲ
καὶ τῷ στομάχῳ, καὶ ἀσώδεις·
οὐδὲν δὲ μέγα διὰ τῆς ἐγ-
κρατείας ὠφελοῦνται· συμ-
βαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξονειρώτ-
τουσι παραπλησίας γινεσθαι
βλάβας, ὥς ἐπασχον ἐπὶ ταῖς
συνουσίαις· ὥς δὲ τις ἐξ
αὐτῶν ἔφη μοι, δακνῶ-
δουστε καὶ θερμοῦ πᾶν
τοῦ σπέρματος αἰσθάν-
εσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀπό-
κρισιν, οὐ μόνον ἐαν-
τὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γυ-
ναῖκας αἷς ἀνὸμιλήσῃ·
(However the most trouble-
some condition of body is the
following: some patients pro-
duce copious and hot semen,
and this provokes them to
ejaculation, then after its
ejaculation, they grow relaxed
at the neck of the belly, . . .
and become weak, and dried
up, and thin, and pale, and
hollow-eyed, — the patients
that find themselves so af-
fected. And if after suffering

in these ways, they then
indulge in the intercourse of
sexual love, they are afflicted
in head and in stomach, and
with nausea. Nor on the other
hand do they get any great
benefit from continence; for
they come, by having pollutions
in dreams, to undergo
similar inconveniences to those
they incurred in sexual inter-
course. And as one of them
said to me, *he experienced a
biting and exceedingly hot
sensation from the semen in
its ejaculation, — and not
himself only, but also such
women as he had intercourse
with*).

¹ *Arctaeus*, De morbor.
chronic. symptom. bk. II. ch.
5., Ἀνώλεθρον μὲν ἡ γονόρ-
ρῳα, ἀτερπές δὲ καὶ
ἀηδὲς μέσφι ἀκοῆς ἦν
γὰρ ἀκρασίη καὶ πάρεσις
τὰ ὄγρὰ ἴσχη καὶ γόνιμα
μέρεα, ὅπως διὰ ψυχρῶν
ῥέει ἡ θορὴ, οὐδὲ ἐπισχεῖν
ἔστι αὐτὴν οὐδὲ ἐν ὕπνοις·
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦν τε εὐδὴ, ἦν
τε ἐγρηγορή, ἀνεπίσχετος
ἡ θορὴ, ἀναίσθητος δὲ ἡ
ῥοὴ τοῦ γόνου γίνεταί·
νοσέουσι δὲ καὶ γυναι-
κες τήνδε τὴν νοῦσον,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κνησμοῖσι τῶν
μορίων καὶ ἡδονῇ προχέεται
τῇσι ἡ θορὴ· ἅταρ καὶ πρὸς
ἄνδρας ὁμίλῃ ἀναισχύντω·
ἄνδρες δὲ οὐδ' ὅλως ὁδᾶ-

seem the only symptoms found in conjunction with the complaint are itching of the privates, a voluptuous feeling and a violent inclination to sexual intercourse. This datum admits of ready explanation if we consider the fact that in southern countries the inflammatory stage that makes its appearance is very brief and as a rule hardly noticeable, provided,—though no doubt this condition was pretty often broken,—coition was not indulged in during its course.

As a matter of fact in the great majority of

ξονται· τὸ δὲ ῥέον ὑγρὸν λεπτόν, ψυχρὸν, ἀχρουν, ἄγονον· πῶς γὰρ ζωογότον ἐκπέμψαι σπέρμα ψυχρὴ οὐσα ἢ φύσις· ἦν δὲ καὶ νέοι πάσχωσι, γηραλέους χεῖρ γενέσθαι πάντας τὴν ἔξιν, νωθῶδεις, ἐκλύτους, ἀψύχους, ὀκτεόντας, λωφούς; ἀσθενέας, ῥικνοὺς, ἀπρήκτους, ἐπώχρους, λευκοὺς, γυναικῶδεις, ἀποσίτους, ψυχροὺς, μελέων βάρεια, καὶ νάρκας σκελέων, ἀκρατέας, καὶ ἐς πάντα παρέτους· ἦδε ἡ νοῆσος ὁδὸς ἐς παράλυσιν πολλοῖσι γίγνεται· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν νεύρων ἦδε ἡ δύναμις πάθῃ τῆς ἐς ζωῆς γενεσιν φύσιος ἀπεψυγμένης. (Gonorrhœa is not indeed a dangerous thing, but it is a disagreeable one, and one that is in the highest degree unseemly in repute. For if incontinence and *paresis* attack the soft procreative parts, the semen flows all the same even though the organs are cold, nor is it possible to stop it even in sleep; for whether a man sleep, or wake,

the running is continual, and the flow of the seed goes on unconsciously. And women also are subject to this complaint; but in their case the discharge of the semen is accompanied with itchings and with pleasurable feeling, as well as with shameless intercourse with men, whereas men are not in any way excited. And the moisture that is discharged is thin, cold, colourless, unfruitful; for how should its nature, that is cold, send forth fertile semen? And if young men suffer from it, they are bound to grow old in constitution and condition, sluggish, relaxed, lifeless, hesitating, dull of hearing, weak, shrunken, ineffectual, pallid, white, womanish, without appetite, chilly, heavy of limb, and stiff of leg and palsied in every part. This complaint is the avenue to paralysis for many; for how should this power of the nerves not suffer when the natural parts pertaining to the generation of life are chilled).

instances the Physician had only the chronic form to treat. Generally speaking a patient first notices the complaint, when the discharge begins; and then the latter, when once the inflammatory stage is over, proceeds day and night undisturbed and without special voluptuous feeling, without wanton dreams,¹ often without any particular sensation at all. The actual discharge is a thin, cold, pale, sterile flux. Towards the end of the illness it becomes thicker, assumes an acrid quality, and eventually ceases altogether to flow.² But if the malady persists, especially in young people, then according to *Aretaeus*, the whole visage of the sufferers assumes a greyish look; they grow sluggish, atonic, spiritless, faint-hearted, indolent, dull, weak, emaciated, incapable of effort, unhealthy-looking,³ pale, womanish, have

¹ *Celsus* De re med. bk. IV. ch. 21., Est etiam circa naturalia vitium, nimia profusio seminis, quod sine venere, sine nocturnis imaginibus sic fertur, ut interposito spatio, tabe hominem consumat. (There is another complaint connected with the private parts, viz. excessive discharge of semen, which apart altogether from love, and apart from nocturnal pollutions in dreams, is so persistent that, given a sufficient interval of time, it destroys a man by wasting).

² *Alexander of Tralles*, bk. IV. ch. 9., δέονται γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ἐπικρινόντων καὶ ἐμψυχόντων πάνυ καὶ λουτρῶν εὐκράτων ὥστε παχυνθεῖσαν ἡρέμα τὴν γονὴν καὶ εὐκράτον γενομένην, μηκέτι φέρεσθαι. (For these patients require compound and very cooling drugs, and lukewarm

baths; so that the seed growing quietly thicker and well-conditioned, may no longer flow away).

³ *Galen*, Definit. medic. n. 288. (XIX. p. 426.), Γονόρροιά ἐστιν ἀπόκρισις ἐπιφέρουσα σπέρματος νόσημα μετὰ τοῦ τήκεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀχρουνότερον ἀποτελεῖσθαι γίνεται δὲ ἀτονῆσάντων τῶν σπερματικῶν ἀγγείων, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ παρεμμένων αὐτῶν μὴ κρατεῖσθαι τὸ σπέρμα. (Gonorrhoea is a discharge producing a diseased state of semen accompanied by wasting of the body and an unhealthy-looking complexion; and it arises through the semen vessels having become atonic, so that, these being in a way paralysed, the semen is not retained).

no appetite, feel chilly, complain of heaviness in the limbs, are weak-loined, feeble and unfit for anything. According to *Galen*, the abdomen falls in, besides all the rest of the body collapsing more or less and withering; while patients become lean, of a yellowish pale complexion and hollow-eyed. In this way the complaint not unfrequently paves the road to paralysis, or else sufferers die of *labes* or wasting.¹ Specifically and in itself the disease is not dangerous, but it provokes various other complaints, and represents a highly disagreeable, ill-reputed affection (*Areteaus*),²

¹ *Actuarius*, Method. med. bk. I. ch. 22., Et in seminis quidem profluvio, neque coles intenditur, neque aeger eadem qua sanus afficitur voluptate, sed perinde ac si superfluum quiddam excerneretur, sensu privatur. Quod si morbus moram traxerit, necesse est ut aeger in colliquationem collabatur ac pereat; quod pinguior humoris portio eiiciatur ac vitalis spiritus non parum una effluat. (Moreover in this excessive flux of semen, neither is the member erected, nor does the patient experience the same pleasure as he does in health, but exactly as though something superfluous were being eliminated, he is robbed of sensation. But if the malady runs a more protracted course, the sufferer cannot but fall into collapse and succumb, inasmuch as the richer portion of the humour is ejaculated, and the vital spirit must escape along with it). As early as *Hippocrates*, De morbis bk. II., edit. Kühn Vol. II. p.

we read: ἡ νωτιάς φθίσις ἀπὸ τοῦ μυελοῦ γίνεται λαμβάνει δὲ μάλιστα νεογάμους καὶ φιλολάγνους... καὶ ἐπὶ οὐρῇ ἢ ἀποπατήρ, προέρχεται οἱ θορὸς πολλὸς καὶ ὕγρὸς, καὶ γενεὴ οὐκ ἐγγίνεται, καὶ ὄνειρώσσει, καὶ συγκοιμηθῇ γυναικί, καὶ μὴ. (Spinal consumption arises from the marrow; and it attacks particularly newly married men and lascivious subjects.... And every time the patient makes water or evacuates, semen flows from him copious and wet, and he does not succeed in generating, and has nocturnal pollutions, whether he sleep with a woman or no). Ought this not to be referred to gonorrhœa?

² *Areteaus*, p. 424. loco citato; also De curat. morb. chron. bk. II. ch. 5., καὶ τοῦ ἀτερπέος τοῦ πάθεος ἔλνεκεν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ σύντηξιν κινδυνώδεος καὶ τῆς ἐς διάδεξιν γένος χρείης λύειν χρὴ μὴ βραδέως τὴν γονόρροϊαν πάντων κακῶν οὐσαν

that almost always follows a chronic course,¹—for which reason Aretaeus and Caelius Aurelianus actually treat of it under the head of chronic diseases.

Gonorrhœal pus is infectious, as is implied by the Mosaic Laws of Purification (Leviticus Ch. XV.), and the malady is communicated by coition, as is seen from the words of *Galen*,—p. 428. But as early as the Fourth Century the idea was prevalent that the *conjunction of the stars* was not devoid of influence, as such or such a conjunction might from a man's very birth determine that *the individual was to die of gonorrhœa*. This at any rate is maintained by *Julius Firmicus Maternus*,² who lived in the time of

αἰτίῃ (Equally on account of the disagreeable nature of the malady as on account of the risk of *tabes* or wasting and for the sake of the needful maintenance of posterity, gonorrhœa should be rapidly cured, being the cause of very many evils). Truly if not another passage remained to us from the Ancient writers besides these two of Aretaeus', they alone would suffice to convince us of the existence in his time of virulent gonorrhœa brought on by sexual intercourse; and it is quite inconceivable how *Simon*, Versuch einer krit. Gesch. (Essay towards a Critical History), Bk. I. p. 24., can say: "Thus for instance all the symptoms, which Aretaeus mentions in his Chapter on Gonorrhœa, speak for true seminal flux!"

¹ *Theodorus Priscianus*, bk. II. logic. ch. II., Satyriasis, gonorrhœa vel priapis-

mus, quibus similis est sub immoderata patratione molestia, his accidentibus disterminantur. Gonorrhœa sine vœtrei extensione vel usus venerii desiderio, spermatis affluentissima sub effusione corpora debilitat et per chronica tempora producit. (Satyriasis, gonorrhœa or priapism, maladies involving similar inconvenience as in immoderate copulation, are distinguished by the following particularities. Gonorrhœa without erection of the member or desire for the enjoyment of love, debilitates the body by a most copious discharge of semen, and is protracted over chronic periods of time).

² *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, Astronomica bk. III. chs. 7 and 8., In loco octavo ♀ ab horoscopo constituto... si ♀ cum ea fuerit vel cum ♀ Venerem in hoc loco positam, malevola

Constantine the Great. The disease has to be carefully distinguished from the nocturnal pollutions,¹

stella respexerit, vel per quadratum vel diametrum, vel si cum ipsis, in hoc loco fuerit inventa, omne eius qui natus fuerit patrimonium dissipatur vel qualicunque proscriptione nudatur, mors vero illi per gonorrhœam, id est defluxionem seminis, aut contractionem vel spasmus aut apoplexin fertur. (In the eighth place determined by the horoscope stands ♀ Venus....

If ♀ (Mercury) be in conjunction with it, or if Venus standing in this place with ♀ (Mercury) be faced by an evil star, whether by quadrate or diameter, or if such star is found in conjunction with them in this place, all the patrimony of him who has been born under this conjunction is wasted, or is lost utterly by some proscription or another, and *his death is brought about by gonorrhœa, that is to say a flux of the semen*, or cramp or spasm or apoplexy.

¹ Caelius Aurelianus, Morb. Chron. bk. V. ch. 7., Item antecedens causa supradictae passionis, quam seminis appellamus lapsum, fuisse probatur, a qua discernitur, si quidem illa passio etiam per diem vigilantibus aegris fluere facit semen, nulla phantasia in usum venereum provocante. (Such is proved to have been

another antecedent cause of the above named malady, which we call *discharge of semen*; but a distinct cause has to be assigned, if it so be that the malady in question makes the semen flow even by day and when the patients are awake, and though no dream provokes to the exercise of love). Philagrius appears to have made this distinction quite correctly, when as quoted by Aëtius (Tetrab. III. serm. 3. ch. 34.), De seminis in somno profluvio, Philagrii (On the discharge of semen in sleep, according to Philagrius), he says: Semen in somnis profundere dicuntur quicumque dum dormiunt, naturae genitale semen emittunt, quod ipsum eis ut plurimum ob vitii humoris materiam, aut materiae multitudinem aut ob partium seminalium robur contingit. Iam vero quidam et ob animi moestitiam aut inediam, per somnos praeter consuetudinem semen excreverunt, atque id materiae acrimonia irritati, non ob partium seminalium robur, pertulerunt etc. (They are said to discharge semen in sleep, whoever during slumber, ejaculate *the genital seed of nature*, because they possess it in the greatest degree of abundance either on account of the constituting material of the semen being vitiated or on account

that are at times one of the sequelae of gonorrhœa.

The treatment is, according to *Aretaeus*, at the commencement that for an ordinary rheum or flux, by keeping the parts affected cool, in order to counteract the flow of the humours to them; by degrees going on to a heating and at the same time desiccating procedure, then the application of fresh wool to the part, the employment of friction, embrocations of *ceratum rosaceum* or *oinanthinum* with white wine, olive oil with melilot, marjoram, rosemary, poultices of barley-meal, saltpetre and dyll, but above all rue, with the addition of honey or, according to *Celsus*, vinegar; as further treatment, stimulating cataplasms, of a strength to redden the skin or even to bring out pustules on it, so as to draw off the afflux of the humours, or else as an alternative, plasters of the nature of the *emplastrum viride* (green plaster), of *baccae lauri* (laurel berries). As for internal treatment, the patient should drink decoctions of: *semen lactucae* (lettuce juice), *cannabis* (hemp), *rad. orcheos* (orchis root), *nymphaeae* (waterlily), *halicacabi* (bladder-wort), etc.; and take *castoreum* (beaver oil), or the antidotes of *Symphon*, *Philo*, or *Bestinus*, which are prepared from *viper's flesh*. In case of very profuse discharge, the patient should be directed to drink hard red wine; if he is acrid with bile (*χολωδέστερον καὶ δριμύτερον*,—over-bilious and

of the copiousness of this material, or else on account of the vigour of the seminal organs. But there are also many cases where men have emitted semen in sleep contrary to their wont in consequence of sadness of spirits or fasting, having done so because irritated by the acridness of the material, and not through any vigour of the seminal organs, etc.). The only pity is that

Aëtius has not preserved for us his (Philagrius') opinion as to gonorrhœa, and has not shown clearly exactly what belongs to Philagrius in the Chapter; for a great deal, as indeed is stated, is from Galen and referred by the compiler to gonorrhœa. Philagrius in fact only lived in the latter half of the Fourth Century,—AD. 364 according to Sprengel, 300 according to Lessing.

acid), lukewarm baths are brought into requisition (Alexander of Tralles). On one point all authorities are agreed, that the main thing to depend on is diet. Both food and drink, says Celsus, must be cold, a precaution Themison also recommended in satyriasis, whereas Caelius Aurelianus denounces it. The patient must not indulge in semen-forming matters, such as cause flatulency, but take nourishing food, flesh of animals but not fish, a little light wine with it, for the constant ejaculation is weakening; he should be careful as to resting,¹ lie on a cool bed, either on the right side or the left (Paulus Aegineta), not on the back (Celsus).

Where the complaint is of longer continuance, exercise in the open air and the use of cold baths is to be recommended, which latter *Celsus*² it appears prefers to see resorted to, as well as cold aspersions, almost at the very commencement; a mode of treatment that is even now coming into fashion again among ourselves, as the water-cure mania makes

¹ *Actuarius*, Meth. med. bk. IV. ch. 8., Convenit ad haec reliqua victus ratio, quae ad siccitatem declinet, sed non sit calidior, verum frigida. Insuper nutriendus aeger est, viresque modice reficiendae; namque ob continuam excretionem languet corpus et imbecillum est. Quies apta est, et balnea quae humectent tamen alioqui non sunt idonea. Animalia agrestia, quae refrigerantibus exsiccantibusque condiantur, sunt accommodata et vinum pauculum tenueque. (Consistent with this are the remaining rules of diet. This should incline towards dryness, but must not be at all hot, but cold. Further the sufferer

must be adequately nourished, and his strength fairly well kept up; for owing to the constant ejaculation of semen the body grows languid and weak. Rest is desirable, and baths, in other circumstances used for moistening the body, are not here advisable. Game, seasoned with cooling and desiccating condiments, is appropriate, and a little thin wine.

² *Celsus*, bk. IV. ch. 21. In hoc affectu salutare sunt vehementes frictiones, perfusiones natationesque quam frigidissimae. (In this complaint violent frictions are advantageous, also aspersions and plunge baths as cold as they can be borne).

further and further progress. *Galen* ¹ recommended,

¹ *Galen*, De sanitate tuenda bk. VI. ch. 14. (VI. p. 444.), —The best illustration in reference to the statements made in this connection by *Aëtius* (Tetrab. III. serm. 3. ch. 33.), which indeed is superscribed as *Galen's* and draws most of its material from him and from *Aretaeus*, showing however in many ways that it was based on personal observation or that the author had before him some better and older authority. Unfortunately the passage, previously glanced at, was subsequently mislaid by us, and so we are able merely to give it in a Footnote, with the request that the reader will complete from it what is said in the text. Profluvium igitur seminis, vasorum seminariariorum affectio est, non pudendi, quae dolorem quidem non ita valde inferre solet, molestiam autem non vulgarem et pollutionem exhibet ob assiduum et invitis contingentem seminis fluxum. Oboritur autem aliquando etiam ex seminariariorum vasorum fluxione, quandoque etiam satyriasi praecedente profluvium seminis succedit. Contingit autem affectio maxime pubertatem transgressos citra decimum quartum annum, imo aliis etiam aetatibus. Est autem semen quod profluit, aquosum, tenue, citra appetentiam coe-

undi et ut plurimum quidem citra sensum, quandoque vero cum voluptate quadam promanans. Corruptitur affectis sensim universum corpus ac gracilescit, praesertim circa lumbos. Consequitur et debilitas multa, non ob multitudinem seminis profluentis sed ob locorum proprietatem. Non solum autem viris sed et mulierculis hoc accidit, et in feminis sane aegre tollitur. Ceterum cura communis est cum ea quae in omni fluxione adhibetur. Primum igitur in quiete et paucio cibo ac aquae potu affectos asservare oportet; deinde etiam lumbos et pubem contegere lanis vino et rosaceo aut oenanthino aut melino madefactis. Neque vero ineptae sunt spongiae posca imputae. Sequentibus vero diebus cataplasmatibus ex palmis, malis, acacia hypocisthidae, oenanthe, rhoe rubro et similibus. Insessibus item adstringentibus utendum est, ex lentisci, rubi, myrti et similium in vino austero sive mero sive diluto decocto. Cibis autem utendum qui aegre corrumpantur et difficulter permutantur et rescicandi vim habent. Dandum etiam cum potu et cibis, viticis ac cannabis semen praesertim tostum. Rutae item semen ac folia, lactucae semen et cauliculi ac nymphaeae radix. In potu vero quotidie pro com-

muni aqua, aqua in qua ferrum saepe extinctum est praebeat. Quidam vero corticem radicis halicacabi ex aqua eis bibendum prae-buerunt, neque ineptum fuerit huius aliquando periculum facere. Antidotus etiam haec magnae celebritatis tum ad hoc modo semen profudens, tum ad assidua in omnis profluvia commode exhibetur. Seminis salicis 3vj calaminthae 3vj seminis viticis albae 3v rutae 3jv seminis cicutae 3jj cum aqua in pastillos digerito et ex eis ad Ponticae nucis magnitudinem cum poscae cyathis tribus praebeto. Omnem vero acrium rerum esum et multi vini potum et olerum exhibitionem vitare oportet, dietam vero universam resicatoriam et adstringentem constituere. Post prima autem mox tempora ad unctiones et exercitricem dietam transeundum, per quam totum corpus et praesertim affecta, ad sanitatem perducantur, et plurima quidem tempora circa unctiones immorandum, paucies vero lavandum, si aut lassitudini aut cruditati mederi velimus. Bonum fuerit etiam, si nihil prohibuerit, ad frigidae lavationem defugere, quae omnem morbum ex fluxione abortum depellere consuevit, maxime si medicamentaria qualitate aqua praedita sit, velut sunt in Albulis aquae, quae etiam in potu acceptae

eis summe prosunt. Sunt autem sapore subsalso et tactu lactei teporis. Convenit item per intervalla quaedam illitionibus et epithematis et malagmatis uti, quae rubefacere et emollire possint, atque ea quae in profundo haerent ad superficiem transferre. Decubitus porro frequenter in latus fiat, calaminthae foliis et rutae et viticis substratis. Epithema autem in eis usu venit hocce. Capillum Veneris multum contundito et terito cum aceto aut apii succo aut seridis aut psyllii eoque cochlearum carnes coctas excipito et simul in linteolum infarta coxendicibus imponito. Utendum vero et praescripto ad priapismum cerato et iis quae paulo mox ad seminis in somno profluvia dicuntur. Omnem autem de rebus venereis cogitationem excludere oportet. (Thus we see excessive discharge of semen is an effection of the seminal vessels, not of the member. *This complaint does not indeed as a rule cause any very great pain, but it does occasion no ordinary degree of inconvenience and defilement in consequence of the constant involuntary discharge of semen. However sometimes it may arise from a flux in the seminal vessels, and occasionally on an antecedent attack of satyriasis profuse discharge of semen supervenes.* The malady particularly attacks those who have passed the period of

puberty but are under fourteen, but other ages are also liable. And the semen that is discharged is watery, thin, the discharge being unaccompanied with any desire for coition, and indeed as a rule without any feeling whatever, though at times taking place with a certain voluptuous sensation. The whole body of those attacked suffers and becomes wasted, especially in the lumbar region. There follows great weakness, not so much owing to the amount of the semen discharged as to the nature of the parts affected. *Again, this disease is not peculiar to men, but assails young women as well, and in the case of females is eliminated with very great difficulty.* However the treatment is the same as that applied in all fluxes. First of all therefore patients must observe rest and a scanty diet both in food and drinking water; then the loins and pubis should be covered with cloths moistened with wine, and *rosa-ceum* and *oenanthinum* and *melinum* (oil of roses, of young vine buds, of melilot). Sponges soaked in posca (acid drink of vinegar and water) are also appropriate. Then on the succeeding days cataplasms of palms, apples, acacia, hypocisthis (parasitic plant growing on the cisthus), wild vine, red wild-poppy, and the like. Embrocations moreover should be employed of an astringent

character, consisting of a decoction of the mastic, bramble, myrtle and the like, in hard wine, whether unmixed or diluted. Diet should embrace such foods as resist corruption and deterioration, and possess a desiccative quality. Along with the food and drink should be administered the juice of the agnus castus and of *hemp*, especially after boiling. Also the juice and leaves of rue, the juice of lettuce and colewort and the root of *nymphæa* (water-lily). As to drink for daily use, instead of ordinary water, water should be given in which *iron has been repeatedly tempered.* Some practitioners indeed have administered the bark of the root of the bladderwort in water as a beverage for such patients, and it will not be inappropriate to make trial of this on occasion. Another *antidote of great renown* is exhibited with advantage both for sufferers from this discharge of semen, as well as for constant fluxes of all kinds. Take of juice of the sallow 3vj, of calamint 3vj, of juice of the white agnus castus 3v, of rue 3jv, of juice of hemlock 3jj; compound with water into small cakes or lozenges, and administer one of these of the size of a hazel-nut along with three cups of posca (vinegar and water). *But the patient must avoid all eating of acrid*

besides diet and medicine, that with a view to retarding the preparation of semen, gymnastic exercises, particularly such as bring the upper part of the body into activity, e.g. ball-playing both with great and little balls and the casting of leaden disks, be resorted to. After bathing, patients must rub and wash over the hips with desiccative ointments, oil expressed from red, coarse olives, roses or quinces, wax-salves with the juices of *sempervivum* (evergreen house-leek), *solanum* (nightshade), *umbilicus Veneris* (navelwort), *portulaca* (purslain), linseed boiled in water, etc. I once saw, he says, the Intendant of a Gymnasium

things and the drinking of much wine and the use of vegetables; the diet must be generally of a desiccative and astringent type. Moreover presently after the earlier stages embrocations and an active mode of life should be adopted, whereby the whole body and particularly the parts affected are brought into a healthy state; the embrocations should be persevered in for long periods of time, but washing on the other hand sparingly employed, if we wish to remedy the lassitude and acrid habit of body. It will be of advantage moreover, *if there is nothing to prevent, to have recourse to cold bathing*, which has the property of expelling all diseases arising from flux, more especially if the water is endowed with a healing quality, such as the waters of Albulæ, which also are of the greatest use in these cases when taken as a drink. They are of a slightly salt

taste, and of a milky warmth to the touch. Further, it is suitable to employ at intervals lotions and poultices and plasters, such as will redden and soften the skin, and bring to the surface those matters that lie latent underneath. Again, *rest should frequently be taken lying on the side*, the leaves of calamint and rue and agnus castus being spread as a couch. A poultice employed in these cases is as follows. Pound a quantity of Venus-hair and rub it up with vinegar or parsley juice or that of endive or fleabane, add to it the cooked meat of snails, pack all together in a linen cloth and lay upon the hips. Also the wax plaster prescribed for priapism should be employed, and the remedies to be mentioned presently for discharges of semen during sleep. Lastly *all thinking about love ought to be avoided*.

Athletes lay a leaden disk on the lumbar region of an athlete as a measure against nocturnal pollution,—a means *Caelius Aurelianus* prescribed *also* for gonorrhœal patients,—and afterwards recommended the same treatment to another sufferer from these, who was thankful for the advice. Others again found lying on the *agnus castus* beneficial to them, as well as the taking of its juice along with rue. Violently active refrigerants in the form of ointments, prepared from poppy and *atropa mandragora* should not be employed, and this equally applies to sleeping on these plants when they are in bloom, for they act injuriously on the kidneys. On the other hand sleeping on roses was advantageous,—Caelius Aurelianus added to the list the leaves and flowers of *vilex* (agnus castus, Abraham's balm). "Besides these I have excogitated many other specifics for patients of the sort, and found their utility confirmed in practice. For instance those afflicted with such a condition of body should pay particular attention to this. When the accumulation of semen that has to be ejaculated is at its greatest, they should during the day take a nourishing yet moderate meal, and then when they lie down to sleep accomplish sexual intercourse.¹

¹ Similarly *Arctæus*, *Morb. chron. therap.* bk. II. ch. 5., says: *εἰ δὲ καὶ σώφρων ἔοι ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἀφροδισίοισι καὶ λοῦοιτο ψυχρῷ, ἐλπὶς ὡς ὤκιστα ἀνδρωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, (And if he indulge with moderation in love and bathe in cold water, there is good hope that the man will rapidly recover manly vigour). This need surprise us the less, if we remember that the notion of a *superfluitas seminis* (superfluity of seed),—this was why *Diogenes* practised onanism, *Galen*, Vol. VIII. p. 419.),

—was all the time in the background, and gonorrhœa according to *Caelius Aurelianus* and other authorities actually arose from too great self-continenence. *Si igitur Venerem exercere consueverit et crebriore uti concubitu, nunc autem continentius et purius innocentiusque degat, sine dubio a copia id sustinet cum partes illam ferre nequeunt.* (If therefore a man is in the habit of practising love and indulging in fairly frequent cohabitation, well and good; but if on the contrary he live a too con-

But on the following day, after taking their fill of sleep, they should on rising chafe themselves till the skin is reddened. Next they should rub the body all over with oil; then soon after take some well-leavened, pure bread, baked in the baking-pan, and mixed with wine, after which they may then go about their customary business. Between the rubbing with oil and the meal of bread patients may go for a walk, if there is a spot convenient for the purpose in the neighbourhood, *except in the colder time of the year, for at that season it is better for them to stay indoors.*"

With regard to *gonorrhœa in women*, it is all but impossible to arrive at any accurate knowledge of what the Ancient Physicians knew concerning it. The reason of this is that the views held as to the effect of deteriorated menstrual blood and of the *ῥοῦς γυναικεῖος* (female discharge), by means of which the whole body was supposed to purge itself of evil humours,¹ absolutely precluded the possibility

of a tinent, pure and innocent life, without a doubt he endures this evil from the over-copiousness (of semen), as the parts cannot tolerate it.) This idea owed its origin partly to the confusion of gonorrhœa with nocturnal pollutions,—a confusion found even in the passage from Galen quoted a little above, and in especial was revived in the XVth. and XVIth. Centuries under the auspices of the monks and nuns. It at the same time gave occasion to the practice of resorting to copulation with a maiden as a cure for gonorrhœa. At any rate it was an opinion already found in Hippocrates, that copulation was a desiccative measure

which in diseases arising from the phlegmatic humour (*Hippocrates*, Epidem. bk. VI. Vol. III. p. 609., *Galen*, XVII. A. p. 284.) is of advantage to hot and moist constitutions (*Galen*, Vol. VI. p. 402.)

¹ *Galen*, De sympt. caus. bk. III. ch. 11. (VII. p. 265.), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μοχθηρὰ διὰ τῶν ὑστερῶν ρεύματα, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ συμπωμα ῥοῦς γυναικεῖος, ἐκκαθαίρομένου κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος γίγνεται. (Besides there are the troublesome fluxes by way of the womb; and the *symptom* of these is known as "female discharge", and takes place as the whole body purges

of any unprejudiced observation, in precisely the same way as down to quite modern times the *fluor albus* (white flux, blenorrhœa) conditioned the extremely imperfect knowledge possessed by the faculty of female gonorrhœa. We purpose to leave over the inquiry into the points which differentiate the two (male and female gonorrhœa) to another opportunity ; and will only note here that gonorrhœa in women, strictly so called, was by no means utterly unknown,—in fact there is no doubt whatever as to its being distinguished from the *ῥοῦς γυναικεῖος* (female discharge), as is shown by the passage of *Galen* quoted above, and still more clearly by *Aretacus*,¹ who speaks of *γονόρροια γυναικεία*

itself by this part). *Nonnus*, ch. 204. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. II. ch. 63. *Rufus* of Ephesus, bk. I ch. 44.

¹ *Aretacus*, De sign. chron. morb. bk. IV. ch. 11., ἄλλος ῥοῦς λευκός ἢ ἐπιμήνιος κάθαρσις λευκή δριμύτια καὶ ὀδαξώδης ἐς ἡδονήν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι καὶ ὕγρου λευκοῦ, πάχεος, γονοειδέος πρόκλησις· τότε τὸ εἶδος γονόρροϊαν γυναικείαν ἐλέξαμεν· ἔστι δὲ τῆς ὑστέρης φύσεως, οὕνεκεν ἀκρατὴς τῶν ὕγρων γίγνεται· ἀτὰρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐς χροιογὴν λευκὴν ἀμείβει. (Another white discharge is the menstrual purging, white, acrid, and provoking a pleasurable itching. But in addition to these forms there is also a calling out of a moist, white, thick, semen-like discharge; and this species we have named "*female gonorrhœa*"; and it is an escape from the womb, because this

cannot retain the moist humours. Further, it actually changes the blood to a white colour.) Perhaps too what *Galen*, De semine bk. II. ch. 1. (IV. p. 599.), says is pertinent in this connection: ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐλαττόν τε καὶ ὕγρον ἐκκρίπτον φαίνεται πολλάκις ἔσωθεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑστερῶν, ἵνα περ οὐρεῖ. (but in other women there appears to be a smaller and moist discharge very often, inside, coming from the womb itself, in micturition). Again *Theod. Priscianus*, bk. III. 10., says: Aliquando etiam spermatis spontanei et importuni fluxu feminae fatigantur, quod Graeci gonorrhœam appellant. (Sometimes too women are troubled with a discharge of involuntarily and unexpectedly emitted semen, a complaint the Greeks call gonorrhœa.) Comp. the passage quoted above from Aëtius.

(female gonorrhœa) distinctly as *ἄλλος ῥόος λευκός*, another species of white flux. Whether perhaps this knowledge was first accumulated at the epoch of Tiberius and his fellows cannot indeed be positively determined; but certainly the word *ἐλέξαμεν* (we have named it) of the text of Aretaeus may very well leave room for such a conjecture, and as a matter of fact Aretaeus would appear to have lived under Domitian, and was therefore a contemporary of Martial's!

2. Ulcers and Caruncles in the Urethra.

We have already seen from Hippocrates, Celsus and Galen that the ancient Physicians had observed the inflammation and subsequent matteration of the small mucous glands of the urethra evidenced by the symptoms of painful micturition, and seeing that mere tenesmus, as well as dysentery, are denominated *ἐλκώσις* (ulceration) by them, it is by no means improbable that many a urethral ulcer and many a case of gonorrhœa may have been treated under the name of ischuria (retention of urine). This is the more likely, as we learn from a passage of *Celsus*¹, one usually misinterpreted in several respects,

¹ *Celsus*, De re medica bk. VI. ch. ch. 18., Solet etiam interdum ad nervos ulcus descendere; profluitque pituita multa sanies tenuis malique odoris, non coacta at aquae similis, in qua caro recens lota est; doloresque is locus et punctiones habet. Id genus quamvis inter purulenta est, tamen lenibus medicamentis curandum est... Praecipueque id ulcus multa calida aqua fovendum est, velandumque

neque frigori committendum. (Moreover the ulcer is wont sometimes to descend to the *cords*; and then there is discharged a quantity of phlegm, a thin *sanies* of an ill odour, not congealed but like water in which a piece of fresh meat has been washed; and the place experiences pain and a pricking sensation. This sort, though it comes under the head of purulent complaints, should nevertheless be treated

that the urethral discharge was explained as due to

with mild drugs And above all this form of ulcer should be fomented with copious warm water, and should be covered and not exposed to cold). From the last sentence it may be concluded that it is not the acute form of blenorrhœa of the urethra that is in question here (bk. IV), but the chronic. The words *ad nervos* (to the cords) have given occasion to some very extraordinary explanations. *Simon*, Krit. Gesch. Vol. I p. 23., considers it would be most natural to refer this to the inside of the member, to the urethra in fact, though as a matter of fact gonorrhœa of the glans penis might just as likely be intended in the passage. But in the latter case the interpretation is absolutely impossible, as the glans penis is never called *nervus*. The corpora cavernosa it is true are described in several places by *Galen*, e.g. De loc. aff. bk. VI. ch. 6., as "a pipe-like cord, for the body is cord-like in form, the whole being hollow like a pipe", but he adds *χωρὶς τῆς καλουμένης βολάνου* (always excepting the glans penis, as it is called, and indeed that *nervus* generally signifies the penis is evident at once from Horace, Epod. XII. 19.; even the plural *nervos* is found in *Petronius*, Sat. 129., 134.,—

so the Greeks similarly use *νεῦρον* (nerve, cord) for the penis, sometimes with the addition *σπερματικόν* (spermatic, seminal), as Eustathius points out,—Comm. on the Iliad, X. 1390. However Celsus had no idea of this in his mind; everything shows that with him the *ad nervos* points to nothing but the *vasa deferentia* or spermatic cords, as he distinctly declares himself in bk. VII. ch. 18: *Dependent vero (testiculi) ab inguinibus per singulos nervos, quos κρεμαστήρας Graeci nominant.* (But the testicles hang from the groin by separate cords, which the Greeks call *κρεμαστήρες*,—suspenders). Similarly *Columella*, De re rustic. bk. VI. ch. 26., *Testium nervos, quos Graeci κρεμαστήρας ab eo appellant, quod ex illis genitales partes dependent.* (The cords of the testicles, which the Greeks name *κρεμαστήρες*,—suspenders, because the genital parts hang by them); again *Pollux*, Onomast. bk. II. ch. 4., *κρεμαστήρας δὲ λέγονται τὰ νεῦρα, τοὺς διδύμους ἀνέχει.* (*κρεμαστήρες*,—suspenders, is the name of the cords; and they support the testicles). The possibility of the suppuration extending to the seed reservoir and the spermatic cords is proved by the case lately observed and made known by *Ricord*.

an extension of the ulcer to the spermatic cords (*vasa deferentia*,—seed-bringing vessels). Yet further confirmation is afforded by a passage of *Actuarius*,¹ already cited by Simon, and our own conjecture expressed on a previous page thus justified.

Ulcers however also occurred in the urethra² un-

¹ *Actuarius*, Method. med. bk. IV. ch. 8., Caeterum non est ignorandum, nonnunquam in interna penis parte exiguum tuberculum oboriri, quod dum disrumpitur, sanguinem aut exiguum puris effundit; quare quidam arbitrantur ex profundo ea prodire, citraque rationem metuere coeperunt. Verum res ex penis dolore deprehenditur. Venae autem sectione sola, victuque frigidiusculo aegrum a molestia vindicavimus. Quod si vitium moram traxerit et vulnus (*ἔλκος*?) altius pervenerit, encmata morsus expertia, qualibus in lippitudine utimur, infundimus. Balneo ac omni mordenti evidenterque calefaciente tum cibo tum potione abstinemus, ita namque promptius aeger valetudinem recipit. (However it must not be forgotten that sometimes a small tubercle is established in the internal part of the penis, which on bursting discharges blood and a small quantity of pus; for which reason some suppose these symptoms to proceed from a deep-seated evil, and have been unreasonably alarmed. But the truth may be gathered from the pain in the penis. However by the mere opening of a vein

and a cooling diet we have saved a patient from all inconvenience. On the other hand if the mischief has followed a protracted course and the sore (*ἔλκος*?,—ulcer) has penetrated farther in, we introduce clysters free from biting acridity, such as we make use of for blear-eyed patients. We forbid the bath, and everything acrid and manifestly heating whether in food or drink, for in this way the sufferer recovers his health more rapidly).

² *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59., εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν κανλὸν ἐνδον τῆς τοῦ αἰδοίου τρήσεως ἀφανὲς ἔλκος γένηται, γινώσκεται ἐκ τοῦ πύον ἢ αἷμα κενουῖσθαι χωρὶς οὐρησέως. Θεραπεύεται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὕδαρ εἰ μελικράτῳ κ λ ν ζ ό μ ε ν ο ν , ἔπειτα δὲ γάλακτι, κἀπειτα μίξαντες τῷ γάλακτι τὸ τοῦ ἀστήρος κολλύριον, ἢ τὸν λευκὸν τροχίσκον, ἢ τὸν διὰ λωταριῶν ἐν μολυβδαίνῃ θυίᾳ παραπέμπειν, ἥγον καὶ πτεροδὸν βάψαντες διαχρῆιν, εἰτα λεπτὸν στροπετὸν χρῆσαντες ἐνδῆναι· κάλλιτον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνων κηκίδος καὶ πομφόλυγος, ἀμύλου τε

connected with tubercular swellings (*ἀφανὲς ἕλκος*,—invisible ulcer); these not unfrequently occasioned bleeding,³ and made their presence known by the accompanying pain, while synchronously small irregularly-shaped particles (*ἐφελκύδες*) were ejected. The appropriate treatment of these ulcers has been described by *Paulus Aegineta* (loco citato); it consisted in injections of honey and milk (*Aëtius*, IV. 2. 19., and *Actuarius* also recommended *enemata morsus expertia*,—clysters free from biting acidity), introduction of lotus pounded in a leaden mortar by means of a feather or a twisted piece of lint (*λεπτὸν στρεπτὸν*,—light material twisted,—an anticipation

καὶ ἀλόης ἰσα, λειωθέντα
δοδίνῳ καὶ χυλῷ ἀρνο-
γλώσσου. (But if in the canal
within the perforation of the
member an invisible ulcer
arise, it is recognized from
the fact of matter or blood
being discharged without mic-
turation. And it is treated first
by being *rinsed* with a weak
honey-mixture, and then with
milk and afterwards by mixing
with the milk the salve of the
aster atticus, or the white
lozenge, or a preparation of
lotus pounded in a leaden
mortar; a *feather* should be
dipped in this and it should
be rubbed on, or else a *piece*
of thin material made into
a twist should be smeared
with it and the drug introduced
by this means; but the best
of all is by taking equal parts
of gall-apple, flowers of zinc,
starch-flour and aloes smeared
with rose-sap and plantain-
sap).

³*Caelius Aurelianus*, Morb.

chron. bk. II. ch. 8.. In iis
enim qui ulcus habuerint, cum
mictum fecerint, sanguis fluet
attestante mordicatione et
dolore et aliquando egestione
corpusculorum, quae *ἐφελκύ-
δας* Graeci vocaverunt. (In
patients who have got an
ulcer, whenever they make
water, blood will flow and
the fact be attested by ac-
companying biting sensation
and pain and sometimes by
the ejection of small particles
which the Greeks have named
ἐφελκύδες).

²*Galen*, De loc. affect. bk.
I. ch. 5., εἰ γοῦν ὕμενώδους
χιτῶνος ἐκκριθῇ μύριον,
ὅτι μὲν ἑλκωσίς ἐστι που,
δηλώσει. . . . εἰ δ' οὐρηθῇ
τῆς οὐρήθρας αὐτῆς. (If for
example a small portion of
the membranous coat be shed,
this will show there is ulceration
somewhere. . . . And if
in micturation particles of the
urethra itself be passed). Comp.
Paulus Aegineta, loco citato.

of the bougie ?) along with a mixture of gall-apple, flowers of zinc (oxide of zinc), starch-flour and aloes smeared in equal parts with rose-sap and plantain-sap.

Not unfrequently such ulcers give rise to the establishment of *caruncles in the urethra*, particularly in the neighbourhood of the neck of the bladder, though they occur¹ also in the ear, nose, as well as in connection with the privates and anus, in the latter case presenting the symptoms of ischuria (retention of urine), interfering as they do with the outflow of the urine. The presence of these caruncles may be diagnosed by the preceding symptoms, as also by the circumstance that the urine is evacuated by the introduction of a *catheter*, that this occasions pain at the seat of ulceration and breaks through the

¹ *Galen, De symptom. caus.* bk. III. ch. 8., ἴσχυνται μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀδυνατούσης ἐκκρίνειν τῆς κύστεως, ἢ στεγνῶθέντος αὐτῆς τοῦ στομάχου· ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἄμφω τὰ νοσήματα τῆς κύστεως ἐν κοινὸν ἔχει σύμπτωμα, τὴν ἰσχυρίαν·— αἱ μὲν οὖν στεγνώσεις τοῦ στομάχου δι' ἔμφραξίν τε καὶ μύσιν ἀποτελοῦνται· καὶ γίνεται ἡ μὲν ἔμφραξις ὑπὸ θρόμβου τε καὶ πύου παχέος καὶ λίθου καὶ πόρου καὶ διὰ βλάστημά τι κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιτραφὲν τὸν πόρον ὅποια κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἐκτὸς ὁράται γινόμενα κατὰ τε τὰ ὅσα καὶ ῥίνας αἰδοῖα τε καὶ ἔδραν· ἡ δὲ μύσις ἤτοι δι' ὄγκον ἐπὶ φλεγμοναῖς ἀποτελεῖται καὶ σκιρρόσις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰδήμασιν, ὅσα τε τὸν τράχηλον ἐξαιρόντα τῆς κύστεως εἰς τὸν ἐντὸς πόρον ἀποχεῖ τὸν

ὄγκον. (For they suffer either because the bladder is unable to secrete or because its orifice is stopped; but both these complaints of the bladder have one symptom in common, viz. retention of urine. . . . Now the *stoppages* of the orifice are produced by *blocking* or by *closing up*; and stoppages are caused by a clot or dense matter or a calculus or chalk-stone or some growth that has formed in the actual passage, as is also observed to occur in other, external, organs, the ears, the nostrils, genitals, or fundament; but closure is due either to a tumour following on phlegmonous affections or by indurations or other swellings which dilate the neck of the bladder and discharge the tumour into the internal passage). Comp, *Caelius Aurelianus* bk. V. ch. 4.

caruncle, causing the urine to pass mixed with blood and the remains of the caruncle. It is necessary to know if a thrombus (blood-clot) or calculus blocks the urethra; but as to whether we pronounce the mischief to be situated in the urethra itself and the cause of the ischuria to be there as well, this is a distinction of no practical or scientific value.¹ For

¹ *Galen, De loc. affect. bk. I. ch. 1. (VIII. p. 12.), οὕτω δὲ εἰ καὶ σάρκα τινὰ δι' ἑλκωσιν ἐπιτραφεῖσαν ἡγούμεθα τὸν τράχηλον τῆς κύστεως ἐμφορᾷτειν, ἐκ τε τῶν προηγησαμένων τοῦ ἑλκους σημείων ἐκ τε τοῦ κενωθῆναι τὸ οὖρον ἐπὶ τῷ καθετηήρι συλλογιούμεθα· καὶ ποτε καὶ γενόμενον οἶδα τοιοῦτόν τι πάθημα· διαβαλλομένου γοῦν τοῦ καθετηήρος, ἤλγησεν κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ πόρου τὸ μέρος, ἐνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτεκμηράμεθα τὴν ἑλκωσιν εἶναι· θλάσθ' εἰσῆς δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ καθετηήρος, ἠκολούθησε μὲν μετὰ τὴν τῶν οὔρων ἐκκρίσιν αἵματός τε τι καὶ θρόμματα τῆς σαρκὸς... τὸ δ' εἴτε πάθος εἶναι λεκτέον τοῦ πόρου τὸ γεγονὸς, εἴτε αἷτιον ἰσχουρίας ἐν τῷ πόρῳ περιέχεσθαι, τῶν ἀχρήστων εἰς τὴν τέχνην ἐστίν.* (Accordingly if we suspect some accretion of tissue, the result of ulceration, to be blocking the neck of the bladder, our diagnosis will depend both on the foregoing signs of the existence of an ulcer and also on the fact of the urine being voided on the

introduction of a *catheter*. Sometimes moreover I have noted the following case to occur; on turning the catheter about pain was experienced at the part of the canal where we had previously conjectured the ulceration to be situated, and the tissue being broken down by the catheter, there followed after the evacuation of the urine some blood and particles of tissue.... Whether in this case we ought to describe the mischief as something affecting the urethral canal, or say that the cause is something lying in the same canal, is scientifically unimportant). For the catheter must always have the shape of the passage leading to the bladder (*Method. med. bk. IV. ch. 7. X. p. 301.*); accordingly it must be bent into the shape of the letter "S" (*Introduct. ch. 19. Vol. XIV. p. 788*). The inventor of it was Erasistratus (*ibid. p. 751.*). The employment of the catheter is well described by *Paulus Aegineta* *bk. VI. ch. 59.*, who adds that different catheters must be used according to age and sex.

as a rule it was solely as being the excretory duct of the bladder that the urethra had some little attention directed to it; while any signs it exhibited were generally regarded simply as symptoms connected with the urinary bladder and the kidneys. Partial *growing up, or morbid extuberance, in the urethra* (*συσσάφνωσις*,—a growing together) following on a previous ulceration is described by *Heliodorus*, as given in *Oribasius*,¹ occasioning either a narrowing of the urethral passage in one spot or its being filled up over its entire superficies with morbid outgrowths of tissue. Partial narrowing causes dysuria or strangury (difficulty of micturition), the narrowing of the whole canal by morbid outgrowths, ischuria (impossibility of micturition, retention of urine). The outgrowth must be removed by means of a small lancet. The mode of procedure is then as follows. The patient is placed on his back, the penis straight out; then with the fingers of the left hand the operator compresses it behind the spot where the growth is found, in order to prevent the blood from flowing inwards when the incision is made; next he takes the knife in the right hand, pushes the point into the urethra, divides it as far along as the base of the morbid growth, but not so as to go beyond it. This done, he proceeds to cut out the growth by means of a circular incision, and compresses the urethra between the fingers, causing the growth to spring forwards. Supposing it now projects but does not actually spring out, it is extracted by means of a *mydion* (boat-shaped instrument). After the removal of the growth the urethra must be protected from contact with the urine, which during the first few days is best done by applying an *ipoterion*, or compress,² made of papyrus. The mode of preparing

¹ *Oribasius*, Bk. L. ch. 8. (Mai's *Classicon*. auctor. e Vatican. codd. edit.—Classical Authors edited from the Vatican MSS.), Vol. IV. p. 187.

² The word *ἰποτήριον* is also found written *ἰπωτήριον* in *Galen*, De comp. medic. sec. gen. bk. IV. ch. 7. (XIII. p. 725.), who gives it as a

this is described in detail later on, and a sort of elastic catheter indicated. Catheters of copper and tin might also be used, or a quill taken for the purpose. The tin or lead catheters are not to be inserted till after the third day, and carry in front a projecting shield. The application of a bandage described is declared to be of great advantage. Scirrhusities of *the neck of the bladder*, abscesses and the like, are mentioned by *Galen* (loco citato) as occurring occasionally. With regard to *diseases of the prostates* subsequent investigations must authenticate the amount of knowledge possessed of these by the physicians of Antiquity.

Inflammation of the testicles ¹ is usually characterized according to *Paulus Aegineta* ² by pain under strong pressure by the fingers, while only a slight pressure causes no uneasiness. Redness and heat are slight externally, but the latter is perceptible deep in by an investigating finger. Sometimes fever is associated with it, and if the inflammation is not quickly combated, the pain, *Celsus* tells us, ³ extends to the inguinal and lumbar regions, the parts swell, the spermatic cord grows thicker and at the same time indurated. Both authorities make the treatment consist at first in blood-letting at the ankle, ⁴ and the use of soft poultices of bean-meal, ⁵ pounded

φάρμακον (remedy) invented by Heraclides of Tarentum, but which is not described in detail. The word is missing in our Lexicons, though Castellus gives it.

¹ *Galen*, In Hippocrat. de diact. in acut. (XV p. 759.), γίνεσθαι δ' έντασις δρεως ένίστε μὲν υπό της καθ' έαυτὸν φλεγμονής, ένίστε δὲ υπό τινος τῶν άνω φλεγμαινότων έλκομένου. (Now tension of the testicles occurs sometimes owing to inflam-

mation in the testicles itself, at other times owing to one of more inward parts that are inflamed becoming ulcerated).

² *Paulus Aegineta*, Bk. III. ch. 54.

³ *Galen*, De prognost. ex puls. bk. IV. ch. 10. (IX. p. 416.). Synops. de puls. ch. 31. (ibid. p. 540).

⁴ *Celsus*, Bk. VII. 18. VI. 18.

⁵ *Hippocrates*, de Nat. Homin. edit. Kühn. Vol. I. p. 364. *Galen*, Vol. XV. p. 131.

cumin, linseed, etc. to which in cases of induration is added later on a mixture of crocus and wine. In obstinate instances poultices are used of *rad. cucumeris agrestis* (root of the wild cucumber); *Paulus Aegineta* under these circumstances prescribes grapes, peas, cumin, brimstone, nitre and resin, made into a cataplasm with honey, besides sundry wax-salves. A considerable list of remedial agents is found enumerated in *Marcellus* (ch. 33.) intended to combat the *tumores et dolores testicularum* (swellings and pains in the testicles); of these we will only mention the salves of mutton-suet and nitre, the sea-water compresses, the poultices of *rad. ciculae* (hemlock root), white of egg, frankincense and ceruse (white lead). *Aretaeus*¹ gives us an interesting piece of information

¹ *Galen*, Vol. XI. p. 877., XII. p. 50.

² *Aretaeus*, De sign. chronic. bk. II. ch. 8., θάναμα δὲ τούτων μέζων, εἰς ὄρχιας καὶ κρεμαστήρας ἀδόκητον ἄλγος ἐπιφοιτῇ πολλοὺς τῶν ἰητρῶν ἥδε ἡ ξυμπαθείη λήθει· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐξέταμόν ποτε τοὺς κρεμαστήρας, ὡς ἰδίην ἔχοντας αἰτίην· (And there is another thing more surprising than this, when the pain suddenly shifts to the testicles and spermatic cords. Now this sympathy between the different organs escapes many physicians; and sometimes they actually cut out the spermatic cords as if these contained the special cause of the suffering). In the edition due to Kühn's industry the word κρεμαστήρες is translated by *musculos cremasteres dictos* (the muscles called cremasteres). The expression is also

found in the "De sign. acut." II. 6., and *Petit* in his Commentary on the first named passage declares in all seriousness that the sympathy was sufficiently well known to anatomists, arising from the connection of the cremasteres muscles with the peritoneum and its processes, which statement appears to rest on the datum of *Galen*, De usu partium bk. XIV. ch. 11. (IV. p. 193.) and De semine bk. II. ch. 5. (IV. p. 635.), where the cremasteres certainly are called μυώδη σώματα (muscular bodies) and compared with the round ligaments of the womb. Still *Galen* says distinctly in the latter passage that they contained arteries, veins and the spermatic ducts, in the *Isagoge* ch. 11. (XIV. p. 719.) ὃς (γόνος) φέρεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν κρεμαστήρων (it,—the seed,—is

to the effect that in order to counteract neuralgia of the testicles and spermatic cord, accompanied at the same time by intestinal colic, the spermatic cord was *cut out*, being looked upon as the cause of the suffering. Important too is the case related by *Hippocrates*,¹ where a patient at Athens suffered from *prurigo* (itch) of the whole body, but above all of the *testicles* and the forehead, his skin having grown thick and hard as it does in leprosy, so that nowhere could it be pulled up above the general surface.

Induration of the testicles is mentioned by *Galen*,² who assigns it as one cause of sterility. The same author³ likewise speaks of the testicles being affected

conveyed to them through the cremasteres). On the other hand in the "De musc. sect. Vol. XVIII. B. p. 997., the muscoli cremasteres properly so called are clearly described, and the statement added: *Τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀνατείνειν τὸν ὄρχιν' ὅθεν ἐνίοι κρεματήρας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι* (but their duty is to hold up the testicles, for which reason some name them the cremasteres,—suspenders). Neither Blancard-Kühn nor yet Kraus's Lexicon give under the word "Cremaster" any meaning but that of the muscles; the same is true of Schneider. Comp. *Paulus Aegineta* bk. VI. ch. 61., where the spermatic cords are also called *παραστάται* (supporters), as also by *Galen*, *Defin. med.* XIX. p. 362. and *De semine* bk. I. Vol. IV. p. 565., where they are spoken of as *κισσοειδὲς παραστάται* (varicose paras-

tatae). A denomination *Herophilus* first made use of (*Galen* IV. p. 582.) and which according to *Athenaeus* Deipnos. bk. IX. p. 396. was likewise given to the testicles.

¹ *Hippocrates*, *Epidem.* bk. V., edit. Kühn Vol. III. p. 548. Besides *Hippocrates* mentions almost exclusively the sympathetic swellings of the testicles that occur in cases of interruptions of the respiration, particularly in coughs. *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* likewise, ch. 92. 4., ch. 101. 2., speaks of *prurigo veretri* (itching of the privates).

² *Galen*, *De semine* ch. 15. (IV. p. 564).

³ *Galen*, *De medic. sec.* loc. bk. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 317.). *Paulus Aegineta* bk. III. ch. 54. Both authors also make mention in this connection of *sarcosis testium* (swelling of the flesh of the testicles).

is indeed quite consistent with the general character of medical science in those days, for it is always the case that the more medicine declines, the more practitioners think themselves bound to look for remedial means nowhere but in the prescription-books. Curiously enough we find that almost every thing given by the later physicians already has a place in the pages of *Celsus*; the latter probably utilized the Alexandrian physicians, on whose knowledge the later Writers appear to have made little advance.

Now with regard to ulcers of the genitals in general,—these are of frequent occurrence, as to begin with the parts are from their very constitution prone to putrefactive changes, as well owing to their moist nature, possessing as they do so many glands that draw moisture together, and being covered with hair, as because they are at the same time excretory organs¹. The time of year exerts an influence on

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 4. (X. p. 325.). καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπ' αἰδοίων καὶ ἔδρας εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀνάγκην ἀφικνούμεθα πολλάκις, ὅτι φασὶν ὡς σήπεται τὰ μόρια διὰ τε τὴν σύμφυτον ὑγρότητα καὶ ὅτι περιττωμάτων εἰσὶν ὀχετοί. (And in this respect with regard to the privates and fundament we constantly come back to the same conditions of causation, viz. that these parts are readily affected by putrefaction, as well owing to their natural moistness as because they are channels for excretions). Commentar. in Hippocrat. De humor. (XVI. p. 414.), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις τῶν τόπων οὐ μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ δέχεσθαι σηπεδόνας ποιεῖ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα πολλὴν ὑγρότητα τῇ

φύσει κέκμηται· καὶ προσέτι τοὺς ἀδένους ἔχουσιν ἐγγύς, ἅπερ πάντα τὰ περιττὰ εἰσδέχεσθαι πεφύκασιν. (Moreover the nature of the localities has no small influence on their liability to putrefactive changes. For the mouth and the private parts possess much moisture of their very nature; and besides this they have the glands close by, all which circumstances tend naturally to make them the receptacles of excessive moisture). De usu partium bk. XI. ch. 14. (III. p. 910.), ἥδε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν αἰδοίων φύσιν αἱ τοίχες ἅμα μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐγένοντο, θερμὰ γὰρ καὶ ὑγρὰ τὰ χωρία. (Now this quality and the fact of the privates being naturally surrounded with hair would seem to be necessary

the appearance of such ulcers, for they show themselves chiefly in the summer,¹ particularly when a South wind is blowing,² a wind that is moist and warm and fosters a tendency towards the resolution of fluid and solid parts alike. Thus ulcers of the genitals are likewise subject to epidemic influence, as has been clearly demonstrated on previous pages. They are acquired by coition, and that equally by natural coition, as the instance of Hero mentioned on a previous page shows without a shadow of doubt, as by the unnatural forms, and particularly by paederastia, which last caused the malady of Naevolus' slave also referred to in an earlier passage. Moreover in the hot regions of Asia and Africa want of cleanliness also, especially when men were uncircumcised, gave occasion, as in Apion's case, to the establishment of ulcers of the genitals. These were looked upon by the Ancient physicians in most instances as an outcome of the evil humours of the body,—an opinion which need cause us less surprise as even in much more modern times a large

consequences, because the localities are hot and damp).—*Cassius*, Problem. 2., *Cur supremae corporis sedes ad nomas sunt opportunae, similiter et concavae? An quia noma putrefactio est quaedam et sensus interitus atque extinctio. Supremae autem partes ob alimenti penuriam calore facile destituuntur, ita ut hac de causa census ablationem incurrant. Concavae vero ob humidae in ipsis materiae affluentem copiam, cuius occasione putredine corripiuntur.* (Why are the extreme parts of the body liable to nomae (eating ulcers), and likewise the concave parts? It is because a *noma* is a form of putre-

faction and a perishing and extinction of sensation? Now the extreme parts owing to the scantiness of the nourishment they get are easily robbed of heat, so that for this reason they incur loss of sensation. On the other hand the concave parts owing to the excess of moist matter that collects in them, which is the occasion of their being attacked by putrefaction). Comp. what was said above under the head of "Climate".

¹ *Hippocrates*, Aphorism. Vol. III. p. 724. *Galen*, Vol. XVI. p. 27.

² *Galen*, Comment in Hippocrat. De humor. Vol. XVI. p. 414.

number of physicians have endeavoured to explain the origin of chancres by an antecedent general infection, that manifested itself in this way, viz. by the appearance of these sores. Ulcers not unfrequently took the form of aphthae, particularly in women,¹ being in that case more superficial, but for that very reason readily eating their way over adjacent parts,—(*cancer*, eating ulcer). In many instances inflammation (*φλεγμονή, έρυσίπελας*,—phlegmonous inflammation, erysipelas) and swelling of the parts affected were accompanying circumstances. They were often painful,—sometimes moist, sometimes dry. In the majority of cases they assumed under favouring conditions a putrefactive character (*φαγέδαινα*,—phagedenic or eating ulcer), under which circumstances worms actually bred in the sores, or else they manifested from the very first a marked tendency to pass over into gangrene (*ανθραξ, carbunculus*,—malignant pustule, carbuncle), where as a rule merely an ulcer developing from a minute bladder (bleb) or *φύμα* existed in the first instance. On the other hand its course was often very chronic, without phlegmonous ulcers at all, or if these were present, either they were callous, or else condylomatous outgrowths sprung from them.

In accordance with these varying factors did the *treatment of ulcers of the genitals* vary, though without any universally recognized special distinction from that adopted for ulcers in general. Speaking generally, purgings by the rectum are not indicated; but preferably in affections of the genitals revulsory treatment by emetics is employed.² If blood-letting

¹ *Hippocrates*, De nat. muliebr. Vol. II. p. 586., ἀφθήση τὰ αἰδοῖα (the privates affected with aphthae). De morb. muliebr. bk. II. Vol. II. p. 614.

² Galen, Method. med. bk. XIII. ch. 11. (X. p. 903.),

ἀντισπᾶν γὰρ χορὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων δειματίζεσθαι παρρωτάτω τὸ περιττὸν, οὐχ ἔλκειν ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατὰ τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόγον οὐδὲ γαστρὸς οὐδ' ἐντέρων ἀρξαμένων φλεγμαίνειν ὑπηλάτω χρῆσθαι προσήκει τὴν δ' αὐτήν

is resorted to, it must be either in the hollow of the knee or at the ankle.¹ As to local measures, fatty matters according to *Antyllus* are not good for the genitals,² whereas astringents and desiccatives are beneficial, if that is to say the phlegmonous condition is absent.³ On the contrary if the latter is found, this must in the first place be combated, then a mixture applied consisting of sifted resin and pounded cumin, or alternatively a poultice of barley-meal, hydromel and vine-leaves reduced to a pulp, or else cumin with butter and tree-resin.⁴ Above all Galen⁵

ἐνδειξιν ἔχει τούτοις μὲν
μήτρα τοῖς ὀργάνοις αἰδοῖα·
τό γε μὴν ἐμέτοις χρῆσθαι
τῶν αἰδοίων πεπονθότων
ἀντισπαστικόν ἐστι βούθημα.

(For what is necessary is to reject the excess as far as may be from the parts that are beginning to be congested, not to draw it towards them. Therefore in accordance with this reasoning neither in the case of belly nor of intestines, when these have begun to be inflamed, is it expedient to employ purging medicine; also the same indication as in the case of these organs holds good for womb, and private parts. The treatment when the privates are attacked is revulsory, viz. the use of emetics).

¹ *Galen*, loco citato p. 904.,
ἐπὶ δὲ νεφρῶν καὶ κύστεως
αἰδοῖον τε καὶ μήτρας τὰς
ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι, μάλιστα μὲν
τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἰγνύαν, εἰ δὲ
μὴ, τὰς παρὰ σφυρόν. (In
complaints of the kidneys and
bladder, of the privates and

womb, bleedings on the legs, and particularly in the hollow of the knee, or otherwise at the ankle).

² *Oribasius*, Medicin. collect. bk. IX. ch. 24., Pudendis incommoda sunt pinguia, pro-sunt autem adstringentia. (Fatty matters are prejudicial to the privates, astringents on the contrary are of advantage).

³ *Galen*, De medicam. sec. loc. compos. bk. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 315.), τὰ δ' ἐν αἰδοίοις ἔλκη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔδραν χωρὶς φλεγμονῆς ὄντα ξηραίνοντων πάννυ δέεται φαρμακῶν. (Now ulcers on the privates and about the fundament, if free from the phlegmonous condition, require dessicative drugs above all). Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 381.).

⁴ *Galen*, loco citato pp. 317, 383.—*Oribasius*, Synops. bk. IX. ch. 38.

⁵ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. X. ch. 9. (X. p. 702.).—*Aëtius*, Tetrab. II. serm. 1. ch. 91.

recommended in the early stages before the appearance of an eating or phagedenic ulcer (*κατὰ τῶν ἐν αἰδοίοις φλεγμονῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ, πρὶν ὑποφαίνεσθαι τινα νομώδη σηπέδονα*,—in phlegmonous affections of the privates at the commencement, before any eating ulceration appear) a *ceratum rosaceum* (wax-salve of roses), the preparation of which he gives *in extenso*, and Aëtius copying from him; its activity is enhanced by the addition of a little *oleum sabinum* (Sabine oil). If the ulcers are complicated with *swelling*, a compound of white-lead (*ψιμύδιον*) and triturated vine-leaves is applied,¹ sea-water compresses,² or poultices of boiled lentils and pomegranate rind.³ For *painful* ulcers pompholyx (flowers of zinc)⁴ was particularly recommended, or a decoction of linseed with the addition of myrrh; also woman's milk may be advantageously used as well,⁵ especially with the addition of *anodynes*, and above all pompholyx or flowers of zinc. *Paulus Aegineta* (loco citato) prescribed the application of butter and resin melted together in equal parts, or linseed ground up with myrrh and resin. In *raw* and *dry* ulcers of the genitals the aloe was very generally prescribed; it was powdered and sprinkled over the sore,⁶ or if a phlegmonous condition was already established, dissolved in water.⁷

¹ *Galen*, De compos. medic. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 316.). *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59. *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 102.

² *Galen*, loco citato p. 316. *Paulus Aegineta*, loco citato. *Oribasius*, loco citato.

³ *Galen*, loco citato p. 317.

⁴ *Galen*, loco citato p. 316. De simplic. medic. temperam. ac facult. bk. X. (XII. p. 235.). *Paulus Aegineta*, loco cit. *Oribasius*, loco cit.

⁵ *Galen*, De simplic. medic. temperam. ac facult. bk. X. ch. 2. (XII. p. 268.).

⁶ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 382.). De composit. medic. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 316.). *Paulus Aegineta*, loco cit. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. I. serm. 1. *Nonnus*, Epit. ch. 195.

⁷ *Galen*, De simplic. medic. temperam. ac facult. bk. VI. (XI. p. 822.). *Aëtius*, loco cit.

In the second case *Oribasius* ¹ prescribed likewise the use of lead,—and indeed it was a usual recommendation with regard to most of the recognized remedies that they should be pounded and trituated in leaden mortars with leaden pestles.

Superficial ulcers of an *aphthae-like* character were treated as early as in *Hippocrates'* time and indeed by him ² with a decoction of myrtle-berries boiled in wine. As a remedy against moist ulcers a certain mixture of Crito's, compounded of frankincense and myrrh boiled in sweet wine, had a great reputation ; ³ but above all the powder of *charta usta* (papyrus ash), anise and *cucurbita* (gourd) ⁴ was employed, after the ulcer had been washed with urine ; further the *cortex pinus* (cork-tree), *lapis haematites* (blood-stone, haematite iron-ore), ⁵ to which frankincense was added in the case of more deep-seated ulcers, ⁶ also *cadmium ustum* (burnt calamine) (*Paulus Aegineta*) ; likewise washing with urine proved beneficial. ⁷ In spreading or eating ulcers (*νομῶδες ἔλκος*) a poultice was applied of lentils, pomegranates and oxymel ⁸ reduced to a pulp ; but a still more usual remedy was to sprinkle verdigris over the sore, and especially

¹ *Oribasius*, De virtute simplicium bk. II., under word "Molibdos",—lead.

² *Hippocrates*, De natura muliebri Vol. II. p. 586.

³ *Galen*, De composit. med. sec. loc. bk. VII. (XIII. p. 36.).

⁴ *Galen*, loco cit. p. 316., Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 382.), De simplic. medicam. temperam. ac facult. bk. VI. (XI. p. 832.). *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59. *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. IV. 102. Collect. IX. 24. *Nonnus*, Epitom. ch. 195.

⁵ *Orpheus* de lapidibus XVIII. 33.,

ἄνδρός τ' αἰδοίων ἄκος ἔσεται, ὃς καὶ πύλοι.

(And it shall be a cure of the privates of a man, whosoever shall drink thereof).

⁶ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 363.).

⁷ *Galen*, De simplic. medic. temperam. ac facult. bk. X. (XII. p. 285.).

⁸ *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59. *Oribasius*, Collect. bk. IX. ch. 24. *Nonnus*, Epitom. ch. 195.

⁹ *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. IV. ch. 44. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. eh. 17.

verdigris in conjunction with a salve made of *charta usta* (papyrus ash), sulphur, lead-slag, honey and *ceratum rosaceum* (wax-salve of roses); another remedy highly thought of was the *pastillus corax* (corax cake), the ingredients of which were verdigris, chalk, gall-nut, frankincense, turpentine, wax, oil of myrtles and beef-tallow; this was particularly beneficial in combating the carbunculous form of the disease. Very often however recourse to the cauterizing iron and the knife was unavoidable, especially if gangrene supervened, or if the callosity of the edges of the ulcer made cicatrization impossible.

Such were the general methods of treatment employed for ulcers of the genital organs, but these naturally varied according to the various distinctions between the several sorts conditional on the situation of the sore. Thus it becomes our next business to indicate on what parts of the body ulcers were observed:—

A. ULCERS ON THE MALE GENITAL ORGANS.

It is invariably the case that forms of ulceration affecting the male genitals are the most familiar and best known, and this was equally true in Antiquity. Whatever information the Ancient physicians deemed it necessary to record on the subject is found as early as *Celsus* laid down with something approaching to completeness in his writings (VI. 18.).

a. *Ulcers of the Prepuce.*

According to Leonidas¹ fissures and cracks in the prepuce frequently occurred, in all cases of the latter being too tight and being forcibly drawn back. On these supervened pain and phlegmonous inflammation; and then if a cure were not speedily effected, the edges assumed a condition of callosity, necessitating

¹ *Ætius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 24. Collect. L. ch. 9.

the use of the knife for its removal. However, more often than not the wound broke out again, because as was noted as early as by *Hippocrates*,¹ wounds of the prepuce are as a rule obstinate in healing. To meet this eventuality *Galen*² provides an entirely suitable procedure. While ulcers of the glans penis demand desiccative remedies, those of the prepuce rather call for *epilotics*,³ especially anise. Supposing the prepuce to become gangrenous, it must be cut away circularly, and the bleeding stopped by cauterization; if this treatment is not needful, a mixture of verdigris with honey, or pomegranate and vetch is applied.⁴ Ulcers on the inner fold of the prepuce, as also on the skin of the penis generally, are mentioned by *Celsus* (VI. 18.), the latter likewise by *Galen*. Such ulcers on the inner fold of the prepuce, *Celsus* states, not unfrequently give occasion to the setting up of phimosis and paraphimosis; and yet another consequence, a morbid growing together of glans and prepuce was observed by *Oribasius* (loco citato, 5.) and *Paulus Aegineta* (VI. 56.), for which these authors prescribe appropriate medical and surgical treatment. Under the name of *cancer* (eating ulcer) of the prepuce *Celsus*, it would seem, describes the *vousn* (spreading ulcer) of the Greek physicians, which commences by the ulcer turning black. Occasionally too the ulcers developed out of themselves morbid growths, excrescences or condy-

¹ *Hippocrates*, Coac, prænot. Vol. I. p. 389., Aphorism. Vol. III. p. 752. *Galen*, Method, med. bk. III. ch. 1. (X. p. 161.).

² *Galen*, Method. med. bk. XIV. ch. 15. (X. p. 1001 sqq.).

³ *Galen*, loco cit. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 381.), De simplic. medic. temperam. ac facult. bk. VI. (XI. pp. 832, 806.).

⁴ *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. VI. ch. 57.

⁵ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 381.), *Ætius*, Tetrab. III. 2. ch. 15., recommended drawing the prepuce forwards in micturition, so as to make the urine flow between the foreskin and glans penis, by which means the ulcers and fissures are readily cured.

lomata, particularly the form known as *thymion* (warty excrescence).

b. *Ulcers of the Glans Penis.*

These are, as pointed out by *Celsus* (VI. 18.), best described by taking their pathological and therapeutic aspects together; but it would serve no useful purpose to quote once more in this place the passages dealing with this part of the subject, which have been so often printed already. He makes a distinction, as does *Galen*,¹ between dry and clean, moist and suppurative, ulcers, the latter of which readily lead to phimosis and paraphimosis. The discharge is sometimes thin and watery, sometimes purulent, and on occasion becomes evil-smelling; the ulcerations both spread superficially and penetrate inwards, and may actually destroy the glans underneath the prepuce, so that it perishes altogether. When this happens, *Paulus Aegineta* (VI. 57.) has a leaden pipette inserted in the orifice of the urethra, to enable the patient to pass water. In other cases the prepuce grows into one with the ulcerated glans penis (*Celsus*, *Paulus Aegineta*, *Oribasius*). Ulcers *circa coronam glandis* (round the crown of the glans penis) are mentioned by *Aëtius*.²

A special kind is the *cancer colis* (eating ulcer of the member), probably the same as the *νομή* (spreading ulcer) of the Greeks, which *Aëtius*³ delineates as a spreading, flaccid ulcer, which on pressure emits a thin bloody discharge, that subsequently becomes feculent. Hemorrhage is apt to supervene according to *Celsus* on the shedding of a cicatrix artificially produced by operation or the cauterizing iron. Another species of *cancer* is the *φayέδαινα* (phage-

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. 381.). *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. 59. *Oribasius*, Synops. IX. 37. *Marcellus Empiricus*. ch. 33.

² *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. en 3.

³ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 17.

denic, eating ulcer) of the Greeks, which extends rapidly and penetrates to the bladder. It appears to be identical with *ἀνθραξ* (malignant pustule), though Celsus mentions the *carbunculus colis* (carbuncle of the member) in a special category; for the description he gives, bk. V. ch. 28., of carbuncle is equally applicable to the phagedaena. *Ἀνθραξ* (malignant pustule) begins with itching, later on a pustule, or else a number of little bladders or blebs resembling millet-seeds appear, which burst in much the same way as a blister due to burning does, leaving behind an *ulcus crustaceum* (scab-encrusted ulcer), resembling the cicatrix of a burn; this is firmly adherent and black in colour. The surrounding tissue is likewise black and violently inflamed, the inflammation not unfrequently having an erysipelas-like character. *Galen*³ designates the process *ἀνθράκωσις*, and declares that buboes are an accompanying feature. He holds the ulcers of the genitals occurring under the special climatic conditions laid down by Hippocrates above to have been partly *ἀνθραξ*,⁴ the disease to which Hero succumbed.

Another kind of ulcer affecting the male genitals is mentioned by *Pollux*¹ under the name of *θηρίωμα* (malignant sore), which *Celsus* (V. 28.) likewise speaks of, but without particularizing its situation. The same

¹ *Actuarius*, Method. med. II. ch. 12. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 18. *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, ch. V. 2. V. 43. *Theodor. Priscianus* I. 25.

³ *Galen*, Isag. ch. 16. (XIV. p. 777.).

⁴ *Galen*, De temperam. 4. (I. p. 532.).

⁵ *Pollux*, Onomast. bk. IV. ch. 26. 206., *θηρίωμα, γίνεται μὲν ἑλκος περὶ ἀνδρῶν αἰδοῖα, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ περὶ*

δαντὶ ὅλον [read *δαντὶ-λίον*], καὶ ἀλλὰχοῦ, αἷμα πολὺ καὶ μέλαν καὶ δυσῶδες ἀφίεν μετὰ μελανίας τὴν σάρκα ἀνεσθίον. (*θηρίωμα*, —malignant sore, is an ulcer affecting men's privates, as well as sometimes the fingers (? the anus). and other parts, discharging much black evil-smelling blood, accompanied with black colour and eating away the flesh).

fact applies to ulcers of the glans penis as to those of the prepuce, viz. that many forms of morbid outgrowths arise from them; in other instances callosities on the edges of the ulcers are built up, leaving behind a callous protuberance, which the Greeks appear to have called *ἥλος* (a nail), the Romans *clavus* (a nail).¹ The proper treatment to be followed in each of these special cases is given by Celsus and the Writers he cites.

B. ULCERS OF THE FEMALE GENITAL ORGANS.

In this connection, as indeed in the discussion of the female genital organs generally, we once again meet with the difficulty due to the indefiniteness of the names given to the several parts. Not only do the Greeks constantly make use of the general expression *αἰδοῖα*, *μόρια* (privates, parts), but they likewise employ *ὕστερον* and *μήτρα* (the womb) sometimes as meaning the vagina, sometimes the uterus, though it is true the later Writers like *Galen*² designate the vagina *ἡ ὕστερα*, the uterus *ὁ ὕστερος*, yet without keeping consistently to the distinction.

¹ *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, XV. 3.

² *Galen*, *Isagog.* ch. 11. (XIV. p. 719.), *ταῖς δὲ γυναιξίν ἡ ὕστερα ἔοικεν ὁσχῇ ἀνεστραμμένη*, (but in women the vagina is like a scrotum inverted), though in accordance with what comes next the uterus may also be understood to be here intended. *Commentar. in Hippocrat. De Alimento* (XV. p. 326.), *περὶ δὲ τῆς ὕστερας ὀλίγα ἐξηγήσεται· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, πότερον ὕστερον ἢ μήτραν κλητέον ἐστὶ τὸ μόριον ἐκεῖνο, δὲ πρὸς τὴν κύσιν ἔδωκε*

φύσιν ταῖς γυναιξίν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει. (Now about the vagina we shall not say much. However first of all we may remark as to the question whether we should name the part which nature has given to women for connection *ὕστερος* or *μήτρα*, that this is a matter of indifference). Moreover the Physicians use *κόλπος* (fold, bosom), e.g. *Galen*, *De tumoribus præter naturam* ch. 4. (VII. p. 717.) for the vaginal canal, as the Romans did *sinus* (fold, bosom) in Latin,

The same applies to the use in Latin of *locus* (place), *pars* (part), and *vulva* (womb), which last word stands for the uterus in *Celsus*, *Pliny* and most of the later Writers.

Passing over the indefinite expressions *dolores* (pains), *inflammatio* or *phlegmoné* (inflammation) of the genitals, although the treatment prescribed for them clearly implies that very often ulceration was concurrently present, we find the various kinds of ulcers of the female genitals most fully and systematically described by *Arætaeus*,¹ *Paulus Aegineta* (III. 65—68.) and *Ætius*² following Archigenes, Soranus and Aspasia.

Abscesses *Ætius* says (loco citato, ch. 110.) occur on the female *labia*; if these extend in the direction of the anus, they must not be opened with the knife, as fistulas are liable to be set up, but there is no fear of this when they extend towards the urethra. The same author (p. 109.) speaks of *pustulae scabrae* (scabrous, scurfy pustules) in the vagina and orifice of the womb, which throw off bran-like scales, as also (ch. 108.) of *tubercula miliaria* (miliary tubercles) in the same localities. These may no doubt be recognized by touch, but are better diagnosed by means of the uterine speculum, or *Dioptra*, and *ex coitus affrictu* (in consequence of friction in coition) interfere with menstruation and conception. Obviously what is here pointed to is the swollen mucous glands,

¹ *Celsus*, bk. V. ch. 25. *Marcellus*, De medic. ch. 7. 17. *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis* II. 7., XV. 2., XXXI. 12. *L. Apuleius* De herb. XLIX. 1., LXXIV. 3., CXXI. 2.

² *Celsus*, bk. V. 28. 25. *Galen*, Vol. II. p. 150., X. p. 993. XI. p. 9. 1001., XVI. p. 180., XVII. B. pp. 274, 855., XIX, p. 428. *Oribasius*,

De virt. simpl. bk. II. 1. under word "Leucoion", De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 112. *Ætius*, Tetrab. I. serm. 1. under word "Leucoion", Tetrab. IV. serm. 4. ch. 83. *Actuarius*, Method. med. bk. VI. chs. 8, 9.

³ *Arætaeus*, De sign. chron. bk. II. ch. 11.

⁴ *Ætius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 4. chs. 88—94.

which in our modern practice likewise are frequently observed in gonorrhœal cases. Often the ulcers take a form characterized by *fissures* (*φαιγάδες*, *fissuræ*,—fissures, *rimæ*,—cracks), particularly at the orifice of the uterus.¹ Sometimes they become callous, at others give rise to morbid outgrowths; as a rule the discharge is a thin watery juice, and pain is felt during coition.

Ulcers strictly so called, says Aretæus, are either superficial, in fact rather excoriations than ulcers, and far-spreading; they itch as though salt had been sprinkled on the surface, give off a small quantity of thick pus, free from smell, and are not malignant. To this class probably belong the aphthæ-like ulcers of Hippocrates.² In other cases they are more deep-seated; being then painful, discharging an evil-smelling pus, and having a less mild character than the former, but still not such as to be described as malignant. If they penetrate yet deeper, the edges then become rough, the discharge takes the form of a malodorous juice, while the pain is more severe than in the other kinds. The actual tissue of the womb is partially destroyed in the latter case, while morbid outgrowths form, which make cicatrization extremely difficult. This last kind was known also as *phagedæna*, (eating ulcer); it is dangerous, especially if the pain increases and the patient falls into low spirits. An offensive juice is discharged, so foul that the patient herself is hard put to bear it; the ulcer is highly intolerant of being touched for the application of remedial means; it may end fatally,

¹ The uterine speculum is mentioned by *Ætius* also chs. 86, 88. and its use described; as also by *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 65., bk. VI. ch. 73., and for the examination of the rectum, bk. VI. ch. 78.

² *Galen*, De loc. affect. bk. VI. ch. 5. (VIII. p. 436.).

Paulus Aegineta, bk. III. chs. 59, 75. *Ætius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 15., serm. 4. ch. 107.

³ *Hippocrates*, De natura muliebri Vol. II. pp. 586, (588), 591., De morbis mulier. bk. II. Vol. II. 878.

and is known under the name of "Crab-ulcer". *Νομή* (spreading ulcer),¹ carbuncle and *sordida ulcera* (foul ulcers) of the uterus are mentioned by *Aëtius* (loco citato), who shows the mode of investigating them by means of the uterine speculum and a treatment consisting mainly of injections² and pessaries prepared of a number of different remedies. Not unfrequently unskilful treatment of ulcers of the vagina occasioned morbid outgrowths, which according to *Celsus'* teaching,³ must be removed by surgical means. Lastly the fact that ulcers of the genital organs of women were prejudicial to men who consummated coition with them and were for that reason dreaded by them, is clearly implied in the narrative of *Cedrenus*.⁴

¹ *Nonnus*, Epitom. ch. 206., distinguishes between *ὄνπα-ρον ἔλκος*, *νομή μετὰ φλεγμονῆς* (foul ulcer, eating sore with inflammation) and *ἄνευ φλεγμονῆς νομή* (eating sore without inflammation); as does *Paulus Aegin.*, bk. III. ch. 66.

² By means of the uterine syringe, *μητροεγγύτης*. *Galen*, Synopsis medic. sec. loc. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 316.). *Oribasis*, Collect. medic. bk. X. ch. 25.

³ *Celsus*, bk. VII. ch. 28. *Pliny*, Histor. nat. XXX. 4. *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, XXXII. 2. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 73.

⁴ *Cedrenus*, *Σύνοψις ἱστορικῇ* (Historical Survey), edit. J. Goar and H. Fabrot, Paris 1647. fol., p. 266. In Diocletian's time when persecutions of the Christians were general, a fair and modest maiden was charged with having spoken

disrespectfully of the gods; for punishment she was sent to a brothel with the order that she must reimburse the brothel-keeper three shillings a day. The latter was to make her serve as a prostitute, and she was to receive all who wished to go with her, Account however was taken of the fact that she declared *she had an ulcer on her privates*, and this obliged them to wait till it was cured (*προσφασίζομένη ἔλκος ἔχειν ἐπὶ κρυπτοῦ τόπου καὶ τοῦτον ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐκδέξασθαι* (pretexting she had an ulcer in a secret place, and must wait for its removal). The same story is told by *Palladius*, Hist. lausiaca. ch. 148., as having happened at Corinth, who calls the ulcer an evil-smelling one, that might easily stir the repugnance of her visitors against the girl, (*λέγουσα, ὅτι ἔλκος ἔχω τι*

4. Ulcers of the Fundament.

We have already seen how fissures and ulcers of the fundament were a not unusual consequence of the vice of the pathic, yet not the faintest indication of the fact is to be found in the medical Writers. The knowledge possessed by the Ancients as to affections of the fundament have been collected with a very considerable degree of completeness by *Aëtius*,¹ especially as copying Galen; the remaining authorities treat them as a rule in conjunction with the corresponding affections of the genitals, and mostly recommend the same remedies for them. So far therefore as they are concerned we refer back to the information given in connection with the latter. At the same time there mark may be permitted that this juxtaposition of the two seems to point to the Ancients having held, as we maintain they did, the view that affections of the genitals and affections of the anus arose from like causes and were of like character, as is shown by their dealing with the one and the other class of diseases on the same general lines.

Ardentes dolores (burning pains)² and *pruritus*

εἰς κεκρυμμένον τόπον, ὅπερ ἐσχάτως ὄζει, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς μισός μου ἐηθητε τῷ ἀποτροπαίῳ τοῦ ἔλκους· ἐνδοτε οὖν μοι ὀλίγος ἡμέρας καὶ ἐξουσίαν μου ἔχετε καὶ ὠφελέν με ἔχειν,—(saying “I have an ulcer in a secret part, which smells very ill, and I fear you may come to feel repugnance towards me owing to the foulness of the ulcer; grant me therefore a few days, then may work your will of me and I undertake to give myself freely). The last sentence shows clearly that the ulcer was easy to curc.

Comp. Nicephorus, Hist. eccles. bk. VII. chs. 12, 13.

¹ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. II. chs. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10. *Galen*, Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 7. (XIII. p. 315.). *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 93. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59.

² *Galen*, Euporist. bk. I. ch. 14. (XIV. p. 382.), Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 7. (XIII. p. 315.), *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 93. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59.

(itching) ¹ of the anus are not uncommon. *Inflammations* ² often supervene as a consequence of fissures, morbid growths and ulcers. *Rhagades* (cracks) and *fissures* ³ are found either in the sphincter muscle or in the rectum, and are an accompaniment of condylomata, whenever the latter become inflamed and spread, causing the surrounding tissue to rupture; the edges frequently assume a callous condition, and then require to be broken down and thus transformed into a simple ulcer. Often abscesses are set up ⁴ as a result of the inflammation, and these are liable to lead to fistulas. The ulcers ⁵ on occasion assume the character of the *νομή φαγέδαινα* (eating and spreading ulcer). Supposing them situated on the sphincter ani, they must neither be cut nor cauterized, as severance of the muscle makes it impossible for the patient to retain the faeces. This loss of retentive power may also occur apart from any operation, if the *νομή* (spreading ulcer) destroy the muscle. Supposing on the contrary the *νομή* to be below the sphincter, knife or cauterizing iron may either of

¹ *Galen*, Euporist. bk. I. ch. 14. (XIV. p. 382.). *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 94.

² *Galen*, Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. IV. ch. 6. (XIII. p. 309.), ch. 7. (p. 314.), Synops. med. sec. gen. bk. V. ch. 12. (XIII. p. 837.). *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 92. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59. *Nonnus*, Epit. ch. 198.

³ *Celsus*, bk. VI. ch. 18., bk. VII. 30., bk. V. 20. *Galen*, Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 6. (XIII. p. 309.), Synops. med. sec. gen. bk. V. ch. 13. (XIII. p. 840.), De simplic. med. temp. ac facult. bk. IX. chs. 3, 23. (XII. p. 231.), bk. XI. ch. 1. (XII. p. 333.),

Paulus Aegineta, bk. III. ch. 59., bk. VI. ch. 80. *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. bk. IV. ch. 95. *Dioscorides* bk. I. ch. 34., ch. 94. *Scribonius Largus*, De compos. med. ch. 223. *Marcellus*, ch. 31. *Nonnus*, Epitom. ch. 196. *Isidorus*, Origin. bk. IV. ch. 7.

⁴ *Aëtius*, loco citato ch. 9. from Leonidas. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. VI. ch. 78.

⁵ *Celsus*, VI. 18. *Galen*, Method. med. bk. V. ch. 15. (X. p. 381.), Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 6. (XIII. p. 307.), De simplic. temperam ac facult. bk. VI. (XI. p. 821.). *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59.

them be employed. In some instances ulcers lead to a morbid growth at the orificium ani, that must be obviated by means of pipettes of lead.¹ In other cases *rhagades* (cracks) and ulcers lead eventually to morbid outgrowths.

5. Buboes.

Bubo, panus (swelling resembling the thread wound on bobbin of a shuttle), paniculus (diminutive of same), inguen (swelling in the groin).

Under the name of *bubo* the ancient Physicians understood any form of inflammation of the lymphatic glands. Now such inflammation occurs above all other places in the inguinal region, and thus inflammation of the inguinal glands came to be especially indicated by the word, as well as the inguinal region itself. Similarly the Romans used *inguen* (the groin) both for the region and for the disease. Subsequently many distinctions were drawn; a phlegmonous affection combined with swelling was called a *βουβών* (bubo), while the name *φῦμα* (swelling) was appropriated to a swelling of the glands characterized by its rapid establishment and its tendency to suppuration (bubo with suppurative pustule in the centre), and *φύγεθλον* (burning swelling) to one conjoined with (cutaneous) inflammation of an erysipelas character,² which last form, if it passes on into induration, is known as *χοιρᾶς* or *struma* (scrofulous or strumous swelling). The best exposition from the points of view equally

¹ *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. VI. ch. 80.

² *Galen*, Method. med. ad Glaucon. bk. II. ch. 1. (XI. p. 77.), De tumor. praet. nat. ch. 15. (VII. p. 729.), Comment. in Hippocrat. Aphorism. (XVII. B. p. 636.).—*Paulus*

Aegineta, bk. IV. ch. 22. *Actuarius*, bk. II. ch. 12. *Cassius*, Problem. 42. *Nonnus*, Epitom. 247. *Heliodorus*, in Mai's Class. auctor. c. Vatic. codd. edit. Vol. IV. p. 13. note 3.

of pathology and therapeutics is found in *Galen*.¹ The glands in virtue of their spongy structure are peculiarly liable to take up rheums or fluxes of all descriptions; accordingly the glands of the groin, armpits and neck swell, directly ulcers are set up in the toes, fingers or head. The body being overloaded with evil humours is another reason for the establishment of buboes, and in this case they are more difficult to cure. Further, *Hippocrates*² derived buboes in women from interrupted menstruation, and maintains³ that the most part owe their origin to some affection of the liver.

The majority of Writers however are agreed that among other occasioning causes ulcers hold the first place,⁴ though none of them speak expressly of ulcers of the genitals, unless indeed we see good to make the passage of Hippocrates discussed a little above refer to these. No doubt in this passage the words *έλκώματα, φύματα ἔξωθεν ἔσωθεν τὰ περὶ βουβῶνας* (ulcerations, tumours external and external in the inguinal region) might admit of such an explanation, in which case the words must be taken not as referring to each single patient, but rather held to mean that ulcers and glandular swellings with a tendency to suppuration were set up, the latter occurring in some patients in the urethra, in others in the groin. Such an interpretation is favoured

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. XIII. ch. 5. (X. pp. 180 sqq.). Comp. *Celsus*, bk. V. ch. 28. *Oribasius*, Sympos. bk. VII. 31., De morb. curat. bk. III. ch. 46.

² *Hippocrates*, De natura pueri Vol. I. p. 390.

³ *Hippocrates*, Epidem. bk. VI. Vol. III. p. 619.

⁴ In reference to *ἀνθράξ* *Galen* says, Isagog. ch. 16. XIX. p. 777.): *ἀνθράκωσις*

δέ ἐστιν ἑλκος ἐσχαρῶδες μετὰ νομῆς καὶ ῥεύματος καὶ βουβῶνος ἐνίοτε καὶ πυρετῶν γινομένων περὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν σῶμα, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ περὶ ὀφθαλμούς. (But *ἀνθράκωσις* (malignant ulcer) is a scabby ulcer conjoined with eating ulcer and discharge and *bubo*, as also with fevers sometimes affecting the whole body and at other times the eyes in particular).

by the case of the Eunuch discussed in § 20, for there can be no doubt the metathesis of buboes into fistulous ulcers was noted by Celsus and other observers. Still it is highly improbable that ulcers on the feet should have afforded the sole and only cause of buboes; it is much more natural to suppose that this, as being the more rare case, was for that very reason brought into special prominence by the ancient Physicians.. Besides we have seen above that the old Physicians seldom or never really had an opportunity of seeing the sympathetic buboes, as patients treated the ulcers themselves, and the buboes then disappeared spontaneously. Oribasius no less than other Writers holds buboes following on an ulcer to be without danger.

Lastly the cases are very rare in which secondary buboes under the prevailing tendency and course of the disease are thrown out on the skin, and if they do arise, the ulcer as a rule heals up. This being so, the Physician is consulted, only supposing the buboes refused to disappear. On the contrary if the ulcer was still there, the Physician sought actually to stimulate it to enhanced activity, as is distinctly implied by what *Galen* says (*loco citato*). Lint smeared with *tetrapharmacum* (compound of wax, tallow, pitch and resin), liquified by the addition of *oleum rosaceum* (oil of roses) was applied and warm poultices over that; while on the actual bubo was laid in the first instance wool moistened with oil, to which when the pain and swelling of the part were relieved, was added an admixture of salt. Plethoric or cacochymic (generating evil humours) subjects are to be bled or cupped. If the bubo is inflamed and inclined to suppurate, it must be scarified, the patient having first been purged. Dispersion is then attempted, in this case by means of pulp and honey poultices, but not by plasters, as these are apt to provoke inflammation. If pus appears, recourse must not be had at once, as some advise, to opening with the knife; rather the poultices should be persevered

with till the inflammation is relieved. Acrid poultices are suitable only when the metathesis to induration has already begun.

If dispersion does not follow and the matter has collected in greater quantities, then the most elevated spot, the same where the skin is the thinnest, should be opened. Should a part of the skin be discoloured, it must be cut away. Some advise always cutting out a piece in the shape of a myrtle-leaf, others make very long incisions; but this not only causes a disfiguring scar, but often also interferes with the movement of the part. As a general rule a single incision is sufficient, which should be made diagonally across the inguinal region, not parallel with the direct diameter of the thigh, as then the edges are brought actually into contact when the limb bends.¹ After the opening of the abscess, it should be treated by preference with finely sifted frankincense, as should all forms of ulcer. We may mention further that according to Sextus Placitus Papyriensis² the wearing

¹ *Galen*, loco citato p. 887., ἐχούσης δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τὸ μήκος μείζον τοῦ πλάτους, ἐγκάρσιον ἔστω τὸ μήκος ἐπὶ τοῦ βουβῶνος, οὐ κατ' εὐθὺ τὸν κῶλον· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν οὕτως ἐπιπτύσσεται τὸ δέρμα ἐκντῶ, καμπτόντων τὸ κῶλον. (But such an incision having greater length than breadth, the length should be diagonally to the groin, not in the line of the direct diameter of the limb. For in this way the skin is naturally folded over itself, when patients bend the limb).

² *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, *De medicamentis ex animal.* ch. i. note 14., *Cervi pudenda si tecum habueris, inguina tibi non tumbunt, et*

si tumor antiquus fuerit, velociter recedet. (If you carry with you a stag's genitals, your groin will never swell, and if you have a long-standing swelling, it will quickly disappear). We must further note supplementarily that *Prophylactics against female gonorrhæa* appear also to have been known and used; at any rate *Galen*, *Euporist.* bk. II. ch. 26. note 37. (XIV. p. 485.), cites measures against humidity of the genital organs during coition (πρὸς τὸ μὴ καθυγραίνεσθαι τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν;—(to guard against the humidity of the genitals in coition amongst women), consisting in fact in unripe gall-apples,

of a stag's genitals was considered a *prophylactic* against buboes.

6. Exanthemata on the Genitals.

Long ago *Hensler* endeavoured in the Graduation Theme of his mentioned in the list of Historical Authorities to prove that certain eruptions occurring on the genitals were communicated and acquired as the result of coition. In particular did this apply above all to *herpes* (creeping eruption), under which name must be understood, as is distinctly implied in a passage of *Galen*,¹ a form of eruption accompanied by ulceration. It is true the passages of *Hippocrates*² cited by *Hensler* in regard to the *herpes esthiomenos* (eating herpes) would appear to be open to some doubt and obscurity, while the interpretations given by *Pollux* (*Onomast.* IV. 25. 191.) *φλυκτίς*, *φλύκταινα ἐπιμήκης*, *μάλιστα περὶ βουβῶνας καὶ μασχάλας*, *φύγεθλον*, *φῦμα περὶ βουβῶνα μετὰ πυρετοῦ*, (*φλυκτίς*, a long-shaped blister, particularly in the groin and armpits. *φύγεθλον*, a tumour in the groin accompanied by fever) refer probably only to bubonic swellings; still these objections hardly apply to the *φύματα* (swellings) described in § 32,—the less so as *Celsus* himself (VI. 18.) explains: "Tubercula etiam, quae *φύματα* Graeci vocant, circa glandem oriuntur, quae vel medicamentis vel ferro aduruntur; et cum crustae exciderunt, squama aeris inspergitur, ne quid ibi rursus increseat; (Tuberculous swellings also, which the Greeks call *φύματα*, arise about the *glans penis*, and are burned away either by caustic drugs or by the actual cautery. Afterwards when

ashes and wine as a lotion, or infusion of gall-apples with sulphurated wool as a vaginal-plug, honey and nitre as an embrocation!)

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. II. ch. 2. (X. p. 83).

² *Hippocrates*, Aphorismor. Vol. III. p. 742., De liquidorum usu Vol. II. p. 163.

the scabs have fallen off, the sore is dusted with slag of bronze, to prevent any second growth later on). Moreover it is possible the passage of *Galen*,¹ *πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν αἰδοίοις φνόμενα ἀπίον σπέρμα ἐπίπασσε καὶ τραγεία χολῇ περιχρῖε*. (But for growths on the privates sprinkle pear-juice and rub in goat's gall) may refer to these cases, though no doubt it may also be held to apply to the tubercles occurring in the female vagina (§ 41,—3. B.).

Again *epinyctis* (night-pustule),² which Hensler also mentions but declares to be equally open to suspicion as to interpretation, would seem hardly pertinent in this connection, for the violent pain experienced at once tells against the likelihood of its being an affection of this class. Its appearance in *eminentibus partibus* (on prominent parts, on the extremities) finds a clear explanation in the words added by *Pollux* (loco citato, 197.) *περὶ κνήμας καὶ πόδας ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένη* (appearing on legs and feet during the night); while it is proved that Celsus meant to indicate nothing else by it from his words in describing *φλυζάκιον* (little blister), which he says occurs *raro in medio corpore, saepe in eminentibus partibus*,—rarely on the trunk, frequently on prominent parts, extremities. Still we do not for a moment wish to dispute the fact that the male genitals were at any rate among the Ancients counted as belonging to the *partes eminentes*, and as chancrous blebs do usually appear suddenly and often during the night, it is quite possible these may have been all along intended by *epinyctis*,—especially as on Hippocrates' authority³ creeping eruptions (*ἔρπητες*) arise from night-pustules (*ἐκ τῶν ἐπινυκτίδων*). However

¹ *Galen*, Synops. medic. sec. loc. bk. IX. ch. 8. (XIII. p. 317).

² *Celsus*, bk. V. ch. 28. *Oribasius*, De morb. crat. bk. III. ch. 54. Synops. bk. VII. ch. 37, ch. 42., Collect. bk.

XLIV. ch. 11. Mai loco cit. p. 31. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 61. *Paulus Aegineta* bk. IV. ch. 9.

³ *Hippocrates*, Prorrh. bk. II. Vol. I. p. 204.

Pollux (loco citato, 206.) likewise again mentions the legs and feet (*πνήμεις καὶ πόσιν*), declaring these eruptions attack those of elderly people. From this we may conclude the epinyctis of the Ancient writers to have been very likely nothing else but that form of *impetigo* (scabby eruption) which is vulgarly known as the *salt-flux*.

*Aëtius*¹ mentions *pustulae spontaneae in pudendis* (pustules spontaneously set up on the privates), provoking *phimosis*, and describes² *scabies scroti* (scab of the scrotum) with metathesis into ulceration and scaliness, after the disappearance of which very often acute *pruritus scroti* (itch of the scrotum) is left behind. *Galen* (XIX. p. 449.) defines *psoriasis scroti* (itching of the scrotum) as a form of induration of the scrotum accompanied by itching, as well as in some instances by ulcers.

Under exanthematic types come also the various *condylomata*. These when they appeared on the genitals and in other localities of the body, were called by the Greeks *σῦκος*, *συχώδης*, *σύνωμα*, *συχώδης ὄγκος*, (fig, figlike excrescence, figlike swelling, figlike lump), by the Romans *ficus* (fig), whereas the same disease when it showed itself on the fundament, received the name of condyloma³ *par excellence*. At the same time this distinction was by no means strictly observed; in particular the larger forms of *thymus* (warty excrescence) were designated by the name *σῦκος* (fig), albeit it would seem that *thymus* was used as specific name for all protuberances on the fundament and genitals. *Σῦκος* or *ficus* is according to *Galen*⁴ an ulcerative tubercle secreting moisture,—the *varus* (blotchy eruption) on the contrary being dry, according to *Oribasius*⁵ of circular shape

¹ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 15.

² *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 20.

³ *Galen*, Definit. medic. Vol. XIX. p. 446.

⁴ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 3.

⁵ *Oribasius*, Synops. medic. sec. loc. bk. V. ch. 4. (XII. p. 823.). *Aëtius*, Tetrab. II. serm. 4. ch. 14.

and reddish colour, hardish and rather painful. It is found above all on the hairy parts of the body, the head, chin, fundament and genitals,¹ as the passages quoted above in § 13 from Martial show. They occurred, as it would seem, most frequently on the female genitals, in which situation they are described so long ago as by *Hippocrates*¹ under the name of *κλών* (pillar, pillar-like excrescence) and said to be evil-smelling. *Aspasia*² says, "condyloma est rugosa eminentia. Rugae enim circa os uteri existentes dum inflammantur, attolluntur et indurantur, tumor-
"emque ac crassitudinem quandam in locis efficiunt. (a condyloma is a wrinkled protuberance. For when the wrinkles surrounding the orifice of the uterus grow inflamed, they become prominent and indurated, occasioning a swelling and thickening in the parts). *Paulus Aegineta* (III. 75., VI. 71.) describes them under the name of *hemorrhoids* as painful, reddish, excrescences suffused with blood, which break (*διαλείμμασι*), and give off a pale discharge in drops. Much more common was the appearance of *condylomata on the fundament*,⁴ particularly in male

¹ *Oribasius*, Synops. bk. VII. ch. 40. *Aëtius*, loco citato. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 3.

² *Marcellus*, De medic. ch. 31., gives prescriptions "ad ficos qui in locis verecundioribus nascuntur, (for fig-like swellings that occur in the more private parts). *Nonnus*, Epit. 214.

³ *Aspasia*, De natura mulier. Vol. II. p. 588., De morb. mulier. bk. II. Vol. II. p. 879. The Etymologicum Magnum under the word explains *κλών* by ἐπὶ τοῦ κλῆιν καὶ ἀνέλιναι εἰς ὕψος (so called from its going upwards and rising to

a height). Comp. *Phil. Ingrassias*, De tumor. praet. natur. p. 273.

⁴ *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 4. ch. 106.

⁵ *Celsus*, bk. VI. ch. 18. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 3. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59., bk. IV. ch. 15., bk. VI. ch. 80. *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, XI. 7. *Apuleius*, De herb. LXXX. 8. A large number of remedies against them are given by *Galen*: Vol. XIII. 309, 312, 422, 447, 512, 560, 715, 738, 781, 787, 824, 828, 831, 833, 837, 840.

subjects; in which case they were specially ascribed to pederastia, as we have already seen. This makes it impossible to decide definitely which condylomata were of primary and which of secondary character; but the fact in no way authorizes us to deny altogether the occurrence of the latter in Ancient times.

7. Morbid Outgrowths on the Genital Organs.

σαρκώδη βλαστήματα, verrucae. (fleshy outgrowths, warty excrescences).

The general name **θύμος** (*thymus*,—warty excrescence), or according to Celsus perhaps more correctly **θύμιον** (small warty excrescence), appears to have been used by the Greeks to designate all morbid outgrowths, and particularly those of the genitals and fundament, while they appropriated the expressions **σῦκος**, **ἀκροχορδόν**, and **μυρμήκια** (fig or figlike excrescence, wart with a neck, wart growing directly on the skin) to signify the different subordinate species. The **θύμιον**, which *Celsus*¹ is the first Writer to delineate in detail, is a warty, reddish,—

¹ *Celsus*, bk. V. ch. 28. Comp. *Galen*, Defin. med. (XIX. p. 444.). *Oribasius*, Synops. VII. ch. 39., Collect. bk. XLV. ch. 12., bk. L. ch. 7. (in Mai loco cit. p. 43, p. 186). *Aëtius*, Tetrab. IV. serm. 2. ch. 3., serm. 4. ch. 105. *Paulus Aegineta*, bk. III. ch. 59., bk. VI. chs. 58, 71. *Nonnus*, Epit. ch. 197. *Pollux*, Onomast. bk. IV. ch. 25. sect. 194., **θύμος**, ὑπέρυθρος ἐκφυσις, τραχήα, ἐναι-

μος, οὐ δύσαφαίρετος, μάλιστα περὶ αἰδοῖα καὶ δακτύλιον καὶ παραμήρια· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ προσώπῳ. (**θύμος**,—*thymus*, a reddish outgrowth, rough, suffused with blood, not difficult to remove, occurring chiefly on the genital organs and anus and insides of the thighs; but sometimes on the face too). *Marcellus*, ch. 33. *Myrepsus*, XXXVIII. ch. 157.

according to Paulus Aegineta white too in some cases, and as a rule painless,—fleshy outgrowth, slender at the base, broader above, rather hard and rough at the top. Thus it bears a certain resemblance to the flower of the thyme, from which circumstance comes the name. The upper part is easily split, and then bleeds,—more than might be expected Aëtius says from its size; the same also sometimes happens spontaneously. Usually it has the size of an Egyptian bean, though occasionally it is quite small. Sometimes one such growth appears, at others several are found together, now on the palms of the hands, now on the soles of the feet; but the worst are always those on the genital organs.

According to Aëtius, who calls the larger sorts *σῦχος* (fig), *thymus* is also found on the fundament and on the face, in women on the *labia*, in the entrance to the vagina and in the vagina itself, spreading thence to the fundament and even over the thighs. This is confirmed by Oribasius, who as well as Paulus Aegineta and perhaps Celsus, distinguishes a *malignant* and a *non-malignant* form. The non-malignant growths generally disappear of themselves; but if they are amputated, there remains behind, so says Celsus, a circular root which penetrates deep into the flesh; and not only do they grow again, but further take the character of the malignant form, become painful and filled with a bloody ichor. The malignant show themselves both with and without ulceration, as well as after the disappearance of the non-malignant growth; they are harder, rougher and larger, have a dirty livid hue, and are painful, particularly on being touched. Thymus on the glans penis is more dangerous than when affecting the prepuce, ¹ more especially if it assume a carcinomatous character. If of the non-malignant type it should be lightly scarified with the point of a scalpel, then

¹ *Hippocrates*, De ulcer. knowledge of them very uncommon so early as his time.
Vol. III. p. 319., shows a

some mild escharotic employed, for which the Writer just named gives several prescriptions. If of the malignant type, it is according to Paulus Aegineta either tied with a horse-hair and then removed by knife or cautery, or according to what Oribasius says the latter is at once resorted to. But seeing thymus on the prepuce is often found affecting the inner and outer surfaces simultaneously, cautery must not be employed on both at once, for in that way the foreskin would be destroyed altogether. The better plan is to begin with those situated on the inner surface, first cutting them away, then cauterizing, and finally when they are cicatrized proceeding to the treatment of the others. But not a few are incurable.

*'Αρροχορδόν*¹ is a smooth, circular, fleshy protuberance, having a slender circular base, so that it looks as though it hung on a string, whence the name. It is painless and callous, usually has the same colour as the skin, while its dimensions seldom exceed those of a bean. As a rule several occur together, but disappear again of their own accord, especially if they are only small, though on occasion they get inflamed and suppuration follows; they leave no root behind on amputation. According to *Galen* and *Aëtius* they occur on the fundament, according to *Philumenes*, as given in the latter author, likewise on the female genitals. They are removed either by means of a thread or with the lancet, though escharotics and other acrid remedies are also employed.

A highly inveterate form is the *μυρμήκια*, or *formica* (ant) of later Writers, which is almost always

¹ *Celsus*, bk. V. ch. 28. ch. 1. *Galen*, *Defin. med.* (XIX. p. 444.) *Oribasius*, *Collect.* bk. XLV. ch. 11. ch. 14. (Mai loco cit. 41, 43. *Aëtius*, *Tetrab.* IV. serm. 2. ch. 3., serm. 4. ch. 105. *Paulus*

Aegineta, bk. IV. ch. 15., bk. VI. ch. 87. *Actuarius*, bk. II. ch. 11., bk. IV. ch. 15., bk. VI. ch. 9. *Pollux*, *Onomast.* bk. IV. ch. 25. sect. 195.

discussed by medical Authors concurrently with *ἀρχοχορδόν*. It is, Celsus tells us, less prominent and harder than the *θύμιον*, has deeper roots, is more painful, broad at the base and slender at the top, less suffused with blood and seldom larger than a lupin-bean. The colour according to Aëtius is blackish. On its being touched, the patient has the sensation of having been bitten by an ant. As an exactly similar growth appears on the hands, most Writers, e.g. Celsus and Oribasius, speak only of this latter; but Aëtius describes it expressly as occurring on the fundament and on the female genitals; and it was observed in the latter situation by Philumenes, or Aëtius (loco citato, ch. 105.) in the case of *his own wife*, whom he cured by three days' fumigation with *origanum*. (wild-marjoram). Not to mention the usual escharotic remedies, for which Aëtius in especial gives several formulæ, the following modes of treatment recommended by the medical Writers evidently apply to warts on the hands only,—by extirpation with a myrtle-leaf shaped scalpel called a *scolopomachaerion* (small pointed surgical knife), squeezing off by means of a quill or metal pipette, and above all sucking with the lips and gnawing off. This last was in *Galen's* time especially ¹ a very fashionable treatment and is described by him as a new discovery made at Rome.

§ 42.

Retrospect.

If we now turn back again and make a brief survey of the various forms of affections of the genitals described on preceding pages, comparing them with those of the present day, such as we have opportunity to observe in modern times, we think every unprejudiced reader will be found ready to

¹ *Galen*, Method. med. bk. XIV. ch. 17. (X. p. 1011.).

admit that they agree with these latter in *very nearly every* respect whatever, and that *every* doubt would be removed, if only the medical Writers had appended to the records of their observations in each case the words, "got by infection in coition." But to what cause do we refer such cases as a matter of fact, notwithstanding the denial on the part of the patient that he has exposed himself to any infection? Do we not take it for granted as a certainty that such infection did actually precede? Are we in the habit of noting down in every instance in our day-book of cases the antecedent act of coition that occasioned the chancre or what not; and does this omission in any way imply that this did not first occur? To our mind at any rate the fact suffices that non-professional observers and even a professional one like Galen have supplied irrefutable evidence that some of these affections were acquired by coition. Amongst others, morbid outgrowths for example are manifestly shown to have been so set up by the statement that they occurred on the fundament of pathics; and it needs no great perspicacity to draw the conclusion that if (unnatural) coition produced them in the pederast, the same maladies occurring on the genital organs owed their origin to the same cause.

But granting these maladies originated in coition, there must necessarily have been some other factors active as well, besides the mere act. Thus when patients are found explaining to the physician (Galen) that the women with whom they had accomplished coition suffered from the same evil as themselves (gonorrhœa), no one surely can suppose anything but that a transmission of the disease took place in virtue of a contagion. Such affections of the genitals as are transmitted in coition by contagion we are wont to regard as primary forms of Venereal disease; and those acquired and disseminated in the same way in Antiquity must accordingly be designated by the same name. But these primary forms extended not

only to the genitals; they were equally and in the same way acquired through the various modes of *Venus illegitima* (abnormal Love) in the anus and the mouth, localities where we are accustomed nowadays to see the secondary symptoms chiefly appear. Consequently it was impossible for the Ancients,—and is really and truly no less so down to the present moment for the Moderns,—to make a definite distinction between primary and secondary forms. It is equally impossible to deny outright the former existence of the latter in these localities, the more so as, however wide the dissemination of vicious practices of various sorts, no very large number of men suffering from a diseased member are likely to have misused mouth or anus.

But if we are forced in considering the secondary forms to leave mouth and anus almost entirely out of the question,¹ then only cutaneous diseases and those affecting the bones are left us, for *ozaena* (fetid polypus), which was regarded as incurable by the Ancient physicians,² cannot any more than the

¹ Perhaps some weight should be attached to the fact that the ancient physicians recommend as remedies against ulcers of the nose and mouth exactly the same means as they employed in cases of ulcer of the genitals. Comp. *Celsus* bk. VI. ch. 18.

² *Celsus*, bk. VI. ch. 8., bk. VII. ch. 11. *Galen*, Synops. med. sec. loc. bk. III. ch. 3. (XII. 678.). *Oribasius*, De loc. affect. Vol. IV. chs. 45, 46. *Aëtius*, Tetrab. II. serm. 2. chs. 90, 91, 93. *Paulus Aegineta* bk. III. ch. 23. *Alexander of Tralles* bk. III. ch. 8. *Caelius Aurelianus* morb. chron. bk. II. ch. 1.

Actuarius, Method. med. bk. II. ch. 8., bk. VI. ch. 4. *Nonnus*, Epit. ch. 93. *Pollux*, Onomast. bk. IV. ch. 25. sect. 204. The remark of *Galen*, Isagog. ch. 20. (XIV. p. 792.), is interesting that *falling way of the nose* from the palate gives sufferers an apelike look, (ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐξ ὑπερώας μεσίζῃ ἢ ῥίσι, ὥς φησι, σιμοῦνται ἀθεραπεύτως,—(but if the nose separates from the palate, they get flat-nosed, as they say, like monkeys,—incurable.) A special *nasal syringe*, rhynenchytes, is mentioned by *Caelius Aurelianus*, Chron. bk. I. ch. 4., bk. III. ch. 2. Comp. *Calmasius*, Ad Solin p. 274.

others be taken into account in connection with primary affections of the mouth, unless indeed we are prepared to look upon the *φέγγειν* (snorting) of the men of Tarsus as a secondary complaint of pathics.

With regard to *cutaneous affections*, we have seen how the forms of *lichen* and *mentagra* passed over into *psora* and *lepra* (§§ 23, 25), and how the conclusion to be drawn from this is plain, viz. that the secondary cutaneous forms of Venereal disease were formerly assigned as belonging to leprosy. This seems to be confirmed by a passage of *Johannes Moschus*¹ that has only just been brought under our notice, in which it is related how a monk of the Monastery of Penthula could no longer master the appeals of the flesh, travelled to Jericho to get relief from the "superfluity of his naughtiness" in a brothel in that

¹ *Johannes Moschus*, Pratum spirituale (Meadow of the Soul) ch. 14. in Magna Bibliotheca veterum Patrum (Great Library of the Ancient Fathers) Vol. XIII. Paris 1644. fol., p. 1062., 'Ο Ἀββᾶς Πολυχρόνιος πάλιν ἡμῖν διηγήσατο, ἡμῖν λέγων, ὅτι ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ τοῦ Πενθοῦκλά, ἀδελφός ἦν πάνυ προσέχων αὐτόν καὶ ἀσκητής· ἐπολεμήθη δὲ εἰς πορνείαν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκὼν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερικὴν πληρῶσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὥς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον τῆς πορνείας, εὐθέως ἐλεπρόσθη ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοιοῦτῳ στήματι, εὐθέως ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον αὐτοῦ, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ καὶ

λέγων, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐπήγαμέν μοι τὴν τοιαύτην νόσον, ἵνα ἡ ψυχή μου σωθῇ. (The Abbot Polychronius again related an incident to us, telling us how in the Monastery of Penthula there was a brother well self-disciplined and ascetic. But he was sorely tempted to fornication, and unable to fight the temptation, he went forth from the Monastery and departed to Jericho to fulfil his desire; and when he entered into the common house of fornication, straightway he became leprous all over. And when he saw himself in such a case, straightway he returned to his Monastery, blessing God and saying, "God hath brought down this disease upon me, that my soul might be saved").

place; how when he had entered the house, he was suddenly attacked by leprosy, whereupon he speedily returned to his Monastery. How much Venereal disease has in common with elephantiasis must be determined by later investigations. At any rate it is worth while to note its frequent occurrence in Egypt, its establishment in Italy along with the various forms of *lichen*, its infectiousness, as well as the statement of Celsus (III. 25.), who calls it an *ignotus paene in Italia morbus* (a disease almost unknown in Italy), and that even the bones would appear to be affected by it.

Lastly, inasmuch as the tendency of the morbid process to strike outwards to the skin was conditioned by the influence of climate, while cutaneous forms of Venereal disease were amongst the most common of occurrences, it follows that not only were affections of the mucous membranes bound to fall proportionally into the background and appear with less frequency, but those of the bones as well. Still the mucous membranes *were* sometimes attacked, and *affections of the bones* did also undoubtedly occur, though with incomparably greater rarity,—such affections being, as is well known, at the present day of rare occurrence, and especially so in hot climates. Corrosion of the tibia is mentioned by Plutarch, and peculiar pains of the periosteum, which are so deep-seated and stable as to make the patient believe the bones themselves to be the seat of the mischief, are spoken of as early as by *Archigenes* cited by *Galen*,¹ the latter adding that

¹ Galen, De locis affect. bk. II. ch. 8. (VIII. pp. 91, 104.). τοῦς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὀστέα προστυπείς εὐρήσεις, ὡς αὐτῶν δοκεῖν τῶν ὀστέων ὄντας. . . . ὅτι δ' οἱ τῶν περικειμένων τοῖς ὀστοῖς ὁμένων πόνοι βύθιοι τ' εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διὰ βάθους τοῦ

σώματος ἐπιφέροντες αἰσθῆσιν, αὐτῶν τε τῶν ὀστέων ἐπάγουσιν φαντασίαν ὡς ὀδυνωμένων, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὀνομάζουσι γοῦν αὐτοὺς ὀστοκόπους οἱ πλείστοι, γίνονται τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ γυμνασίοις, ἔστιν ὅτι δὲ καὶ διὰ ψύξιν, ἢ πληθους. (Now

these pains were commonly known as *ὀστοκόποι* (racking the bones). If further we ought to count in this connection those forms of *exostosis* (morbid excrescence) of the bones of the skull described above in § 26, which it seems were so prevalent among the inhabitants of Cyprus as to have gained for the island according to some authorities its name of *Κεραστία* (horned),¹ we should actually have to hand

you will find patients suffering from pains in the parts surrounding the bones inclined to suppose they are suffering from the bones themselves.... And it is not at all surprising that pains in the membranes that lie about the bones being deep-seated, that is giving a sensation of being deep-seated in the body, make patients imagine it is the bones themselves that suffer. In fact they call them generally bone-racking pains; and they are set up as a rule after bodily exercises, but also sometimes as a consequence of cold or heat).

¹ *Natalis Comes*, Mythologia bk. III. p. 383., Deinde dicta (Cyprus) Cerastia, ut inquit Xenagoras in libro secundo de insulis, quod illam homines habitarent, qui multos tumores, tanquam cornua quaedam in capitibus habere viderentur, cum cornua *κέρατα* dicta sint a Graecis et *κεράσται* aornuti. (Then it (Cyprus) was also named *Cerastia*, as Xenagoras says in his second Book "On Islands", because its inhabitants often had protu-

berances that looked like horns on their heads, for horns are called *κέρατα* in Greek, and those having horns *κεράσται*. Comp. *Stephanus*, De urbibus, under word *Κύπρος*, and *Σφήκεια*. *Tzetzes*, in Lycophron. Cassandr. 474. p. 173., *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Κεραστία, ὡς μὲν Ἀνδροκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Κύπρου λέγει, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, οἳ εἶχον κέρατα· ὡς δὲ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ περὶ Νήσων, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν πολλὰς ἐξοχὰς, ἃς κέρατα καλοῦσι, Κεραστία ὠνομάσθη.* (And it was also called *Κεραστία*, according to Androcles in his Book "On Cyprus", because men lived in it who had horns; but according to Xenagoras in his "On Islands", because they had many protuberances, which they call horns, for this reason it was named *Κεραστία*). Even supposing the etymology to be a fable, is the fact therefore on which it was based bound to be mythical too? Again *Pollux*, *Onomast.* bk. IV. ch. 25., says, *Κέρατα, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῶν κεράτων περὶ τὸ μέτωπον παρώδεις ἐκ-*

proofs of the existence in Antiquity of *all* the symptoms that at the present day constitute Venereal disease. All we need to do is to unite these into one general picture and give the name that is now sanctioned by custom, in order to arrive at the final result,—that *Venereal Disease*, though not recognized and described as such by the Ancient Physicians, *was as a matter of fact existent in Antiquity*.

φύσις, (horns,—a sort of callous outgrowths at the place where horns grow on the forehead). The words succeeding *περὶ τὸ δέρμα* (on the skin) are so doubt more appropriately taken with *ἔρπηξ* (creeping eruption) that comes next after them. In *Sextus Placitus Papyriensis*, ch. XI. 5. we read: *Elephantis stercus*

illitum omnes tumores emendat, et duritias, quae in fronte nascuntur, mire tollit, (Elephant's dung rubbed on cures all swellings, and removes in a wonderful way the *callosities that grow on the forehead*), but this really and truly can only be held applicable to cutaneous tubercles.

CONCLUSION.

Having reached this general result at the conclusion of the first Part of our Investigations, we would now seem only to have to co-ordinate the various pieces of evidence thus far brought together without reference to time and place, but merely on the principle of similarity of contents, under local and temporal conditions, in order to obtain a general exposition of *the development of Venereal Disease in Antiquity*. Willing as we may be to undertake the task, and necessary as its performance is,—for it is precisely this that constitutes the History properly so called of the Disease,—still we must freely admit that for the present the fixed data indispensable for the work are too few to enable us to do more than offer suggestive hints. At the same time to supply these missing data by hypotheses that must necessarily lack all positive grounds, is not, at any rate in our opinion, consistent with the dignity and duty of a Historian.

As to the *local* determinations, those defining the places, to which such or such information given us belongs, are extremely scanty, and such as they are, we owe them mainly to the non-professional Authors. Among the Physicians, who from the nature of the case must be chiefly considered here, they are all but entirely wanting; true they are almost all Greek instances, still in the majority of cases it is left

absolutely undetermined whether the observations, the mere results of which moreover are given us, were made in Greece, at Rome or in Asia Minor. But even supposing knowledge amounting to certainty *were* available on this point, yet the local range as compared with the whole Ancient world is too limited to entitle us to use it successfully as evidence in drawing up a general History of the Disease.

The *temporal* determinations are in no better case. This is especially so where the Physicians are concerned; not to mention the general uncertainty as to the epoch at which most of them lived and made their observations, they are for the most part bad witnesses for this reason if for no other, that they have obviously copied one from another, or at any rate so far as their works are extant for our examination, utilized,—with the possible exception of Galen,—certain common sources of information, which unfortunately have been completely lost. The loss is the more to be deplored as the authorities in question belonged just to the most flourishing period of scientific Medicine, that of the Alexandrian physicians.

Yet another drawback is that up to the present we are entirely without information as to the consecutive order of the series of epidemics in Antiquity, by the indirect help of which alone do the historical factors conditioning Venereal disease become discernible; while so far as appears, there is no reasonable hope of our ever attaining any clearer light on the point. Nay! even if we did possess the information, it could only apply to Greece, Rome and Asia Minor, for as previously pointed out, in countries situated in the hot Zone the *genius epidemicus* (general consensus of epidemic conditions) is but rarely as a rule strong enough to override the *genius endemicus* (general consensus of endemic conditions). As much therefore as can in such a state of things be predicated with some basis of reason as not entirely hypothetical may be pretty well summed up as follows:—

Diseases of the genital organs developed little by little among nearly all the Peoples of Antiquity known to us at all intimately under the favouring conditions detailed in preceding pages. At the same time in virtue of the large number of counteracting influences they seldom attained to any high degree of intensity, and remained mostly local, taking the form of mucous discharges and superficial ulcers, without provoking any general reaction of the organism. Even when such reaction did occur, it was the skin that felt it, in such a way as to throw off the effects of morbid activity in the form of cutaneous maladies. These conditions lasted usually as long as the different Peoples continued to cultivate mutual exclusiveness; directly they abandoned this, and individual members of different foreign stocks began to combine to gratify an unbridled licentiousness, affections of the genitals not only increased in frequency, but over and above this a malignant character was stamped upon them, with which both the development and the intensity of any particular contagion stood in direct ratio.

Examples are to be found in the Plague of Baal Peor among the Jews at Shittim (§§ 8. and 9. above), in the introduction of the cult of Dionysus at Athens (§ 98.) and of Priapus at Lampsacus (§ 7.), both of which latter are connected with the March of Bacchus to and from India, as well as lastly in the introduction of the Lingam-worship in India itself (§ 6.). All these phænomena point to the conclusion that a remarkable frequency and malignity of affections of the genitals was connected with influences conditioned from without, amongst which we have to reckon the general epidemic conditions. This becomes the more interesting and important from the fact that we meet with the same thing again in the XVth. Century, a period when the incorrect view taken of the circumstances led to the most contradictory opinions being held. However both influences and effects were merely transitory, as

is proved by the unanimous consensus of authorities that the phænomena provoked by the conditions disappeared again after a certain interval of time, an interval that seems among the Jews only to have lasted somewhat longer under endemic influence.

Still under no circumstances does this justify us in arguing to a total absence of all affections of the genital organs,—as is proved, no doubt after an interval of more than a thousand years, (if indeed we are to admit the occurrences just mentioned to count at all as actual historical facts), by (1) the general weather conditions laid down by Hippocrates and their consequences, and (2) an event that probably was connected with the same conditions, the Plague of Athens described by Thucydides. Here we find indisputable proof given us that affections of the genitals, as also most likely the contagion conditioning them, increased under favourable epidemic influence in frequency, malignity and intensity, while concurrently the secondary forms manifested themselves pre-eminently by symptoms of an exanthematic type.

For close on five hundred years onwards we are again left without information; but the statements contributed by Celsus show that meantime there had been ample opportunities of observing and treating affections of the genitals. In the time of Pompey the Great, when Themison made his observations on the wide prevalence of satyriasis in Crete, there was developed, it would appear, though from what causes is not known, a general consensus of predominantly exanthematic conditions, that seems to have continued for a long period of time, no doubt as was to be expected with sundry interruptions intervening. Under favour of these conditions was developed in the first instance elephantiasis, and later on under the Emperor Claudius *mentagra*, which above all in Martial's time afflicted the Romans, while caricous tumours (*ficus*) became an every-day complaint. From that epoch onwards, direct

historical evidences more and more tend to disappear, till eventually it is only in the prescription-books of Physicians that we gather any inkling of the continued necessity for medical aid and concurrently of the existence of Venereal Disease.

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(*Nicholas Leonicensis*, of Vicenza, and *Joannes Almenar*, Spaniard, "On Syphilis"; *Angelus Bologninus*, of Bologna, "On the Treatment of External Ulcers and on Common Ointments applied in Breach of Continuity",—2 books; *Alexander Benedictus*, of Verona, "On Malignant Fever"; *Dominic Massaria*, of Vicenza, "On Medical Weights and Measures",—3 books. Pavia (printed by Bernhardinus de Garaldis) 1516. fol.).

The Work is rare; and appears only to have been seen by *Astruc*, II. p. 623. Comp. *Girtanner*, II. p. 41. *Gruener*, Aphrodisiac. pt. IV.

2) Nicolai Massae, Veneti, Artium et Medicinæ Doctoris, Liber de morbo Gallico, mira ingenii dexteritate conscriptus. Joannis Almenar, Valentini Hispani, Philosophi ac Medici, Liber perutilis de morbo Gallico, VII capitulis quidquid desideratur complectens. Nicolai Leonicensi, Vicentini, fidis-

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simi Galeni interpretis, compendiosa ejusdem morbi cura. Angeli Bolognini, Medici eximii, libellus de cura ulcerum exteriorum: et de unguentis in soluta continuitate a Modernis maxime usitatis, in quibus multa ad curam Morbi Gallici pertinentia inserta sunt s. l. MDXXXII 8.

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This Work was in the Sloane (Sir Hans Sloane), and in the Trew (Christopher James Trew) Libraries. *Astruc*, II. p. 652. conjectures that the book was printed at Venice; which *Haller*, *Bibliotheca Med. Pract.* (Library of Medical Practice), I. p. 535. wrongly gives as proved.—Comp. *Girtanner*, II. p. 70., *Gruner*, *Aphrod.* p. V.

3) Liber de morbo Gallico, in quo diversi celeberrimi in tali materia scribentes medicinae continentur auctores, videlicet Nicolaus Leonicensus, Vicentinus. Ulrichus de Hutten Germanus. Petrus Andreas Matheolo, Senensis. Laurentius Phrisius. Joannes Almenar, Hispanus. Angelus Bologninus. Venetiis per Joannem Patavinum et Venturinum de Ruffinellis. Anno Domini MDXXXV. 8.

("Treatise on Syphilis," in which the various most Celebrated Authors writing on that Department of

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Medicine are contained viz. *Nicholas Leoniceus*, of Vicenza; *Ulrich von Hütten*, German; *Petrus Andreas Matheolo*, of Sienna; *Laurentius Phrisius*; *Joannes Almenar*, Spaniard; *Angelus Bologninus*. Venice, printed by Joannes Patavinus and Venturinus de Ruffinellis. Anno Domini 1535. 8vo.

In the copy from the Sloane Library which *Astruc*, II. p. 659., had before him, was, printed on the same paper and with the same type, although the Title-page made no mention of it: *Nicholas Poll*, Medicinæ Professoris et Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis Physici, Libellus de Cura Morbi Gallici per lignum Guajacorum (*Nicholas Poll*, Professor of Medicine and Physician to the Holy Roman Emperor, Pamphlet "On the Treatment of Syphilis by the Guajac wood". *Gruner*, Aphrod. p. V., who possessed the same edition, does not mention this, but says the book is printed without pagination, and that each book has a separate Title (nova cuique libro inscriptione præfixa,—a fresh Title being prefixed to each book), so that a Part might easily be missing. *Trew* and *Hensler* also possessed the Work. Comp. *Girtanner*, II. p. 73.

4) Morbi Gallici curandi ratio exquisitissima a variis iisdemque peritissimis medicis conscripta: nempe Petro Andrea Matheolo, Senensi. Joanne Almenar. Hispano. Nicolao Massa, Veneto. Nicolao Poll, Caesareae Majestatis Physico. Benedicto de Victoriis, Faventino. Hic accessit Angeli Bolognini de ulcerum exteriorum medela opusculum perquam utile. Ejusdem de unguentis ad cujusvis generis maligna ulcera conficiendis lucubratio. Cum indice rerum omnium quae in curationem cadere possunt copiosissimo. Basileae apud Joann. Bebelium. MDXXXVI. 299 S. 4.

("The Most Approved Method of treating Syphilis; by Several and these the Most skilful Doctors, viz. *Peter Andreas Matheolo*, of Sienna; *Joannes Almenar*, Spaniard; *Nicholas Massa*, of Venice; *Nicholas Poll*,

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Physician to His Imperial Majesty; *Benedictus de Victoriis*, of Faenza. To this is added: *Angelus Bologninus*, On the Medical Treatment of External Ulcers,—a Pamphlet of the Highest Utility. By the Same Author, Treatise on the Compounding of Ointments against Malignant Ulcers of every Kind. With a most Copious Index of all Matters incidental to the Treatment. Bâle, published by Joann. Bebelius, 1536. pp. 299. 4to.).

This Edition, according to the Dedication to *Adam Bresinius* (Basil. Idibus Martii 1536.—Bâle, 15th March 1536.), was seen through the press by *Joseph Tectander* from Cracow. The Tract of *Benedictus de Victoriis* included in it is a College Exercise which Tectander had had copied down and printed without the author's knowledge. Comp. *Astruc*, II. p. 266.—*Girtanner*, II. p. 74.—*Gruner*, Aphrod. p. V.

A pirated impression of this Edition appeared at Lyons: Lugduni 1536, expensis Scipionis de Gabiano et fratrum, mense Augusto,—(Lyons 1536, at the cost of Scipio de Gabiano and his Brothers, August) pp. 280, and 16. (printed in cursives). Comp. *Astruc* II. p. 660. and *H. Choulant*, Fracastori Siphilis. Leipzig 1830. p. 8.

5) De morbo Gallico omnia quae extant apud omnes medicos cujuscunque nationis, qui vel integris libris, vel quoque alio modo hujus affectus curationem methodice aut empirice tradiderunt, diligenter hinc inde conquisita, sparsim inventa, erroribus expurgata et in unum tandem hoc corpus redacta [ab Aloysio Luisino, Utinensi]. In quo de ligno Indico, Salsa Perillia, Radice Chyne, Argento vivo, ceterisque rebus omnibus ad hujus luis profligationem inventis, diffusissima tractatio habetur. Cum indice locupletissimo rerum omnium scitu dignarum, quae in hoc volumine continentur. Opus hac nostra aetate, quo Morbi Gallici vis passim vagatur, apprime necessarium. Catalogum scriptorum sexta pagina comperies. [Sebast. Aquilanus, Nicol.

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Leoniceus, Nic. Massa, Natal. Montesaurus, Anton. Scanarolus, Jac. Cataneus, Joan. Benedictus, Hier. Fracastorius, Georg. Vella, Joan. Paschalis, Nic. Poll, Petr. Andr. Mathaeolus, Ulr. ab Hutten, Wendelinus Hock de Brackenaus, Coradinus Gilinus, Laurent. Phrisius, Gonsalvus Fernandez de Oviedo, Joan. Almenar, Aloysius Lobera, Leonh. Schmaus, Petr. Maynardus, Anton Benivenius, Alphons, Ferrus, Joan de Vigo, Anton. Gallus, Casp. Torella, Joan. Bapt. Montanus, Andr. Vesalius, Leonhard. Fuchsius, Joan. Manardus, Joan. Fernelius, Benedictus Victorius, Amatus Lusitanus, Anton. Musa Brassavolus, Alex. Fontana, Nic. Macchellus, Hier. Cardanus, Gabr. Fallopius, Ant. Fracantianus, Joan. Langius, Petr. Bayr]. Tomus prior. Venetiis apud Jordanum Zilettum. 1506. 8. 736 u. 28 S. fol.

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Appendix tomi prioris de morbo gallico, in quo, qui eidem jam antea destinati fuerant, reliqui congesti sunt autores. Cum indice rerum memorabilium in eo contemptarum abunde amplo et copioso. Catalogum scriptorum quarta pagina comperies.

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[Anton. Chalmeteus, Leonh. Botallus, Dominic. Leonus, Augerius Ferrerius, Petr. Haschardus, Guilielmus Rondeletius, Dionys. Fontanonus, Jos. Struthius]. Venetiis MDLXVII. Ex officina Jord. Ziletti. 4, 96 und 6 S. fol.

(" *On Syphilis—All Works Extant on this Subject by All Doctors of Every Nation*, who whether in separate Books or in any other Manner have dealt methodically or empirically with its Treatment, carefully compiled from various Sources, with original remarks interspersed, and errors removed, the Whole arranged for the first time in One Work, (by *Aloysius Luisinus*, of Udine,—Friuli). In which India wood (Ironwood, Guajac), Sarsaparilla, China Root, Quicksilver, and all other means discovered for the destruction of this contagion, are most copiously considered. With a very full Index of all Matters worthy of note contained in this Volume. A Work pre-eminently necessary in our Day when the infection of this Complaint is so widely diffused. List of Authors will be found on page 6. First Volume. Venice, published by Jordanus Ziletti, 1566. 8vo. 736, and 28. fol.

" *On Syphilis*, Second Volume,—in which are included all the Works of all the Celebrated Doctors concerning the Diagnosis and Treatment of this Disease that have been thus far obtainable, now for the first time printed. With a very full Index of all Matters worthy of note contained in this Volume. List of Authors will be found on page 4. Venice 1567, (printed by Jordanus. Ziletti). pp. 24, and 216. fol.

Appendix to First Volume "On Syphilis", in which are collected the remaining Authors intended from the first to be included, but not hitherto printed. With a most ample and copious Index of noteworthy Matters contained therein. List of Authors will be found on page 4. Venice 1567 (printed by Jord. Ziletti. pp. 4, 96, and 6. fol.)

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Astruc, II. p. 780., rightly censures the unsystematic arrangement of the different Writings, the omission of Prefaces, Dedications and indeed all matter except the actual texts. This edition received subsequently a new Title-page, as is shown, according to *Astruc*, II. p. 846., by the fact that not only does the number of pages, lines and words closely agree with the above mentioned edition, but also at the end of the First Part the name of the printer Ziletti occurs with the date 1556. The new Title reads as follows:—

“*Aphrodisiacus sive de lue venerea in duo volumina bipartitus, continens omnia quaecunque hactenus de hac re sunt ab omnibus Medicis conscripta, ubi de ligno Indico, Salsa parillia, Radice Chinae, Mercurio ceterisque omnibus ad hujus luis profligationem inventis, diffusissima tractatio habetur ab eccellente Aloysio Luisino, Utinensi Medico celeberrimo novissime collecta. Venet. apud Baretium et socios. 1599. fol.*”

(“*Aphrodisiacus: or A Treatise on the Venereal Disease,—in Two Volumes*, containing all that has been written on this subject to the present day by all Doctors, and in which Indian wood (Ironwood, Guajac), Sarsaparilla, China Root, Mercury and all other remedies discovered for the Destruction of this Disease are most fully treated, compiled and newly edited by the excellent *Aloysius Luisinus*, a Celebrated Physician of Udine,—Friuli. Venice, published by Baretius and Associates, 1599. fol.

6) *Aphrodisiacus sive de lue venerea; in duos tomos bipartitus, continens omnia quaecunque hactenus de hac re sunt ab omnibus Medicis conscripta. Ubi de Ligno Indico, Salsa Perilla, Radice Chynae, Argento vivo, ceterisque rebus omnibus ad hujus luis profligationem inventis, diffusissima tractatio habetur. Opus hac nostra aetate, qua Morbi Gallici vis passim vagatur apprime necessarium: ab excellentissimo Aloysio Luisino Utinensi, Medico*

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celeberrimo novissime collectum, indice rerum omnium scitu dignarum adornatum. Editio longe emendatior, et ab innumeris mendis repurgata. Tomus primus et secundus. Lugd. Batav. apud. Joann. Arnold. Langerak et Joh. et Herm. Verbeck. MDCCXXVIII. 1366 gespaltene Seiten, ohne 11 Blatt Vorrede und 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Blatt Index. fol.

(" *Aphrodisiacus: or A Treatise on the Venereal Disease,—in Two Volumes*, containing all that has been written on this subject to the present day by all Doctors. In which Indian wood (Ironwood, Guajac), Sarsaparilla, China Root, Quicksilver and all other remedies discovered for the Destruction of this Disease are most fully treated. A Work pre-eminently necessary in our Day when the infection of this Complaint is so widely diffused; the whole collected for the first time by the most excellent *Aloysius Luisinus*, of Udine,—(Friuli), a most famous Physician, and provided with an Index of all Matters worthy of note. Much improved Edition, freed from very numerous errors. Vols. I and II. Leyden, published by Joann. Arnold. Langerak and Joh. and Herm. Verbeck, 1728. pp. 1366, besides 11 leaves Preface and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ leaves Index. fol.

Is, as *Astruc*, II. p. 1071., justly observes, a mere reprint of the Venice edition, the only alteration being that the Appendix to the First Part is added immediately after the First Part. Comp. *Choulant*, p. 9. The Preface at the beginning by Boerhave contains his views on the Venereal Disease, and has been several times since printed separately and translated.

7) Daniel Turner: *Aphrodisiacus*, containing a Summary of the Ancient Writers on the Venereal Disease, under the following heads: I. of its Original; II. of the Symptoms; III. of the various Methods of cure. London, printed for John Clarke. MDCCXXXVI. 8vo.

An Abridgement from the "*Aphrodisiacus*" of

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Luisinus, arranged under the three heads named on the Title-page. (*Astruc*, II. p. 1110.)

8) John Armstrong: A Synopsis of the history and cure of the Venereal Disease. London 1737. 8vo.

Another Abridgement from Luisinus. (*Girtanner*, III. p. 430.)

9) *Aphrodisiacus sive de lue venerea in duas partes divisus, quarum altera continet ejus vestigia in veterum auctorum monumentis obvia, altera quos Aloysius Luisinus temere omisit scriptores et medicos et historicos ordine chronologico digestos, collegit, notulis instruxit, glossarium indicemque rerum memorabilium subjecit D. Christianus Gothofredus Gruner etc. Jenae apud Christ. Henr. Cunonis heredes. MDCCLXXXVIII. XIV. 166 und 16 S. fol.*

(*"Aphrodisiacus: or A Treatise on the Venereal Disease, divided into two parts, whereof the one contains Traces of this Disease to be met with in the Writings of Ancient Authors, the other Those Writers, whether Doctors or Historians, whom Aloysius Luisinus has without sufficient reason omitted, arranged in chronological order. Collected and edited, with Notes, Glossary, and Index of noteworthy Matters, by D. Christianus Gothofredus Gruner, etc. Jena, published by heirs of Christ. Henr. Cuno. 1789. pp. XIV, 166 and 16. fol.*)

A second additional Title-page bears: Volume Third. In the Preface Gruner accepts the Moorish origin of the Disease, which he further maintains in the Book itself, and gives a survey of the Bibliography. In the first Part he gives the passages from the Bible, the Greek, Roman, Arabic and Arabist Works, so far as they had been discovered at that time. The second Part contains the Works wanting or imperfectly given in Luisinus' Collection, and passages from the following Authors: "Joan Nauclerus, Steph. Infessura, Petr. Delphinus,

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"Joan. Burchardus, Philipp. Beroaldus,
 "Alex. Benedictus, Conrad. Schelling, Jac.
 "Wimphelingius, Chronicon Monasterii
 "Mellicensis, Joan. Salicetus, Marcellus
 "Cumanus, Chronica von Cöln, Joan,
 "Thrithemius, Unicersitas Manuasca.
 "Sebast. Brant, Joh. Grünbeck, Decretum
 "Senatus Parisiensis, Proclamatio Anglica,
 "Joan. Sciphover de Meppis, Bartholom.
 "Steber, Simon Pistoris, Anton. Benivenius,
 "Petr. Pincto, Joan. Bapt. Fulgosus, Chris-
 "toph. Columbus, Petr. Martyr, Franciscus
 "Roman. Pane, Elias Capreolus, M. Anton.
 "Coccius Sabellicus, Albericus Vesputius,
 "Wendelinus Hock de Brackenaus, Petr.
 "Crinitus Linturius, Clementius Clemen-
 "tinus, Joan. Vochs, Angel. Bologninus,
 "Francisc. Guiccardinus, Berlerus, Leo
 "Africanus, Petr. Bembus, Paul. Jovius,
 "Joan. de Vigo, Symphor. Champegius,
 "Francisc. Lopez de Gomara, Ulric. ab
 "Hutten, Desider. Erasmus, Missa de ben.
 "Job., Joannes le Maire, Gonsalvus Ferdi-
 "nandus de Oviedo, Joan. de Bourdigne,
 "Joan. Ludov. Vives, Aureolus Theophr.
 "Paracelsus, Magnus Hundt, Leonh. Fuchs,
 "Sebast. Frank. Sebast. Montuus, Joan.
 "Bapt. Theodosius, Hieron. Benzonius, Petr.
 "de Cieça de Leon, Joan. Fernelius, Michael
 "Angel. Blondus, Augustin. de Zaratte,
 "Joan. Stumpf, Rodericus Diacius Insu-
 "lanus, Hieron. Montuus.

10) De morbo gallico scriptores medici
 et historici partim inediti partim rari et nota-
 tionibus aucti. Accedunt morbi gallici origines
 maranicae. Collegit, edidit. glossario et indice
 auxit D. Christ. Gothofr. Gruner. Jenae sump-
 tibus bibliopolii academici 1793. XVIII. XXXVI.
 624. S. 8.

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(" *Medical and Historical Writers on Syphilis*," some not before published, others rare, with Notes. To which are added Moorish Sources of Syphilis. Collected and edited, with the addition of a Glossary and Index. by *D. Christ. Gothofr. Gruner*. Jena, at the cost of the University Press, 1793. pp. XVIII, XXXVI, 624. 8vo.).

Forms the second Supplement to the Collection of Luisinus, and contains Works and passages from the following Authors, etc.: "Ancient Laws of Nuremberg," "Matthaeus Landauer, Julianus Tanus (de saphati), Antonius Codrus, Anonymi "prognosticatio, Jacob. Unrestus, Bilibaldus Birkheimer, Augustinus Niphus, "Hieron. Emser, Philipp. Beroaldus, Leonard. Giachinus. Janus Cornarius, Thomas Rangonus, Joan. Anton. Rovellus (de patura), Remaclus Fuchs, Aloysius Mundella, Anton. Fumanellus, Hier. Cardanus, "Hier. Bonacossus, Bernard. Corius, Joan. Langius, Joach. Curaeus, Joan. Hessus, "Thom. Erastus, Achill. Pirmin. Gasserus, "Joan. Crato, Thom. Jordanus (luis novae "Moravia exortae descriptio,—Description of new Disease and its Moorish Origin). Comp. N. allg. deutsch. Bibl. Vol. IX. p. 183.

11) *D. Christ. Goth. Gruner* Spicilegium scriptorum de morbo gallico. Spic. I—XV. Jenae 1799—1802. 4.

(*D. Christ. Goth. Gruner*, "Selection of Writers on Syphilis", Selections, I—XV. Jena 1799—1802. 4to.).

This third Supplement to Luisinus was never regularly published; the separate Selections were issued as "Programs" in connection with the Public Announcements of Doctorial Graduations in the Faculty of Medicine at Jena. Selections I—VI. contain Investigations as to the History and Nature of the Disease; VII—XI. Passages from the Poems and Letters of *Conrad Celte*, from a Letter of *Albert*

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Durr, from Symphorian. (*Champerius*, Vocabulorum Medicorum Epitoma); XII, Passages from the Poems of *Henric. Bebelius*, *Hel. Eoban. Hensus* and a quotation from a Work of *Petr. Parvus*; XIII, XIV. Passage from *Erasmus Jac. von Bethencourt*, *Jo. Lud. Vives*, *Enric. Cordus*, *Georg. Bersmannus*, *Engelbert, Werlichius*, and the Latin translation of a Fragment from a Book written in the Coptic language which the Society of Missions had sent to Cardinal Borgia; *Domeier* communicated it to *Baldinger* and the latter handed it on to *Gruner* to make use of in his Collection.

In Selection XV. *Gruner* makes some objections against the view expressed by *Hensler* in his "Program," "De herpete seu formica Veterum". This Collection belongs in part to the Works mentioned in the next section ("Historians"), but appears to be little known generally, for it has escaped even *Choulant* in his usually complete Survey of the "Scripta Historica de Morbo Gallico",—Historical Works on Syphilis, in the Edition of the Poem of Fracastor, pp. 5—9. *Hacker*, p. 20. mentions it indeed, but appears not even to have seen it, as he gives nothing more precise as to its contents.

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1) *Patin*, Carol. Eques. D. Marci Paris. primar. Prof. Luem venercam non esse morbum novum; Oratio habita in Archilyceo Patavino die V. Nybr. 1687. Patavii 1687. 4.

(*Patin*, *Carolus*. of Paris, Chevalier of St. Mark, First Prof. of Surgery at Padua, "The Venereal Disease not a new Complaint: Speech delivered in

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the High Schools of Padua on Nov. 5th 1687." Padua 1687. 4to.)

Astruc, II. p. 901., knew this Speech only from a citation of *Zach. Platner*, who equally had not seen it, and supposed it had probably never appeared, since *Nic. Comnenus Papadopoli* in his "historia gymnasii Patavini" (History of the High School of Padua) Vol. I. sect. 2. ch. 25. No. 159., does not mention it at all, though he cites freely from *Patin's* Speeches and his separate Works. *Girtanner*, II. p. 279., however cites the complete Title as above; and must consequently have seen the book, though he remarks nothing further about its contents than, "He recapitulates the old well-known Reasons for the Antiquity of the Venereal Disease". For the rest, *Patin* seems to have taken the main part from the *Lettres Choiesies*, Vol. III, Letter 370, p. 95, of his father *Guy Patin*, where the latter defends the antiquity of Venereal Disease.

2) Quaestio medica quodlibetarius disputationibus mane discutienda die Jovis 9 Decbris 1717. M. Joanne Baptista Fausto Alliot de Mussay, Doctore medico praeside. An Morbus antiquus Syphilis? Proponerat Johannes Franciscus Leaulté, Parisinus, Anno R. S. H. 1717. Typis Johann. Quillau, facultatis medicinae Typographi. 8 Blatt. 4.

("Medical Question to be discussed in open disputation for and against in the morning, Thursday, 9th of December 1717. M. Joannes Baptista Faustus Alliot de Mussay, Doctor of Medicine, presiding:--*Is Syphilis an Ancient Disease?* Raised by *Johannes Franciscus Leaulté*, of Paris. 1717. Printed by Johann. Quillau, Printer to the Faculty of Medicine. 8 leaves. 4to.)

According to *Astruc*, II. p. 1054., this Disseration consists of 8 Corollaries, of which only the fifth seeks to establish the antiquity of Venereal Disease, arguing from: *Horace*, Odes bk. I. 37. Sat. bk. I.

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5. 62 (*morbus campanus*,—the Campanian disease); *Juvenal*, Sat. II.; *Martial*, Epigr. bk. I. 66.; *Tacitus*, Annals bk. IV.; *Suetonius*, Vita Octav. Augusti ch. 80.; *Lucian*, Pseudologista; *Valerius Maximus*, Memorab. bk. III. ch. 5.; *Lucius Apuleius*, Metamorphos. bk. X. The refutation given by *Astruc* repeats almost word for word *Girtanner* vol. II. p. 357—363., though he gives it, as usual, as his own Production.

3) Becket, William. An attempt to prove the Antiquity of the Venereal Disease long before the discovery of the West-Indies. In Philosophical Transactions. Vol. XXX. 1718. No. 357. p. 839.—A letter to Dr. W. Wagstaffe concerning the antiquity of the Venereal Disease. Ibid. Vol. XXXI. 1720. No. 365. p. 47.—A letter to Dr. Halley, in answer to some objections made to the history of the Venereal disease. No. 366. p. 108.

In England *Nic. Robinson*, "*A New Treatise of the Venereal Disease*", in three parts London 1736. 8 vols., Pt. I. ch. 1., seeks to further confirm the Reasons laid down by *Becket* for the antiquity of the Disease. According to *Astruc*, vol. II. p. 1058, *Sir Hans Sloane*, "*Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Christopher and Jamaica*, with the Natural History," London 1707. fol., Vol. I. in the Introduction, pp. 2, 3., would seem to have already indicated the most important passages cited by *Becket*.

4) *Sanchez*, (Antonio Nunhez Ribeiro) Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie vénérienne, pour prouver: que le mal n'est pas venu d'Amérique, mais qu'il a commencé en Europe, par une Epidémie. à Paris chez Durand et Pissot. MDCCLII. 110 S. 8. Reprinted 1765. 12.

(*Sanchez*, Antonio Nunhez Ribeiro. "Dissertation on the Origin of the Venereal Disease, to prove: that the Malady did not come from America, but that it began in Europe by an Epidemic." Paris, published

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by Durand and Pissot. 1752. pp. 110. 8vo. Reprinted 1765. 12mo.)

The first issue of this Work published without the name of the Author, must have been ready, as early as the year 1750, for not only is the "Privilegium" (Licence to print) subscribed in that year (August and October), but also Sanchez says himself in the Preface to the second Part that this First Part had appeared in Paris in 1750, published by Durand. It runs thus: "M. *Castro*, Médecin de Londres, ayant traduit en Anglais une dissertation avec ce titre: Sur l'origine de la Maladie Vénérienne; imprimée à Paris, chez Durand 1750, envoya un Exemplaire de la traduction à M. le Baron de Van-Swieten",—M. *Castro*, Physician in London, having translated into English a Dissertation entitled: *On the Origin of the Venereal Disease*; printed at Paris 1750, and published by Durand, sent a Copy of the Translation to the Baron Van-Swieten). The Title of this English Translation is: "*A Dissertation on the Origin of Venereal Disease; proving that it was not brought from America, but began in Europe by an Epidemical Distemper. Translated from the original MS. by an Eminent Physician*". London 1751. 8vo. According to this the Translation must have appeared very nearly at the same time as the original.—A German Translation came out under the Title: "*Treatise on the Origin of the Venereal Disease*, in which is proved: that this Evil did not come from America, but took its beginning in Europe by an Epidemic," translated from the French; edited by *Georg Heinrich Weber*. Bremen 1775. pp. 94. 8vo.—An Abstract from the Original may be found in: "*Commentaria de rebus in scientia naturali et medicina gestis*"—(Records of Achievements in Natural Science and Medicine): Supplement. Leipzig 1772. pp. 156—159.—Allgem. deutsche Bibliothek, Vol. 28. p. 461.—Tode, Med. Chir. Bibliothek. Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 49.—*Haller's Tagebuch*. Vol. III. p. 331.—The Work itself is divided into 7 Sections.—The *First Section* contains:

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Arguments proving that in most parts of Europe the Venereal Disease became known and disseminated since 1493, and last of all in the month of June 1495. pp. 1—10.—*Second Section*: When did Christopher Columbus discover the Island of Hispaniola and when did he return to Spain from his first and second voyages? pp. 11—20.—*Third Section*: Did the Venereal Disease come from America at the time of Columbus' return from his second voyage? pp. 21—39.—*Fourth Section*: Did the Troops of Fernandez Cordova communicate the Disease to the French? pp. 40—47.—*Fifth Section*: Answer to some objections that may be raised to prove that Venereal Disease took its origin from America. pp. 47—79.—*Sixth Section*: Reasons which caused Writers on Venereal Disease since the year 1517 to believe this Malady came from America. pp. 79—87.—*Seventh Section*: Venereal Disease is an Epidemic Complaint, which began in Italy and almost at the same time spread over France and the rest of Europe. pp. 88—108.—*Recapitulation*: The Disease existed in Italy and France before Columbus returned from his second Voyage; the Troops of Cordova could not have communicated it to the French, for the two never came into contact; the Disease displayed all the appearance of an Epidemic; the discovery of the drug "Guajac" gave occasion to the assumption of the American origin of the Disease.—*Van Swieten*, who had received the English Translation sent to him by Castro, only ought to weaken the proofs brought forward in this book in his "Commentar. in Boerhavi Aphorismos" (Commentary on Boerhaave's Aphorisms), Leyden 1772., Vol. V. pp. 373 sqq., which occasioned *Sanchez* to issue the following Work, also published anonymously.

5) Examen historique sur l'apparition de la maladie vénérienne en Europe, et sur la nature de cette épidémie. A Lisbonne MDCCLXXIV. pp. VIII. and 83. 8vo.

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("Historical Inquiry concerning the First Appearance of the Venereal Disease in Europe, and the Nature of that Epidemic." Lisbon 1774. pp. VIII, and 83. 8vo.).

H. Dav. Gaubius had this Work again re-printed together with the preceding (Leyden 1777. 8vo.) and a Preface. An English Translation was edited by *Jos. Skinner*. London 1792. 8vo.—The Work falls into 8 Divisions. Div. 1. Extracts from Pet. Pintor, Sebast. Aquitanus, Pet. Delphinus, Petr. Martyr. pp. 1—24.—Div. 2. Symptoms of the so called Venereal Disease, as they were observed in Italy in the month of March 1793 and 1794. pp. 24—31.—Div. 3. In the history of Medicine there is no Description of an epidemic Disease resembling in all its consequences that which invaded Italy, Spain and France in the years 1493 and 1494. pp. 31—42.—Div. 4. The Venereal attacks, which have been observed since the time of Hippocrates, were not the consequence of the inflammatory or chronic Venereal Disease, such as it has been observed since the years 1493 and 1494. pp. 42—45.—Div. 5. On certain passages in *Astruc's* book "On the Venereal Disease". pp. 45—54.—Div. 6. Conclusions from the passages of Pet. Pintor and Pet. Delphinus concerning the Venereal Epidemic in Italy, France and Spain in the years 1493, 1494. pp. 54—61.—Div. 7. Did the early Voyages who discovered the Harbours and Peoples of North and South America observe the Venereal Disease, and was their Manhood infected with it? pp. 62—72.—Div. 8. On the Spread of infectious Diseases by sea, and the Quarantine observed during the Plague on the different coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. pp. 73—81.—*Recapitulation*: The Venereal Disease prevailed as a "Febris Pestilentialis" (pestilential fever) in March 1493, and after the arrival of Charles VIII in Italy (1494) took the name of "Morbus Gallicus" (French Complaint); the Venereal affections observed in Antiquity are distinct from the

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Venereal Disease as known since 1494; the Spaniards imported it into the Antilles, and the French were already infected when they came into Italy, where the Disease had been prevalent before their arrival. The early Voyages mention not a word of having found the Disease among the Savages. America, Africa and the East Indies have never communicated their epidemic and endemic Diseases to Europe; therefore the Venereal Disease cannot have been brought by the Spaniards from America to Europe.—Both Works of Sanchez are now rare. Comp. *Girtanner*, vol. III. pp. 460—471.—*Richter*, Chirurg. Bibliothek. vol. III. p. 381.

6) Berdoe, Mermaduke: An essay on the Pudendagra. Bath 1771. 8vo.

Girtanner, vol. III. p. 577., says: the Author has collected everything that is found in the older Writers on the subject of the "Pudendagra", and shows wherein it is distinct from the Venereal Disease.

7) Ph. Gabr. Hensler, Geschichte der Lustseuche, die zu Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts ausbrach. Erster Band. Altona 1783. 335. 134 S. 8. Neuer Abdruck oder Titel? 1794.

Ph. Gabr. Hensler, "History of the Venereal Disease, which broke out at the End of the XVth. Century." First Volume. Altona 1783. pp. 335 and 134. 8vo. New Impression or new Title? 1794.)

The Work is divided into two Books. *First Book*: Notices of contemporary Works on Venereal Disease. pp. 1—140. Section I., Works before Leonicensus, pp. 5—26. Sect. II., Works from Leonicensus to Almenar, pp. 27—68. Sec. III., Works of contemporary Writers directed towards diminishing the Disease, pp. 69—140.—*Second Book*: Description of the Disease. Sec. I., Local Affections. 1. Infection of the private parts, pp. 144—150. 2. Scalding and Urine-Scalding before and at the time of the Attack, pp. 151—168. 3. Discharge from the Penis in Men,

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pp. 169—203. 4. Discharge in Women, pp. 204—217. 5. Foul Ulcer, pp. 228—244. 6. Abscesses of the groin, pp. 245—264. 7. Local Sequelae of foul Discharge and Ulcer, pp. 265—275. (Swellings of the Testicles, Ulcers of the Urethra, Scalding Urine, Sharp Urine, Ulcers and Fistulae of the Perinaeum, Phimosis and Paraphimosis, Wasting of the Genitals. 8. Other Local Affections of the secret parts, pp. 277—302. (Eruptions, Morbid Growths, Ulcers of the Anus, Piles). 9. Traces of the earlier Taint in non-medical Writers, pp. 307—328.—Forming an Appendix, pp. 1—134, are excerpts from *Schellig, Wimpfeling, Cumanus, Brant, Grunpeck, Widmann, Steber, Pinctor, Grünbeck, Benedictus*, different Historians of the XVth. and XVIth. Centuries, *St. Job*, and *Christ. Columbus*' "Epistola de insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis," (Letter on the Islands lately discovered in the Indian Sea.

8) Ph. Gabr. Hensler, über den westindischen Ursprung der Lustseuche. Hamburg 1789. 92. 15 S. 8.

Ph. Gabr. Hensler, "On the West-Indian Origin of the Venereal Disease." Hamburg 1789. pp. 92 and 15. 8vo.)

Also under the Title: "History of the Venereal Disease etc." Second Volume, Second Part. The First Part of this Vol., which was to contain the Description of the Disease, never appeared. The Work is particularly directed against *Girtanner*; and investigates. (2) The exact Time of the appearance of the Disease in Italy. (3) The eye-witnesses of the importation of Venereal Disease from Hispaniola to Spain. (4) Eye-witnesses of the existence of Venereal Disease in Hispaniola as its home. (5) Testimonies to the fact that Venereal Disease was once endemic on the main-land of America. (6) Later witnesses of the importation into Spain of the Venereal Disease previously endemic in Hispaniola. The proofs are from (pp. 1—15): *Oviedo, Welsch, Lopez de Gomara, Roman. Pane,*

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Pedro de Cieça de Leon, Augustin. de Zaratte, Hieron. Benzoni.

9) Phil. Gabr. Hensler, *Programma de Herpete seu Formica veterum labis venereae non prorsus experte*. Kilon. 1801. 64 S. 8.

Phil. Gabr. Hensler, "Program" (College Exercise) on the *Herpes* (Creeping eruption) or *Formica* of the Ancients,—a Malady not unconnected with the Venereal Disease." Kiel 1801. pp. 64. 8vo.)

This "Program", which *Hensler* wrote on his resignation as Dean and for the Public Announcement of certain Graduations, is divided into 10 Divisions, of which Div. 1 gives a survey of the Contents, Div. 2 considers certain passages from the genuine Writings of Hippocrates (Prorrhetic. II, 18, 21, "de aere, aquis et locis"—of the effects of air, water and locality", II. Aphorism. V. 22.) dealing with *Herpes*, from which we gather that under the name *Herpes* were understood eating (phagedenic) Ulcers, that the *Herpes esthiomenes* attacked especially the abdomen and the Genitals, that *Epinyctis* was pre-eminently a disease of adults, whence a suspicion arises of its being communicated by coition. Div. 3 gives medical opinion on the different kinds of *Herpes* down to *Celsus*. Div. 4 gives the same on *Epinyctis*, special importance being given to the pains at night. Div. 5 discusses the *Therionoma* of *Celsus* (V. 28. 3.), which according to *Pollux*, Onomast. IV. 15., specially affects the Genitals, and is closely akin to the *Epinyctis*. Div. 6 gives the views of *Galen* on *Herpes*. Div. 7. The Author proceeds to the *Formica* of the Arabians, and shows that they have designated several distinct Skin-diseases by this name. Div. 8 treats the views held by Arabic writers down to the XVth. Century; whilst Div. 9 gives the shape these views took during the XVth. Century. In Div. 10 *Hensler* draws the following conclusions from the evidence he has adduced: *Formica* was the same thing as the *Herpes* of the

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Greeks; under both names, yet by no means exclusively, were indicated syphilitic affections. Immorality at all periods generated Venereal Disease, which arose at first rather sporadically, but towards the end of the XVth. Century in consequence of its universal diffusion became virtually epidemic. The early neglect of Etiology, as well as the Galenian hypotheses of deteriorations of the humours, stood in the way of the right understanding of the Disease. Venereal Disease is not a single Malady, but a Diathesis (General Condition of Body), which in accordance with time and circumstances may manifest itself in different forms. "Hujusmodi vero lues mihi illa omnis esse videtur, quae ipso coitu, quo quidem loco luis praecipuus focus est, facillime cum aliis communicari et ad ipsam prolem propagari possit. Summa ejus genera esse equidem arbitror Leporam, malum, quod Pians vocant, ipsamque Syphilidem." "This contagion seems to me to be a general one, and of this sort that it is capable of being very readily communicated to others by the act of coition, where indeed is the chief *nidus* of the Disease, and of being propagated even to posterity. Its main forms are, in my opinion, Leprosy, a Malady called *Pians*, and Syphilis itself." (p. 54). The *Pians* would seem to be Pox, the seeds of which the Moors disseminated, Syphilis a "Morbus Europae inquilinus" (a Disease native to Europe). The three Diseases are akin, and merge into one another.

10) La America vindicada de la calumnia de haber sido madre del mal venereo. Madrid 1785. 4.

('America Vindicated from the Calumny of having been the Mother of the Venereal Disease.' Madrid 1785. 4to.)

Sprengel in the Annotations to *P. Ant. Perenotti di Cigliano*, "Of the Venereal Disease", p. 348., calls this Work, which would seem to be in the University Library of Göttingen: "a well-written Tract, wherein, from p. 34 onwards, it is demonstrated

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that Venereal Disease did not come from Hayti." Comp. Götting. gelehrte Anzeig. 1788. Sect. 169 p. 1614.

11) P. Ant. Perenotti di Cigliano, Storia generale dell' origine dell' essenza e specifica qualita della infezione venerea. Turin 1788. 8.

(*P. Ant. Perenotti di Cigliano*, "General History of the Origin, Essence and Specific Quality of the Venereal Contagion". Turin 1788. 8vo.)

This Work with another of the same Author dealing with the treatment of Venereal Disease was translated into German and furnished with appendices by *C. Sprengel*, under the Title: *P. A. Perenotti di Cigliano*, "Of the Venereal Disease, translated from the Italian, with Appendices." Leipzig 1791. pp. XVI, 384. large 8vo. The Author maintains the antiquity of the Disease.

12) Will. Turnbull, An inquiry into the origin and antiquity of the lues venerea, with observations on its introduction and progress in the Islands of the South-Sea. London 1786. 8vo.

Of this there appeared a German translation by *Dr. Christ. Friedr. Michaelis*. Zittau and Leipzig 1789. pp. 110. large 8vo. The Author maintains the American origin, and especially seeks to confute *Becket* and *Raynold Forster*.

13) Just. Arnemann, De morbo venereo analecta quaedam ex manuscriptis musei Britannici Londinensis. Götting. 1789. 4.

(*Just. Arnemann*, "Certain Extracts from Manuscripts in the British Museum in London dealing with the Venereal Disease." Göttingen 1789. 4to.)

This Work contains according to *Girtanner*, III. p. 733., fresh proofs for the American origin.

14) M. Sarmiento, Antiquidad de los bubas. Madrid 1788. 32 S. 8.

(*M. Sarmiento*, "Antiquity of Buboës." Madrid 1788. pp. 32. 8vo.)

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Comp. the English Review. 1778. p. 221.—Allgem. Literaturzeitung 1789. vol. II. p. 647.

15) M. S. G. Schmidt, praeside (et auctore) C. Sprengel, de ulceribus virgae tentamen historico-chirurgicum. Halae 1790. 8.

(*M. S. G. Schmidt, (Editor and part-Author, C. Sprengel), "On Ulcers of the Penis,—a Historico-Surgical Essay."* Halle 1790. 8vo.)

16) Christ. Gothofr. Gruner, Morbi Gallici origines Maranicae. Progr. Jen. 1793. 4.

(*Christ. Gothofr. Gruner, "Moorish Sources of Syphilis". (University "Program") Jena 1793. 4to.)*

Is re-printed in the above cited, p. 12. No. 10., Collection of "Scriptores de Morbo Gallico" (Writers on Syphilis).

17) Sind die Maranen die wahren Stammväter der Lustseuche von 1493? Im Journal der Erfind., Theorien und Widersprüche in der Natur- und Arzneiwissenschaft. Stück III. Gotha 1793. S. 1—34. Stück IV. Gotha 1794. S. 119—129.

("Are the Moors the true Parents of the Venereal Disease of 1493?" In the Journal of Discoveries, Theories and Refutations in Natural Science and Medicine. Part III. Gotha 1793. pp. 1—34. Part IV. Gotha 1794. pp. 119—129.)

Both these Papers would seem to have had *Prof. Fr. Aug. Hecker*, of Erfurt, as Author; and are directed especially against the just mentioned Work of *Gruner*, and the Moorish origin generally. *Gruner* sought to maintain his views in the following Papers:

18) Die Maranen sind die wahren Stammväter der Lustseuche von 1493; in s. Almanach Jahrgang 1792. S. 51—92.—Geschichte der Maranen und der Eroberung von Granada. Ebendasselbst S. 158—196.—Die Maranen dürften doch wohl die Stammväter der Lustseuche von 1493 sein. Ebendass. 1793. S. 69—89. 1794. S. 229—268.

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("The Moors are the true Parents of the Venereal Disease of 1493;" in his *Almanach*, Year 1792. pp. 51—92.—"History of the Moors and the Conquest of Granada." Ibid. pp. 158—199.—The Moors must be admitted the Parents of the Venereal Disease of 1493." Ibid. 1793. pp. 69—89. 1794. pp. 229—268).

Comp. also some earlier Papers in Year 1784. pp. 224—237, Year 1790. pp. 139—157.

19) Sim. N. H. Linguet, *Historie politique et philosophique de Mal de Naples*. Paris 1796. 8.

(*Sim. N. H. Linguet*, "History, Political and Philosophical, of the Neapolitan Disease." Paris 1796. 8vo.).

This Work seems to be no longer on the market; at any rate we were unable by any means to procure it.

20) C. Sprengel, *Ueber den muthmasslichen Ursprung der Lustseuche aus dem südwestlichen Afrika*. In dessen *Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Medicin*. Halle 1796. Bd. I. Hft. 3. S. 61—104.

(*C. Sprengel*, "On the probable Origin of the Venereal Disease in South-Western Africa." In his *Contributions to the History of Medicine*. Halle 1796. Vol. I. Pt. 3. pp. 61—104).

The Author maintains, following up a previous suggestion of *Hensler's*, that *Yaws* and *Pians* are the original forms of Venereal Disease.

21) J. F. B. Bouillon la Grange, *Observations sur l'origine de la maladie vénérienne dans les Isles de la mer du Sud*. In *Recueil périodique de la société de Santé*. T. I. 1797. 38—47.

J. F. B. Bouillon la Grange, "Observations on the Origin of the Venereal Disease in the Islands of the South Sea." In *Periodical Review of the Health Society*. Vol. I. 1797. 38—47).

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22) Wilh. Ernest. Christ. Aug. Sickler, Diss. exhibens novum ad historiam luis venereae additamentum. Jenae 1797. (VIII. April.) 32 S. 8.

(*Wilh. Ernest. Christ. Aug. Sickler*, "Dissertation containing some fresh Material towards a History of the Venereal Disease." Jena 1797. (Apr. 8.) pp. 32. 8vo.).

The Author here treats some of the passages from the Old Testament referring to the Plague of the Jews that spread amongst them on account of their worshipping Baal Peor, which had not before been used. The little Work seems not to have been made use of by later Writers; neither *Hacker* nor *Choulant* note it. The Author's brother had first called attention to the passages in *Augusti*, "Theologische Blätter", Gotha, No. 13.

23) Dr. Schaufus, Neueste Entdeckungen über das Vaterland und die Verbreitung der Pocken und der Lustseuche. Leipzig 1805. 160 S. 8.

(*Dr. Schaufus*, "Latest Discoveries with regard to the Original Home and Dissemination of Pox and Venereal Disease." Leipzig 1805. pp. 160. 8vo).

Comp. *Ehrhardt*, Med. Chirurg. Zeitung. Insbruck 1806. Vol. I. p. 375. *Pierer*, Allgem. Med. Annalen. 1866. p. 364.

The Author derives Venereal Disease from the East Indies and makes the Gypsies bring it to Europe. From p. 65 to the conclusion of the Work he treats fully of the Venereal Disease in the islands of the South Sea, and at the same time gives an exhaustive list of the authorities on this subject.

24) Carol. Sam. Törnberg, Spic. inaug. med. sistens sententiarum de vera morbi gallici origine synopsis historicam. Jenae XXIX. August. 1807. 26 S. 8.

(*Carol. Sam. Törnberg*, "Selection of Medical "Programs",—giving a Historical Synopsis of Views

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as to the True Origin of Syphilis." Jena 29 Aug. 1807. pp. 26. 8vo.).

The Author decides for the American origin, but without adducing anything fresh.

25) J. B. C. Rousseau, New observations on Syphilis, tending to settle the disputes about its importation, by proving that it is a disease of the human race, that has and will always exist among the several Nations of the Globe. In Cox e, Philadelph. med. Museum. 1808. Vol. IV. No. 1. pp. 1—11.

26) H. A. Robertson, Historical Inquiry into the Origin of the Venereal Disease. Pts. I. II. in the London Medical Repository 1814. Vol. II. pp. 112—119, 185—192.

The Author maintains the antiquity of Venereal Disease, but denies that the Malady which prevailed amongst the French at the siege of Naples was true Syphilis; he supposes it rather to have been a fever resembling the Plague accompanied by pustulous eruptions. A later Paper in the same Periodical, 1818. vol. IX. pp. 465—495., contains the result of his observations in Spain during the War, so far as they confirm his earlier views.

27) Rob. Hamilton, On the early History and Symptoms of Lues. In the Edinburgh medical and surgical Journal 1818. Vol. XIV. pp. 485—498.

The Author seeks to prove that the Disease at the end of the XVth. Century was not "Lues Venerea", but "Sibbens". Comp. *Ehrhardt*, Med. Chirurg. Zeitung. 1819. Vol. I. p. 198.

28) Gust. Adolph Werner, de origine ac progressu luis venereae animadversiones quaedam. Diss. inaug. med. Lips. 1819. 29. S. 4.

(*Gust. Adolph Werner*, "Some Thoughts on the Origin and Progress of the Venereal Disease,"—a Medical Graduation Exercise. Leipzig 1819. pp. 29. 4to.).

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Maintains the antiquity of the Disease, citing again the passages already known. The Ancients, he says, confounded Syphilis with Leprosy; the Immorality prevailing at the end of the XVth. Century and the arrival of the Moors in Italy were the original cause and occasion of the general extension of the Disease. According to *Choulant* in *Pierer*, Allgem. Med. Annalen, Year 1825. p. 237., *Prof. Heinrich Robbi* was the Author of this Dissertation.

29) J. L. W. Wendt, Bydrag til historien af den veneriske sygdoms begyndelse og fremgang i Danmark. Kjöbenhavn 1820. 8. Deutsch in Hufelands Journ. 1822. Bd. 55. S. 1--51.

(*J. L. W. Wendt*, "Contribution to the History of the Origin and Progress of the Venereal Disease in Denmark." Copenhagen 1820. 8vo. In German in Hufeland's Journ. vol. 55. pp. 1—51).

Shows that Venereal Disease became known in Denmark after 1495; that its treatment was given over especially to the Surgeons and quacks; also an account of the medical Police-regulations against the Disease.

30) Nicol. Barbantini, Notizie storiche concernanti il contagio venereo, le quali precedono la sua opera sopra questo contagio. Lucca 1820. 8.

(*Nicol. Barbantini*, "Historical Notices concerning the Venereal Contagion,—introductory to his Work on this Disease." Lucca 1820. 8vo.).

Appears to be not yet at all well known in Germany. Neither through the booksellers nor in any other way could we obtain the Work. It would seem to be out of print.

31) Domenico Thiene, Lettere sulla storia de' mali venerei. Venezia 1823. 303. S. gr. 8.

(*Domenico Thiene*, "Letters on the History of Venereal Maladies." Venice 1823. pp. 303. large 8vo.).

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Contains 9 letters as follows: I. On the common opinion of the American origin of the Venereal Disease,—to Signor *C. Sprengel*, pp. 7—27, in which the American Source and *Girtanner's* Arguments for it are confuted. He cites here in the Notes, p. 238, an Italian poem of George Summaripa, a Patrician of Verona (1496), not previously known, in which the Disease is represented as having come from Gaul; which a letter of *Nicolaus Scillatius* re-printed on p. 236 confirms. This had already been given in *Brera*, *Giornale di Medicina*, August 1817, vol. XII. p. 123, and borrowed and made use of by *Huber*, p. 37., and *Sprengel*, *Geschichte der Medicin*, 3rd ed., vol. II. p. 701., in correction of *Choulant's* statement, as cited below p. 238.—II. Of Discharge from the Penis (*Scolagione*) or Gonorrhœa of the Ancients,—to Signor *Christ. Goff. Gruner*¹, shows that the Gonorrhœa of the Ancients was no mere *Spermatorrhœa*, but actual Gonorrhœa (Clap) pp. 31—48.—III. Of Discharge from the Penis (*Scolagione*) or Gonorrhœa of the Middle Ages,—to Signor *F. Swediaur*, pp. 51—73. Shows that actual Gonorrhœa existed in the Middle Ages.—IV. Of Ulcers, Buboës and other such Affections of the Secret Parts in Antiquity,—to Signor *Nic. Barbantini*, pp. 77—92.—V. Of the true Venereal Disease or Syphilis,—to Signor *Anton Scarpa*, pp. 95—119. Survey of the Venereal Disease to the end of the XVth Century and of its changes, with special reference to the sympathy of the Genital organs and those of the Throat.—VI. On certain modern Forms of Disease referable to the Venereal Taint,—to Signor *Cullerier*, pp. 123—144. Considers the Brûnn Sickness in the the year 1577, the "Sibbens, Amboina pox, Canadian Disease," "Scherlievo" and "Falcadina".—VII. Of

¹ A remarkable proof of the acquaintance of Italian scholars with German Literary History. The Author dedicated this letter in the year 1823 to

Gruner who died in 1815, and forwarded him a copy with an autograph inscription. Both are preserved in the University Library at Jena.

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certain ancient Forms of Disease referable to the Venereal Taint,—to Signor *Dr. Cambieri*, pp. 148—178. In this are more exactly described the “Yaws”, “Pians”, “Judham”, Mentagra, Malum mortuum and Morphea, and the near relationship of leprosy with Venereal Disease hinted at.—VIII. Of the Origin of the Venereal Disease,—to Signor *Filip. Gabr. Hensler*, pp. 182—208. The Author considers the Disease endemic in Africa, whence it came into Italy with the Moors, and to America with the Negro slaves.—IX. On the public Hygiene of Venereal Maladies,—to *Franc. Aglietti*, pp. 212—235. Chronological Survey of Legislation as to Brothels. The book ends, pp. 230—303, with Annotations in which he gives specially the documentary proofs on which his conclusions rest, and that too arranged according to the numbers given in the text.

An Abstract of this Work, rare apparently in Germany, is given by *Choulant* in *Pierer's Allgem. Med. Annalen*, Year 1825. pp. 236—244.

32) V. A. Huber, Bemerkungen über die Geschichte und Behandlung der venerischen Krankheiten. Stuttgart und Tübingen. 1825. 124 S. 8.

(*V. A. Huber*, “Remarks on the History and Treatment of Venereal Diseases.” Stuttgart and Tübingen 1825. pp. 124. 8vo.).

The Author specially combats the American origin, and to this end examines particularly the Spanish Chroniclers. Without exactly wishing to arrive at a definite conclusion for or against, he contents himself with exposing the inconsistencies in the reasoning of the supporters of either view.—Commendatory notices of the Book are found in: *Heidelberg Jahrb.* 1825. Pt. XII. pp. 1194—1199.—*Hecker's Lit. Annalen* 1826. Vol. IV. pp. 77—97.—*Hufeland's Bibliothek d. prakt. Heilde.* 1826. Vol. LV. pp. 262—268.

33) Alex. Dubled, Coup d'œil historique sur la maladie vénérienne. Paris 1825. ?

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(*Alex. Dubled*, "Historical Survey of the Venereal Disease." Paris 1825. ?

Hacker, p. 164, says: "would seem to contain much of interest." We have not been able to obtain a sight of this Work; however it appears to quite agree with what *Dubled* has repeated in a later work, "Statement of the new Doctrine as to Venereal Disease," transl. from the French. Leipzig 1830. pp. VI—VIII and pp. 1—10. He says, p. V of the Preface,—“Finally, inasmuch as the systematic historical study of the Venereal Disease seems also to confirm the truth of my view, I have prefixed to this Work the Historical Survey, which at the time of its composition I read before the Surgical Section of the Royal Academy of Medicine. A Report that should have been rendered by it never appeared.” Then follows a Preface belonging to the Historical Survey, subscribed—Paris, October 1823, to which year accordingly must be assigned the above-mentioned Work. But the whole publication, as may be supposed from the scanty number of pages, is more than superficial.

34) S. J. Beer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Syphilis. In *Oken's Isis*. Jahrg. 1828. Bd. II. S. 728—731.

(*S. J. Beer*, "Contributions to the History of Syphilis." In *Oken's Isis*. Year 1828. Vol. II. pp. 728—731).

The Author, a Jewish Physician, seeks to prove that the Moors did not suffer from Venereal Disease, because they as Martyrs of their Faith, could not therefore be dissolute, immoral men, because (Deuteronomy, Ch. 33. v. 17.) excesses in love, especially with Gentiles (Nehemiah Ch. X. vv. 29, 30) are strictly forbidden, finally because *Don Isac Abarbanel*, born 1437, in his Exposition of the Prophets (printed 1650), on Zachariah Ch. XIV. v. 12. says expressly, that the Disease "*Zarfosim*" occurs only amongst the "*Goim*" (Gentiles) and not amongst the Jews. The

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Author promises eventually to issue a Treatise on Syphilis which he has in hand on a larger scale; but to our knowledge it has not appeared.

35) H. Spitta, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Verbreitung der Lustseuche in Europa. In Heckers lit. Annalen 1826. Bd. IV. S. 371—374.

(H. Spitta, "Contribution to the History of the Spread of the Venereal Disease in Europe." In *Hecker's Lit. Annalen* 1826. Vol. IV. pp. 371—374).

The contribution is a passage from the following book: "Libro que trata de las cosas, que traen de las Indias Occidentales, que sirven al uso de medicina, y de la orden qui se ha de tener en tomar la Rayz de Mechoacan etc. Hecho y copilado por el Doctor *Monardes*, medico de Sevilla. 1565." (Book treating of Substances imported from the East Indies and used in Medicine, and of the Course to be observed in taking the Mechoacan Root, etc. Written and compiled by *Dr. Monardes*, Physician of Seville. 1565). This work treats of the drug "Guajac", and lays down the American origin of Venereal Disease as confidently as if the Author had been on the spot when it happened! The value of the whole argument may be judged from this passage, "Our Creator willed that from that same country whence Venereal Disease (el mal de las buvas,—the malady of buboes) came, should come also the Means of its cure."

36) Pet. de Jurgew, Luis venereae apud veteres vestigia. Diss. inaug. Dorpati Livon. 1826. 54 S. 8.

(*Pet. de Jurgew*, "Traces of the Venereal Disease amongst the Ancients." Medical Graduation Exercise, Dorpat (in Livonia) 1826. pp. 54. 8vo.).

An industrious, partly critical, Collection of the passages connected with this subject down to Peter Martyr in chronological order, of which however perhaps only those given on given p. 11, though these

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are incomplete, from the "*Lusus in Priapum*" or "*Priapeia*" had not previously been noted. Comp. Recension by *Struver* in *Rust's* and *Casper's* Krit. Repertor. Vol. XX. p. 141.

38) Friedr. Alex. Simon, Versuch einer kritischen Geschichte der verschiedenartigen, besonders unreinen Behaftungen der Geschlechtstheile und ihrer Umgegend, oder der örtlichen Lustübel, seit der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit, und ihres Verhältnisses zu der Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts erschienenen Lustseuche; nebst praktischen Bemerkungen über die positive Entbehrlichkeit des Quecksilbers bei der Mehrzahl jener Behaftungen, oder der sogenannten primären syphilitischen Zufälle. Ein Beitrag zur Pathologie und Therapie der primären Syphilis, für Aerzte und Wundärzte. I. Thl. Hamburg. 1830. XVIII. 253 S. II. Thl. 1831. XVI. 543 S. gr. 8.

(*Friedr. Alex. Simon*, "Essay towards a Critical History of the different sorts of Infections, particularly of foul Infections, of the Sexual parts and their Neighbourhood, in other words of Local Venereal Maladies, from the earliest times to the most recent, and of their Relation to the Venereal Disease that made its appearance at the end of the XVth Century; together with Practical Remarks as to the positive Needlessness of Mercury in the case of the majority of those Infections, or the so-called primary Syphilitic Symptoms. A Contribution to the Pathology and Therapeutics of Primary Syphilis, for Physicians and Surgeons." I Part. Hamburg 1830. pp. XVIII, 253. II Part. 1831. pp. XVI, 543. large 8vo.).

The first Part of this Work, one displaying great care and diligence, contains the History of Gonorrhœa, Swellings of the Testicles, Ulcers and warty Growths in the Urethra, Scalding Urine, Strictures, Ulcers and Fistulae in the Perinœum, so far as these subordinate affections were observed *before* the appearance of the Venereal Disease; the second Part the History

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of the Ulcers or Shankers in the Sexual organs, particularly after coition where infection is suspected, down to the most recent time. The promised Critical History of the Venereal Disease with reference to its appropriate Treatment has unfortunately never yet appeared, though only then can we estimate the justice of many of the Author's views and statements touching the local Symptoms. Would that an end might be put to the delay!

38) Math. Jaudt, de lue veterum et recentium. Diss. inaug. med. Monachii 1834. 23 S. 8.

(*Math. Jaudt*, "On Syphilis amongst Ancients and Moderns." Medical Graduation Exercise. Munich 1834. pp. 23. 8vo.).

In this somewhat cursory Treatise the Author assumes with the English writers a "Lues antiqua" (ancient Contagion), which manifested itself only through affections of the Genitals of a similar nature, and a "Lues universalis" (general Contagion) since 1494—1496, both of which now occur; hence he would deduce the distinction in the treatment with Mercury,—Mercury not being necessary for the former, but required for the latter.

39) Max Ludov. Schrank, de luis venereae antiquitate et origine. Dissert. inaug. Ratisbonae (Monachii) 1834. 24 S. 8.

(*Max Ludov. Schrank*, "On the Antiquity and Origin of the Venereal Disease." Graduation Exercise. (Ratisbon Bavaria) 1834. pp. 24. 8vo.).

The Author seeks to prove by citation of the familiar passages of the ancient writers: (1) "*luem veneream antiquissimis temporibus jamjam cognitam itidemque contagiosam, sub finem saeculi XV. majorem malignitatis gradum, conditionibus secundis concurrentibus, ostendisse, ideoque, (2) Americam ejusdem patriam non esse habendam*" (that the Venereal Disease was already known in the most ancient times, that towards the end of the XVth.

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Century, under the concurrence of favouring conditions, it exhibited a greater degree of malignancy; consequently that America is not to be considered its place of origin. He seems especially to have made use of *Huber's Work*.

40) Prof. Naumann, zur Pathogenie und Geschichte des Trippers, in *Schmidt's Jahrb. der in- und ausländ. gesamt. Medicin* Jahrg. 1837. Bd. XIII. S. 94—105.

(*Prof. Naumann*, "Pathology and History of Gonorrhoea", in *Schmidt's Jahrb. der in- und ausländ. gesamt. Medicin*, Year 1837. Vol. XIII. pp. 94—105).

Contains valuable notices on the history of Venereal disease, specially dealing with Gonorrhoea in Antiquity; cites several very important passages from *Galen* previously overlooked, and by their help maintains the antiquity of the Disease. The matters dealt with in this Treatise had already been gone into by the same Author in the Seventh Volume of his Handbook to Medical Clinics.

41) August Zennaro, Diss. inaug. de syphilidis antiquitate et an sit semper contagio tribuenda, Patav. 1837. 32 S. gr. 8.

(*August Zennaro*, "Graduation Exercise, on the Antiquity of Syphilis; should it be considered always Contagious?" Padua 1837. pp. 41. large 8vo.).

42) Jos. Ferd. Masarei, Diss. sist. argumentum, morbos venereos esse morbos antiquos. Viennae 1837. 8.

(*Jos. Ferd. Masarei*, "Exercise maintaining the thesis that: the Venereal diseases are ancient Diseases." Vienna 1837. 8vo.).

Besides the above Works, specially devoted to the History of Venereal Disease and dealing exclusively with this, the subject is discussed also by most of the larger Hand-books and Manuals on this

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Malady, e.g., *Swediaur, Bertrandi, Foot, Barbantini, Jourdan*. However we must particularize:

Joan. Astruc, de morbis venereis libri sex. In quibus disseritur tum de origine, propagatione et contagione horum affectuum in genere: tum de singulorum natura, aetologia et therapeia, cum brevi analysi et epicrisi operum plerorumque quae de eodem argumento scripta sunt. Paris 1736. XVIII. 20. 628. 50 S. 4. Paris (Nachdruck zu Basel). 1738. 4. — Translated by Will. Borrowby. Lond. 1737. 8. — Editio secunda: de morbis venericis libri IX. Paris 1740. 4. Vol. I. XXXVI. 608 S. (Enthält zugleich Dissertatio I. de origine, appellatione natura et curatione morborum venericorum inter Sinas S. DXXXVII—DLXVI). Vol. II. 537—1196 S. (Unsere Citate beziehen sich auf diese Ausgabe). — Paris 1743. Vol. I—IV. 12. Die ersten 4 Bücher wurden von Boudon und Aug. Franc. Jault ins Französische übersetzt. Paris 1740. 12. Vol. I—III. — Editio tertia aucta per Jo. Astruc et Ant. Louis. Paris 1755. Vol. I—IV. 12. Nachdruck Venetiis 1760. 4. mit Hinzufügung von Gerardi van Swieten, Epistolae duae de mercurio sublimato und Jos. Mar. Xav. Bertini, diss. de usu mercurii. — Translated by Sam. Chapmann. Lond. 1755. 1. deutsch von Joh. Gottlob Heise. Frankf. und Leipz. 1784. gr. 8. Editio quarta: Paris. 1773. Vol. I—IV. 12. — Editio quinta, cura Ant. Louis. Paris 1777. Vol. I—IV. 12.

(*Jean Astruc*, "On Venereal Diseases,—Six books. In which is discussed the Origin, Propagation and Contagion of these Maladies generally; secondly the Nature, Etiology and Therapeutics of the same individually; together with a brief Analysis and Appreciation of most of the Works dealing with this Subject." Paris 1736. XVIII, 20, 628, 50 pp. 4to. Paris (pirated edition, Bâle) 1738. 4to.—Translated by *Will. Borrowby*, Lond. 1737. 8vo.—*Second Edition*: "On Venereal Diseases,—IX books." Paris 1740. 4to. Vol. I. pp. XXXVI, 608. (Contains also Dissertation

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I, "On the Origin, Nomenclature, Nature and Treatment of Venereal Diseases amongst the Chinese, pp. DXXXVII—DLXVI). Vol. II. pp. 537—1196. (Our citations refer to this Edition).—Paris 1743, Vols. I—IV. 12mo. The first 4 books were translated into French by *Boudon* and *Aug. Franc. Jault*. Paris. 1740. 12mo, Vols. I—III.—*Third Edition* enlarged by *Jo. Astruc* and *Ant. Louis*. Paris 1755. Vols. I—IV. 12mo. Pirated edition, at Venice 1760. 4to., with addition by *Gerardi van Swieten*, "Epistolae Duæ de Mercurio sublimato" (Two Letters concerning Mercury Sublimato), and *Jos. Mar. Xav. Bertini*, *Diss. de usu Mercurii* (Dissertation on the Use of Mercury).—Translated by *Sam. Chapmann*. Lond. 1755. 8vo.; in German by *Joh. Gottlob Heise*. Frankfort and Leipzig 1784, large 8vo.—*Fourth Edition*: Paris 1773. Vols. I—IV. 12mo.—*Fifth Edition*, edit. *Ant. Louis*. Paris 1777. Vols. I—IV. 12mo).

To *Astruc* belongs the credit of having been the first who began to collect on a comprehensive plan and to sift the material for a history of the Venereal Diseases that had been accumulating for Centuries. His historical results are imperfect and one-sided, in so far as they are directed solely to maintaining the American origin; but at the same time his chronological Review of the Writers from 1475 to 1740 is even now almost indispensable, as he gives comprehensive Extracts from all the Works that were at his disposal, that fill the whole of the second Volume of his Book. Down to *Hensler*, almost all later Historians owe to him their Bibliography of Authorities, though they are not always honest enough to specify the mine from which they drew their knowledge. According to *Bertrandi*, "Treatise on the Venereal Diseases", transl. from the Italian by *C. H. Spohr*, Vol. I. p. 44. Note k., *Astruc* has copied almost the whole of the first book of this Work, without naming the Author(!?), from: *Charles Thuillier*, "Observations sur les maladies vénériennes avec leur cure sûre et facile, lettres sur les accidents,

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l'origine et les progrès de la vérole," (Observations on the Venereal diseases, with a sure and easy method of cure: Letters on the Symptoms, Origin and Progress of the Pox.) Paris 1707. pp. 211—261. 8vo.

Christoph Girtanner, *Abhandlung über die venerische Krankheit*. I. Bd. Götting. 1788. 459 S., II. und III. Bd. 1789. 933 S. gr. 8. Zweite Ausgabe 1793. III Bde. gr. 8.—Dritte Ausgabe vom I. Bde. 1796.—Vierte Ausgabe vom I. Bde., mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Ludw. Christoph Wilh. Cappel 1803. XVI. 455 S. gr. 8. (*Christoph Girtanner*, "Treatise on the Venereal Disease." I Vol. Göttingen 1788. pp. 459, II and III Vols. 1789. pp. 933. large 8vo.—*Third* edition of Vol. I. 1796.—*Fourth* edition of Vol. I., edited with Addition and Notes by *Ludw. Christoph Wilh. Cappel*, 1803. pp. XVI, 455. large 8vo.).

In the *First* Volume the Author gives, Bk. I. Pt. 1. pp. 1—57, a history of the Venereal disease, in which he employs every possible artifice and perversion of the facts in his endeavour to prove the American origin of the Disease. In the *Second* and *Third* Vols. (in which the pages run on continuously, pp. 808) he gives a general review of all the Works that have appeared on Venereal disease from 1595 to 1793, the total—including Supplements—amounting to 1912. As far as *Astruc* served, he has often translated him word for word,—without declaring the fact. But as only those Works which support his own views, in particular the American origin, are estimated with any accuracy, while the rest are summarily disposed of,—often without any precise account of the Contents, it is properly speaking solely for the sake of the Titles that the Review as a whole is of use to Historians. A Continuation of this Bibliographical review is found in

Heinr. August Hacker, *Literatur der syphilitischen Krankheiten vom Jahr 1794 bis mit 1829*, etc. Leipzig 1830. 264 S. gr. 8. (*Heinr. August Hacker*, "Literature of the Venereal Disease from

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the year 1794 down to and including 1829, etc." Leipzig 1830. pp. 264. large 8vo.).

Unfortunately a major portion of the Books, particularly of the foreign ones, did not actually come into the hands of the Author, so that he was forced often to content himself with merely citing the Titles; and in such as are more precisely designated, he omits, as indeed is the case also with *Girtanner*, to give the length (pagination, or number of sheets) of the Works, from which at any rate a relative judgement might be made as to their completeness. Then since its publication almost another decade has passed, and the continuation of his Collection is still awaited on the part of the Author; consequently a second edition, carried on so as to cover the latest period, one that has been very prolific in Literary productions, is both necessary and desirable, and in it what is deficient might easily be supplied. Again from earlier Literature many additions might well be made and supplements giving what was overlooked or only cursorily noted by *Girtanner*. However would it not on the whole be more expedient to undertake an entirely new Work dealing with the whole Literature of Venereal Disease, but on other principles than those of *Girtanner*? Indeed for such a task the use of a Library such as Göttingen would be required. It would undoubtedly be of very great utility.

George Rees, On the primary Symptoms of the lues venerea, with a critical and chronological account of all the English writers on the subject, from 1735 to 1785. Lond. 1802. 8vo.

Finally we have to mention the Writers on the History of Medicine who have treated more or less fully the History of the Venereal Disease. To this class belong in especial:

J. Freind, *histoire de la médecine*, traduit de l'Anglais par Etienne Coulet. Leide 1727. 8. T. III. S. 192—277. (*J. Freind*, "History of Medicine," translated from the English by Etienne

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Coulet. Leyden 1727. 8vo. Vol. III. pp. 192—277).
Seeks to prove the American origin.

Chr. Godofr. Gruner, *Morborum antiquitates*.
Vratislav. 1774. gr. 8. S. 69—101. (*Chr. Godfr. Gruner*,
"Antiquities of Diseases." Breslau 1774. large 8vo.
pp. 69—101).

Decides for the American origin.

Curt. Sprengel, *Versuch einer pragmat. Geschichte der Arzneikunde*. 3. Auflage. Halle 1828.
Bd. II. S. 521—525. 697—714. Bd. III. S. 204—
217. Bd. V. S. 579—594. (*Curt. Sprengel*, "Attempt
at a Pragmatic History of Medicine." 3rd. edition.
Halle 1828. Vol. II. pp. 521—525, 697—714. Vol.
III. pp. 204—217. Vol. V. pp. 579—594).

The Author accepts the Development of Venereal
disease from Leprosy.

In connection with other Diseases the Venereal
is also dealt with in the following Works :

Franc. Raymond, *Histoire de l'éléphantiasis*,
contenant aussi l'origine du Scorbut, du Feu St.
Antoine, de la Vérole etc. Lausanne 1767. 132
S. 8. (*Franc. Raymond*, "History of Elephantiasis,
containing also the Origin of Scurvy, St. Anthony's
Fire, Pox, etc." Lausanne 1767. pp. 132. 8vo.).

The Author maintains the Antiquity of the Disease.
Comp. "Commentar. de rebus in Scientia naturali
et Medicina gestis" (Record of Exploits in Natural
Science and Medicine). Leipzig Vol. XVI. pp.
455—460.

Gerhard Gebler, *Diss. Migrationes celebriorum
morborum contagiosorum*. Götting. 1780. 4. (*Gerhard
Gebler*, "Dissertation: The Migrations of the more
important Contagious Diseases." Göttingen 1780. 4to.)

According to *Girtanner* the portion dealing with
Venereal Disease is word for word from *Astruc*.

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